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INDEX



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CONTENTS

- i. Analysis of subjects.
- ii. Index to authors.
- iii. Index to persons, tribes and places together with references to sciences, cultural activities, etc.

ANALYSIS OF SUBJECTS

ADMINISTRATION

	PAGE
An Interesting 'Adilshāhī Farman —G. H. KHARE.	48
Conduct of strategy and tactics of war during the Muslim Rule in India —S. ŠABAHUDDIN	7, 123

BIOGRAPHY

Al-'Āmidi —DR. F. KRENCOW.	3
An Appreciation of <u>Shāh</u> Waliyūllāh Al-Muḥaddith Ad-Dihlawī —M. S. ḤASAN AL-MA'ŠŪMĪ.	340
David Lopes DR. F. KRENCOW.	1
Gulchīn A. J. ARBERRY.	231
Mir Gēsū <u>Khān</u> , Akbar's Faujdār of Kōl (Aligarh) 1563-83—DR. A. ḤALIM	243
<u>Shāh</u> Muḥammad Sulaeman (1886-1941) —PROF. A. A. A. FYZEE.	37
'Ulayya, a less-known Abbasid Princess —MAS'ŪD ḤASAN SHAMSI.	114

ETHICS

Devil's Delusion DR. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.	73, 172, 394
---	--------------

GEOGRAPHY

Alawar, Lahkot and Lahawur —DR. S. M. YUSUF.	52
--	----

HISTORY

Akbar and 'Abdulla <u>Khān</u> —DR. RAMESH CHANDRA VARMA.	379
The Death of Ḥaidar 'Alī —I. H. BAQAI.	167
Was Bairam <u>Khān</u> a Rebel? —Q. M. AḤMAD.	56

LITERATURE

Additional Notes to the Article : " The Authorship of the Epistles of the <u>Ikhwān Aṣ-Ṣafā</u> —PROF. S. M. STERN (of Jerusalem).	403
Modern Urdu Poets of Hyderabad —GHULAM YAZDĀNĪ	16
Some Unpublished letters of <u>Shāh</u> Nawāz <u>Khān</u> Šamsam-ud-Daulāh —DR. YUSUF ḤUSAIN KHĀN.	154
The First Urdu Newspaper —ASLAM ŠIDDIQI.	160
The Term Qonalgha (قنلقه) and its Significance—PROF. MUḤAMMAD SHAFĪ'.	390

POLITICS

'Alā-ud-Dīn <u>Khiljī</u> 's Mongol Policy —PROF. DHARAM PAL.	255
Nature of the Islamic State —DR. MAJID KHADDŪRĪ.	327
The Rajput Policy of Aurangzeb —KHURSHEED MUŠṬAFA.	332

SCIENCE

	PAGE
A Note on Ibn-Firnas's successful attempt at soaring Flights	
—PROF. MOHD. A. R. KHĀN.	404
Notes on the Arab Calendar before Islām	
—REV. BRO. LOUIS NOBIRON.	135

SOCIOLOGY

A visit to the Rampur State Library	—S. M. IMAMUDDIN.	360
European Travellers in Mughal India : An Appreciation	—Y. KRISHNAN.	215
The Annual Fairs of the Pagan Arabs	—DR. F. KRENKOW.	111

SUFISM AND PHILOSOPHY

Ibn Khaldūn and Islamic Mysticism	—MIYA SYRIER.	264
The Nature of Summum Bonum in Islam	—'ABDUS SUBḤĀN.	353

INDEX TO AUTHORS

PAGE

A. R. <u>Khān</u> , Prof. Moḥd.	404
'Abdus Subḥan	353
Aḥmad, Q. M.	56
Arberry, Dr. A. J.	231
Aslam Ṣiddiqi	160
Baqai, I. H.	167
Dharam Pal, Prof.	255
Fyzee, Prof. A.A.A.	37
Ḥalim, Dr. A.	243
Ḥasan-al-Mā'sūmi, M. S.	340
Imāmuddin, S. M.	360
<u>Khaddūri</u> , Dr. Majid,	327
<u>Khare</u> , G. H.	48
<u>Khursheed</u> Muṣṭafa	332
Krenkow, Dr. F.	I, 3, III
Krishnan, Y.	215
Margoliouth, Dr. D. S.	72, 172, 394
Mas'ud Ḥasan <u>Shamsi</u>	114
Miya Syrier	264
Nobiron, Rev. Bro. Louis	135
Ṣabāhuddin, S.	7, 123
<u>Shafi'</u> , Prof. Moḥammad	390
Stern, Prof. S. M.	403
Varma, Dr. Ramesh Chandra	379
Yazdāni, <u>Ghulām</u>	16
Yusuf, Dr. S. M.	52
Yusuf Ḥusain <u>Khān</u> , Dr.	154

ISLAMIC CULTURE

Vol. XXI, No. 1-4, 1947

INDEX

- 'ABAS SAIB, 76.
'Abbād b. Sulaimān, 354.
'Abbās Khān b. Sheikh 'Alī Shirwānī, 370.
'Abbās (Khān) Sarwānī, 9, 373.
'Abbās, Shāh, 385, 386, 387, 388, 422
'Abbāsīd Family, 115, 116.
Abbotabad, 417.
'Abd al-Awwal (b. 'Isā, Abu'l-Waqt), 75, 178, 395.
'Abd al-Haqq b. 'Abd al-Khāliq, 175.
'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān, 367.
'Abdallah, 178.
'Abdallah b. al-Mubārak, 183.
'Abdallah b. 'Alī-as-Sarrāj, 180, 397.
'Abdallah b. Rawāḥah, 396.
'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Abī Hāṭim, 179.
'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, 176.
'Abd-Fuqāim, 138.
'Abdul 'Alā, n. 361.
'Abdul 'Alī, Moulvi, (Baḥr-ul-'Ulūm), n. 361.
'Abdul 'Azīz Mayman, 420.
'Abdul 'Azīz, Shāh, nn. 343 and 345, 347
'Abdul Ghaffār Khān, 129.
'Abdul Ghani, Shāikh, b. Shāikh 'Abdul Hakīm Sunipati, 348.
'Abdul Ghauth, 63.
'Abdul Hamid Khān, 371.
'Abdul-Hamīd Lāhōrī, 14, n. 49.
'Abdul Hamid Muḥarrir Ghaznavi, Hāji, 367.
'Abdul Haq (Ṣāhib, Maulavi), Dr., 17, 23.
'Abdul Haque b. Saifuddin Dehlavī, 369.
'Abdul Haque Khyrābādī, n. 362.
'Abdul Hayy Khān, Shamsul-Mulk, 370
'Abdul-Jalīl Cheshtī Farūqī, Sheikh, 375.
'Abdul-Karīm, 169, 202, 203.
'Abdul Karīm, Mulla, 206.
'Abdul Khāliq, (Prince), 195.
'Abdul Laṭīf, 366.
'Abdul Laṭīf, Qizwani, 70.
'Abdul Laṭīf, Syed, 81.
'Abdul Majīd, Dr., 314.
'Abdul Majīd Daryabadi, 101.
'Abdul Majīd Siddiqī, 81, 82.
Abdul Mu'id Khān, Dr. Mohd., 81.
Abdul Mumin, 386, 387, 388.
'Abdul Qādir, M., 83.
'Abdul Qādir Diyanat Khān n. 154.
'Abdul Qadīr Siddiqī, 81, 82.
'Abdul Quddūs, al-Anṣariy, 424.
'Abdul Raḥmān Khān, Mohd., 80, 81, 82, 83.
'Abdul Shakūr Bazmi, 375.
'Abdul Wahhāb 'Azzām Beg, Dr., 305 313.
'Abdulla (Khān), 379, 390, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389.
'Abdulla Qutb Shāh, 412.
'Abdulla, Sayyid, 312.
'Abdullah, 116.
'Abdullah Anṣārī, (Khawāja), 365, 366.
'Abdullah b. 'Alī, n. 344.
'Abdullah b. Amīr, 78.
'Abdullah b. Ja'far (b. Abī Ṭālib), 75 and note.
'Abdullah Chalpi, Maulana, 421.
'Abdullah (Khān), Sayyid (Qutb-ul-Mulk,) 124, 125, 129, 130.
'Abdullah, Mīr, 369.
'Abdullah Yusuf 'Alī, Mr., 97.
'Abdur Raḥīm, Bakhshī, 362.
'Abdur Raḥīm, (Beg) 382, 383.
'Abdur Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān, Mirza, 202, 390.
'Abdur Raḥīm, Mirza, 374.
'Abdur Raḥīm, Shāh, 341, 342, 343.
'Abdur Raḥmān Badawī, 104.
'Abdur Raḥmān Jāmī, Maulāna, 422.
'Abdur Raḥmān Khān, Muḥammad, 185, 321.
'Abdur Raḥmān Siddiqī, 409.
'Abdur Raḥmān Wizārat Khān, n. 154.
'Abdur Rashīd, Lt. Col. Khawāja, 102, 421
'Abdur Rashīd, Mr., Shāikh, 204.
'Abdur Razzāq, n. 154, 156 see also Shamsām-ud-Daulah.
'Abdur Razzāq Khān, 414.
'Abdus Ṣamad, Khawāja (Shirin Qalam), 88.
Abhayasing, Maharaj, 195, 205.
Abrahām, 175, 178, 354, 395, 416.
Abū 'Abdallah Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Hamdani, 400.

- Abū 'Abdallāh al-Alqī, 401.
 Abū 'Abdallāh al-Muqri, 77.
 Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī al-Muqri, 183.
 Abū 'Abdallāh at-Tirmidhī, n. 174.
 Abū 'Abdallāh b. Khafīf, 176.
 Abū 'Abdar-Rahmān as-Sulami, See Sulami.
 Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad bin 'Abdullāh the Ḥāfiẓ, 76.
 Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Salīm, 76.
 Abū al-Qasim Ibn Firnas, see Ibn Firnas.
 Abū 'Ala' Ma'arri, 265.
 Abū 'Amr, n. 174.
 Abū Bakr, 77, 297, 349, 394.
 Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Thābit, 172.
 Abū Bakr al-Jawzi, Rais-al-'Amal, 368.
 Abū Bakr al-Warraḡ, 174.
 Abū Bakr al-Washshā, n. 181.
 Abū Bakr as-Sulī, see Sulī.
 Abū Bakr ash-Shibli, see Shibli.
 Abū Bakr b. Abī Ṭāhir, 402.
 Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī al-Māliki, n. 356.
 Abū Bakr b. Ḥabīb, 176, 179, 180, 181, 398, 399.
 Abū Bakr b. Thābit, 182.
 Abū Bakr Dulaf, 179.
 Abū Bakr ibn Ḥabīb (al-'Āmiri), 76, 394.
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh ar-Rāzi, 173.
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhir, 181.
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Duraid, see Ibn Duraid.
 Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mūsā, n. 174.
 Abū Dawūd, (Imām), 350, n. 356.
 Abū Ḥafṣ b. Shāhin, 175.
 Abū Ḥamid at-Ṭusi, 175, 182.
 Abū Ḥamid Dostan, Shaikh, n. 182.
 Abū Ḥamzah al-Khurāsānī, 175.
 Abū Ḥanifa, Dr., 314.
 Abū Ḥanīfah, ad-Dinawariy, 423.
 Abū Ḥātim as-Sijistāni, see Sijistāni.
 Abū Hurairah, 73, 78, 178, 395.
 Abū Imām al-Bazzaz ibn al-Ḥammāl, n. 76.
 Abū Ishāq, n. 5.
 Abū Lahab, 399.
 Abū Maṣṣūr ('Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muḥammad) al-Qazzāz, see Qazzāz.
 Abū Mansūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Hanafī al-Mutakallim al-Maturidi al-Samarkandi, n. 359.
 Abū Muḥammad, 179, see also Ibn Hazm.
 Abū Mūsā (ad-Diyālī), 394, 397, 398.
 Abū Mūsā ash-Shibli, 394.
 Abū Naṣr as-Sarraj, see Sarraj.
 Abū Naṣr at-Ṭusi, 77.
 Abū Nuaym Isphahani, n. 344.
 Abū Rayḥan Andalusi, 367.
 Abū Sa'd, Qadi, 182.
 Abū Sa'id al-Kharrāz, 400.
 Abū Sa'id b. Abīl Khair, 182, 183.
 Abū Sa'id Bishr b. al-Ḥasan ad-Dawudi, 181.
 Abū Ṭāhir al-Junabidhi, 76.
 Abū Ṭāhir al-Kurdi al-Madani, Shaikh, 343.
 Abū-Tammam, 3, 4, 5, 6.
 Abū-Turab (an-Nakhshabi), 174, 178, 179.
 Abū 'Ubaid Qāsim bin Salam Haravi, n. 363.
 Abū 'Ubaida Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna, 111.
 Abū-'Uthmān, 174.
 Abū Yahya (Nowshahrawi), nn. 340, 341 and 342.
 Abū Ya'qūb (al-Kharrat), 179, 180, 400.
 Abū-Yazid (al-Bistāmi), 177, 178, 298, 394, 396, 397, 398.
 Abū Zakariyya ar-Rāzi, 96.
 Abū Zurah Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad, 73.
 Abu'l 'Abbās al-Aṣamm, 76.
 Abu'l 'Abbās b. 'Atā, 173, 179, 399, 401.
 Abu'l 'Abbās b. Muḥammad ad-Dinawari 402.
 Abu'l Bāqī, (Mulla), 57, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70.
 Abu'l Faḍl, (Fazl), 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 126, 134, 243, 245, 248, 250, 375, 381, 383, 384, 386, 387.
 Abu'l Faṭḥ al-Karukhi, 75.
 Abu'l Fida, 137, 138, 141, 146.
 Abu'l Ḥasan, 76.
 Abu'l Ḥasan 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad, 6.
 Abu'l-Ḥasan al-'Aufi, 403.
 Abu'l Ḥasan al-Harraḡani, see Harraḡani.
 Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Aziz al-Jurjani, see Jurjani.
 Abu'l Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ibrahim al-Husri, 402.
 Abu'l Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn 'Aliy al-Baṣariy, 425.
 Abu'l Hudhail, 354.
 Abu'l-Husain, 200, 400.
 Abu'l-Husain an-Nuri, see Nuri.
 Abu'l-Husain Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, n. 174.
 Abu'l Khair Qādi, 421.

- Abu'l Khayr Mirzā Khayr-Allah, 85.
 Abu'l-Ma'ālī, Shāh, 69, 70, 245, 246, 253.
 Abu'l-Mundhir ibn al-Kalbi, see Ibn al-Kalbi.
 Abu'l-Muzaffar 'Abd al-Mun'im b. 'Abd al-Karim, 181. CE
 Abu'l-Muzaffar Naṣir-ud-Din Muḥammad Shāh, see Muḥammad Shāh.
 Abu'l-Qāsim, 65, 66.
 'Abu'l-Qāsim, Khalifa, n. 341.
 Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Bajali, see Bajali.
 Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Ja'far as-Sirafi, 181.
 Abu'l Qāsim Aḥmad b. Yusuf al-Barādani, see Barādani.
 Abu'l Wāqt 'Abd al-Awwāl b. 'Isa, see 'Abd al-Awwāl.
 Acharya, P., 204.
 Achin, 229.
 Adam, 371, 372, 402.
 Aden, 1, 112.
 Adham Khān, 64, 70.
 'Adi, Qalammas, 140.
 'Adil Khān, 9.
 'Adilshāh, Muḥammad, 48, 49.
 'Adilshāhi Fārmān, 48.
 'Adilshāhi Sultān Muḥammad, 49.
 Adina Beg, 89.
 Adivar, Dr. 'Adnan, 426.
 Adjam, Prof. Djanamar, 306.
 Afghan Army, 9.
 Africa, East 227.
 Africa, North, 1.
 Aftāb Aḥmad Khān Ṣaḥebzāda 39.
 Agarwalā V. S. 101.
 Agnides N. P. n. 328.
 Agra 65, 68, 91, 129, 130, 216, 217, 221, 222, 224, 228, 250, 251, 252, 382, 391.
 Ahimsa, 225.
 Ahlul-Lah, Shāh, n. 341.
 Aḥmad, 342, see also Walīullah.
 Aḥmad, Mr., 39.
 Aḥmad ad-Dīn, Khwāja, 66.
 Aḥmad al-Ghazzālī, 182.
 Aḥmad al-Halfai, 400.
 Aḥmad 'Alī Ataliq, 386.
 Aḥmad 'Alī Khān, 155.
 Aḥmad 'Alī Khān Bahadur, 361, 377.
 Aḥmad 'Alī Khān, Mīr, 81, 82.
 Aḥmad 'Alī Khān Shawq, Hāfiz, see Shawq.
 Aḥmad b. al-'Abbās al-Muhallabi, 177.
 Aḥmad b. al-Hasan, 176.
 Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Khalaf, 175.
 Aḥmad b. Hanbal (Imam), n. 74, 78, 79, 178, 179, n. 401.
 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, n. 399.
 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-'Adami, n. 179.
 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Halfai, 181.
 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, 181.
 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sahl (b. 'Aṭā) 173, n. 399.
 Aḥmad b. Yahyā b. Jabir al-Balādhuri, 415.
 Aḥmad b. Salim al-Baṣri, 397.
 Aḥmad Bēg, 246.
 Aḥmad (ibn Hanbal), Imām, n. 344, 349.
 Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad ibn Isma'il Abū Hasan al-Khallal, 76.
 Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, 89, 345, 352.
 Aḥmad Shāh (Emperor), 155, 345.
 Aḥmad Shāhid Bareilwi, Shāh Sayyid, 351.
 Aḥmad, Shaikh, 340, 341.
 Aḥmad Zaki Pāsha, nn. 111 and 112, 403.
 Ahmadabad, 8, 134, 204, 332, 374.
 Ahmadali, Mr., Q., 403.
 Aḥmadī, 125.
 Ahmadnagar, 49.
 Ahmed Ibn 'Alī al-Harwari, 76.
 Ahmedabad, See Ahmadabad.
 Aḥsan Ḥabīb, 200.
 Ahwazi, al-Muḥammad b. al-Hasan, 179.
 Aibak, 380.
 Aibak, Qutbuddin, 192, 255, 409.
 Aiholi, 91.
 'Ain-ul-Mulk, 133.
 'Aishah, 74, 394.
 Aiyub, Miyan, 9.
 Ajanta, 201.
 Ajit, Prince, 336, 337, 338, 339.
 Ajit Singh, Raja, n. 393.
 Ajmāl Khān, (Hāziq al-Mulk Hāfiz Muḥammad), Ḥakīm, 318, 362.
 Akbar, 7, 8, 13, 14, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 126, 131, 132, 134, 206, 216, 218, 220, 221, 223, 224, 244, 245, 247, 250, 251, 252, 332, 333, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 375, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 391, 392, 420.
 Akbar Bēg, 262.
 Akbarabad, 365.
 Akhtar Ḥusain Nizāmi, 204.
 Akkad, 215.
 Alahwar, see Lahore.

- 'Alam Yar Jung Bahadur, Nawab, 303.
 'Alamgir, 130, 345, 366, 421, see also Aurangzeb.
 'Alamgir II, 155, 156, 345.
 'Alamgirpūr, 376.
 Alaṭur, see Salatur.
 'Alā-ud-Din (Khilji), (Sultān), 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 409.
 'Alā-ul-Mulk, Malik, 258.
 Alexander, 215, 330.
 Algier, 2.
 'Alī, 225, 244, 294, 365.
 'Alī Abdul-Raziq, n. 327.
 'Alī Akbar Sadullah Khāni, Saiyyed, 421.
 'Alī Asghar Hikmat, H.E., 314.
 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Jurjani, see Jurjani.
 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Aziz ath-Thaqafi, see Thaqafi.
 'Alī b. ('Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Najib) al-Madini, 78 and note.
 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Said bin Hazm, (Abū Muḥammad), see Ibn Hazm.
 'Alī b. al-Muḥassin at-Tanukhi, 181.
 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aban, 400.
 'Alī b. 'Ubaidullāh, 176.
 'Alī Beg, 262, 263.
 'Alī Ḥaidar Ṣāhib Tabatabai, Maulavi, see Tabatabai.
 'Alī Hasan, Sayyid, 200.
 'Alī Hazin 366.
 'Alī Naqī Khān, Nawwab, 370.
 'Alī Qulī Khān i-Zamān 64, 68, 249.
 'Alī Qulī, Ustād, 13.
 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, Nawwāb, 361.
 'Alī Muzzafar Khān, 367.
 'Alī Tabrēzi, Mīr Sayyid, 88.
 'Alī, Sultān, 98.
 Alibagh, (Kolaba), 48.
 Aligarh, 243.
 Aliwardi (Khān, Nawāb), 202, 203.
 Allahabad, 37, 46, 390, 422.
 Allahabad Sirhindi, Shaikh, 57.
 Allāhwardi Khān Mahābat Jang, 377, see also Mahābat Jang.
 Almondār, see Mundhir.
 Alqi, al-, Abū 'Abdallāh, 401.
 Altamash, 132.
 Altamash, Hāji, 381.
 Altikar, Prof. Dr. A. S., 189.
 Alwar, 69, 248.
 Amānat Khān, n. 154., 155.
 Amarkot, 56.
 Amber, 14.
 America, 96, 215.
 'Amidi, (al-), (al-Ḥasan b. Bishr), 3, 4, 5, 6.
 Amin, al-, 118.
 Amin bin 'Abdullāh, Md., 365.
 Amin Jung, Sir, 81.
 Amin, Khawāja Muḥammad, 351.
 Amin, Prof. Aḥmad, n. 357.
 Amina Aḥmad, Miss, 201.
 Amīr, 140.
 Amīr Aḥmad Mināi, Munshī, 362.
 Amīr 'Alī, Dr., 135.
 Amīr 'Alī Shīr Nawāi, 390, 393, see also Nawāi.
 Amir b. Uṭhmān al-Makki, 176.
 Amīr Husaini, Shaikh, 422.
 Amīr Khān, 411.
 Amīrpūr, 412.
 Amrohā, 250, 262.
 Amyot, 144.
 'Anbar Shāh Khān, n. 361.
 Andarab, 382.
 Andrea, Tor, n. 294.
 Anga, see Maham.
 Anis, 44, 45.
 Ankara, 426.
 Annamalaiagar, 411.
 Antuna, Father Melchor Martinez, 207.
 Anwa, Science of, 144.
 'Āqil, n. 74.
 Arab Academy, 1.
 Arab Calendar, 150.
 Arab Christian Culture, 105.
 Arab Spain, 208.
 Arab World, 84, 103.
 Arabia, 111, 136, 142, 151, 227, 349, 423.
 'Arāfat, Mount, 140.
 Archimedes, 96.
 Arcot, 158.
 Arghul Kamli, 189.
 Arghun, Mirza Shāh Husain, 246.
 Arghun, Sultān Maḥmūd, 246.
 'Arīf, 231.
 'Arīf (Muḥammad) Qandhāri, 57, 58, 63, 69, 374.
 Aristotle, 278, 284, n. 301.
 Arjun Bahādur, Mahārāja, 155.
 Arkālī Khān, 257.
 Arnold, T. W. nn. 327 and 331.
 Arqam, al-, Ibn Abil Arqam, 425.
 Arshād Bēg Khān, 171.
 'Arshī, Mr. Imteyāz 'Alī, 360, n. 361, 363, 364, 365.
 Asad, (Shaikh Muḥammad), Mr., 321, 322.
 Āṣaf Jāh (I), n. 154, 303, 304, 408.
 Āṣaf-ud-Dawlā, Nawwāb, 376.

Āsghar, 17.
 Āshraf Naqshbandi, 388.
 'Ashraf, Sh. Muḥammad, 206, 320.
 Ashiq, Muḥammad, 351.
 Ashraf 'Alī Thānawī, Maulānā, 102.
 Ash'ari, al-, nn. 353 & 354, 356 and note, 358 and note, 359.
 Āsī, 366.
 Asia, 56, 227, 256, 379.
 Asia Minor, 345.
 'Askar b. al-Husain, n. 178.
 Aslam Khān, Muḥammad, 155.
 Assam, 201, 227, 419.
 'Aṭa-Allāh Khān, Hākīm, n. 361.
 Atka, Shams-ad-Dīn, Muḥammad 62, 64, 65, 66.
 Atka Khān, 126.
 Atkās, 58, 59.
 'Aufi, al-, (Abu'l-Hasan), 403.
 Augustin, 290.
 Aurangabad, 23, 370, 408.
 Aurangzēb, 14, 15, 130, 131, 203, 222, 224, 308, 332, 333, 334, 336, 339, 341, 345, 352, 376, 378, 392, 393, 408, 414.
 Aus b. Hajar, 412.
 'Aun-ul-Mulk, 8.
 Azād, M. Abul Kalām, 94.
 Azād, Mīr Ghulām 'Alī, n. 154, 155.
 Azād, Mr., M. K., 44, 45.
 'Azam Jāh, 193.
 'Azam Shāh, 128, 130.
 'Azamgadh, 37.
 'Azamud-Dīn, General, Muḥammad, 362.
 Azari, Shaikh, 309, 312.
 'Azeemullāh Khān, 406, 407.
 Azhar, al-, 104.
 'Azimud-Dīn, 342 see also Waliyullah.
 'Azim-ush-Shān, (Prince), 123, 128, 129, 130, 203.
 'Azzam, (Dr. Abdul Wahhab), 305.
 ..
 BAB, 186.
 Bābā Lal, 411.
 Bābar, Hākīm, n. 361.
 Bābur (Bābar), 13, 98, 125, 133, 205, 223, 243, 247, 367, 373, 379, 390.
 Babylon, 215.
 Badakhshān, 374, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 385, 388, 389.
 Badāyūn, 263.
 Badāyūni, 57, 59 and note
 Badhl, 115.
 Badr-ud-Dīn Aḥmad, 417.

Baghdād, 365, 374.
 Bahadur Khān, 68, 69.
 Bahadur Shāh, 123, 128, 129, 345.
 Baha-ud-Dīn A'amili, Maulāna, 421, 422.
 Bahaud-Dīn Naqshband, Khwāja (Muḥammad b. Moḥamed al Bukhārī, n. 342.
 Baha-ud-Dīn Zakariya Multani, Shaikh, 422.
 Bahlol Lodī, 206.
 Bahlul, Sultān, 372.
 Baidawi, 138, 140, 141.
 Bailey, Cyril, n. 330.
 Bairam Khān (-i-khānān), 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 126, 245, 366, 374.
 Bairut, 4.
 Bajali, al-, 'Abdul-Qasim 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān 172.
 Bajaura, 13, 388.
 Bakawal Beg, 243.
 Bakhshi Banu, n. 245.
 Bakkhar, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 252, 253.
 Bakran b. Aḥmad al-Jili, see al-Jili.
 Bal Bahadar Singh, 193.
 Balādhuri, al-. (Aḥmad bin Yaḥya bin Jabir), 52, 53, 55, 415, 426.
 Bālājī Rāo, Peshwā, 155.
 Balbak, 422.
 Balbān, 256, 259.
 Baldaeus, nn. 225 and 230.
 Balḥ, 14, 92, 255, 380.
 Bālram, Rājā, n. 393.
 Baluchistān, n. 53.
 Bankipore, 419.
 Bantam, 229.
 Banu Muḥarib, b. Harb, 112.
 Banū Yathrib, 112.
 Banerjee, Dr. S. K., 101, 205.
 Banerji, Dr. N. V., 196.
 Banerji, Mr. P. N., 205.
 Bannū (Bannāh), 53, 54.
 Banwalī, 250.
 Baqai, Mr. I. H. 195, 315.
 Baqi Baqlani, 65, 66, 68, 70.
 Baqi, M. Md., 247.
 Baqur, Sayyid, 303.
 Baradani, al-, 'Abul-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, 181.
 Barani, Diyaud-Dīn, n. 8, 193.
 Barcelona, 2.
 Barha, Sayyids of, 124, 128, 130.
 Barji Towachi, 253.

Barker, Ernest, n. 330.
 Barni, 258 and note, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263.
 Baroda, 204.
 Başālat Jāh Bahadur, Şahibzāda Nāwāb, n. 16.
 Bargah, 76.
 Bashir Ahmad, Mawlawi, 392.
 Bashir Husain, Mr., n. 361.
 Bashirud-Din, Mawlawi, n. 344.
 Basohli, 89.
 Basra, 374, 397.
 Bassein, (Bassai), 91, 413.
 Battani, al-, 95.
 Bausani, Dr. A., 231.
 Bayana, 64, 65, 66, 69.
 Bayazid Bayat, n. 249.
 Bayley, W. B., 160, 164, 166.
 Bazlur-Rahman, Dr. M., 416.
 Bāz Bahadur, 373.
 Bazmi, 'Abdul-Şhakūr, 375.
 Beas, 56.
 Bedār Bakht, Prince Mirza Muḥammad Babar, 371.
 Beg Barbs, M., 380.
 Beg Ughli, 248.
 Begam Şāhebā, 203.
 Belisarius, 152.
 Bellanikonda, 411.
 Benares, 226, 227, 228, 366.
 Bengal, 99, 100, 132, 170, 201, 227, 228, 254, 345, 377, 378, 416, 419.
 Bennett, R. F., n. 329.
 Berlin, 364, 416.
 Bermekide family, 117.
 Bernier, n. 215, 216, 217, 218, n. 219, 220, 222, 223, n. 225, 227, 229, n. 230.
 Beveridge, A. N., nn. 68, 69, 70, and 71.
 Beveridge, A. S., nn. 13, 56, 59, 60, 61 and 65.
 Beveridge, Henry, nn. 56 and 364.
 Beveridge, Mrs., 391.
 Bhāgwān Dās, Rājā, 383.
 Bhaidachandra, 204.
 Bharat Singh, 193.
 Bhargava, Mr. K. D., 194.
 Bhas, 17.
 Bhashyam Iyengar, Sir, 47.
 Bhata-Ghora, 204.
 Bhatinda, 71.
 Bhatki Cult., 225.
 Bhopal, 407.
 Bidār Bakht, 128.
 Bihar, 134, 202, 203, 205, 206, 345, 416.

Bihzād, 98.
 Bijapūr, 91.
 Bikaner, 70.
 Bilgaram, 377.
 Birbal Kayasth Asthana, Ray, n. 393.
 Birbhum, 202.
 Bird, 413.
 Bīrūnī, al-, 54, 55, 96, n. 136, 137, 138, 142, 144, 145, 146 and note.
 Bisharā al-*khuri*, 104.
 Bisheshwar Nath Rao, Pandit, 205.
 Bistām, 397, 398.
 Balck, R. F., N. 329.
 Blakeslee, Prof., A. F., 184.
 Blochmann, 220, 243, n. 246, 391.
 Bluntschli, J. C., n. 327.
 Boer, T. J. de, n. 264.
 Boghas Keni, 215.
 Bokara, 255.
 Bolan Pass, 54.
 Bombaci, Dr. A., 231.
 Bombay, (Manbai, Manbi, Mumbai, Munbai), 44, 365, 413, 414, 415, 416.

BOOKS REVIEWED :

After Secularism What ? Muḥammad Mazharuddin Şiddiqi, 431.
Ahmad Ghazzālī's Aphorismen Über Die Liebe Herausgegeben Von Helmut Ritter, Istanbul, 325.
British Orientalists—A. J. Arberry, 210.
Glory of Islam—Muḥammad Amin, Bar.-at-Law, 430.
Ibn Tufail And His Philosophical Romance—Dr. 'Omar A. Farrukh, 108.
Islam And The Theory of Interest—Anwar 'Iqbal Quraishi, 107.
Islam in the World—Dr. Zāki 'Alī, 427.
Modern Trends in Islām—H. A. R. Gibb, 428.
New History of the Marathas, Vol. I—G. S. Sardesai, 212.
Our Heritage by Humayun Kabir—The National Information and Publications, Ltd., 324.
Peshwa Baji Rao I and Maratha Expansion—V. G. Dighe, 109.
Philologica Von H. Ritter, Maulana Galaladdin Rumi Und Sein Kreis—Der. Islām, 325.

- Qur'ān and Character Building*—
 Dr. Mir Valiuddin, 325.
Reconstruction by Way of the Soil—
 G. T. Wrench, 431.
Shah Alam II and His Court—Pratul
 C. Gupta, 323.
Short Studies in Indian History
 (Jog Mohan Mahajan Shivaji)—S. R.
 Sharma, 432.
Short Studies in Indian History (Jag
 Mohan Mahajan), The Bahmani
 Kingdom—H. R. Sherwani, 433.
Some Fundamental Aspects of Imam
Ghazzali's Thoughts—M. Umarud-
 din, 211.
Studies, Islamic and Oriental—Ah-
 mad Mian Akhtar, 107.
Tārīkh Nāma-i-Harat by Sayf ibn
 Muḥammad ibn Ya'qub al-Hara-
 wiy—Prof. Zubair Siddiqi, 107.
The Last Peshwa And the English
Commanders 1818—1851—Pratul C.
 Gupta, 108.
Two Queens of Baghdad—Bania Ab-
 bott, 209.
 Borak Khān, 379.
 Borneo, 227.
 Boudeuot, 169.
 Bouthul, Gaston, 266.
 Bowrey, n. 230.
 Bowring, n. 167.
 Boyle, Dr. Robert, W., 185.
 Brahma, 225.
 Briggs, n. 59.
 Brill, E. J. n. 404.
 Britain, (Great), 184, 196, 231.
 British Government, 163.
 Brockelmann, 3, 4, 404.
 Brown, Prof. W., 184.
 Browne, E. G., 231.
 Buckhardt, n. 143, 151.
 Buckle, 268.
 Budh, al-, see Bagan.
 Budikota, n. 167.
 Buhturi, (al-) 3, 5, 6.
 Bukhāri, Imām, nn. 344 & 401.
 Bulandshahr, 253.
 Buqān, al-, (al-Budh), 53, 54.
 Burdawan, 418.
 Burhan 'Ahmad Faruqi, Dr., n. 344.
 Burhanpur, n. 154.
 Burhan-ul-Mulk, (Sa'ādāt Khān), 203, 377
 Burj 'Alī, 64, 68.
 Burnouf, M. Eugene, 143.
 Burns, Robert, 100.
 Burrows. His Excellency Sir Frederick,
 198.
 Bussy, Monsieur, n. 154, 158, 159.
 CÆSAR, (JULIUS), 138, 144, 331.
 Cairo, 4, 6, 103, 104, 267.
 Calcutta, 160, 161, 418.
 Calvin, 290.
 Cambay, 221, 332, 407.
 Cambridge, 6, 38, 416.
 Cannanore, 91.
 Canada, 185, 196.
 Capitation Rates Tribunal, 38.
 Cardozo, 47.
 Carnatic, 158, 159, 168.
 Caussin de Perceval, 135.
 Cathay, 362.
 Cezanne, 201.
 Chaghatai, (Dr. M. A.), 56, 193, 309.
 Chaghatai Prince, 257.
 Champaner, Muḥammadābād, 414.
 Champanur-Pawagadh, 204.
 Champollion-Figeac, 144.
 Champman, Mr. J. A., 363.
 Charduar, 201.
 Chaudhury, Mr. Nani Gopal, 194.
 Chaunsa, battle of, 134.
 Chawtra-i-Subhani, 262.
 Chelsea, 231.
 Chenaran, 336.
 Chero, Maratha, 134.
 Cherry, George, 193.
 Cheul, 48, 49.
 Chicacole, 159.
 China, 196, 255, 257, 362.
 Chingiz (Khān), 255, 256, 262.
 Chitor, 259, 409.
 Chittagong, 202.
 Chittoor, 167, 168.
 Chrines, S. B., n. 327.
 Christ, Jesus, 102, 329.
 Christianity, 218.
 Clark, Stanley, 88.
 Claudius, n. 330.
 Clavering, 420.
 Clove, B., 168.
 Cocanada, 411.
 Coimbatore, 92.
 Colar, See Kolar.
 Colootollah, 161.
 Columbus, 215.
 Comte, 268.
 Conjeeveram, 168.
 Constantine, Emperor, 329.

Constantinople, 4, 5, 215.
 Coote, Sir Eyre, 168, 170, 171.
 Cordova, 368.
 Cornwallis, Lord, 193.
 Coromandel Coast, 187, 225, 228.
 Coryat, n. 215, 217, 221, n. 223.
 Cossimbazar, 228.
 Couch, Sir Richards, 47.
 Courteille, Pavet de, 391.
 Croze, Count Joel de, 316.
 Cuevas, Father Jullian Zarco, 207.
 Cullis, Colonel, 377.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES :

DECCAN

A Farman of Aurāngzeb to a Zamin-
 dar in the Province of Berār, 193
 A letter from the Maratha Agent
 with the Mughal Wazir Safdar
 Jung (1751), 193.
 A Note on some Grants to the Sri
 Sankaracharya-Swami of the Kama-
 kotipitha, 195.
 An Ivory Box of Chānd Bibi, 188.
 Bahauḷlāh and the New Era, 186.
 Barni's Ideal of Muslim Monarchy
 by Dr. Mahdi Husain, 193.
 Calligraphy, (Islamic), 189.
 Calligraphy by Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr,
 307, 308.
 Calligraphy by Yaqūt Must'aṣimi,
 306, 307.
 Correspondence between two Saints
 of Gujrat, by Dr. I. H. Quraishī,
 194.
 Dārā Shikoh's Majma'ul-Bahrain,
 410.
 Divali Festival, History of, 84.
 Fathābād as a Mint Town of the
 Bahmanī Sultān, 187.
 Foundation of the Indo-Islamic State,
 408.
 Hamzā Nāma, Illustration from the,
 87.
 Historical Contents of three Scrap-
 Books or Bayāḍ, by S. H. Askārī,
 194.
 Indian Historical Records Commis-
 sion, 192.
 Jaipur, Architect of, 85.
 Kangra Paintings, History of, 89.
 Maharaja Abhyasingh of Jodhpur and
 Sarbaland of Gujarat, 195.
 Mint Sultanpur, 188.

Muslim Coins from Nausari, 185.
 Nandurbar, Temple at, 84.
 Origin of Bombay, 413.
 Patronage of Telugu Literature by
 the Qūṭb Shāhi Sultāns, 411.
 Portrait of Sultān 'Abdullā Qūṭb
 Shāh, 412.
 Principal Dr. Muhmmad Bazlūr Rah-
 mān, 416.
 Reconversion of Hinduism, 189.
 Shaikh of Āzari, 309.
 Sind University, 409.
 Some Unique Coins found in Bihar,
 187.
 Some unpublished Persian Letters of
 the Hostage Princes, 195.
 Tāhā Hūsain, 86.
 Tārīkh-i-Hāmid Khān by Prof.
 Muhibbul Hasan, 193.
 The Abolition of the Titular Dignity
 of the Nawāb of the Karnatak, 192.
 The Deccan Times, Speeches pub-
 lished in, 305.
 The Foundation of Pakistan, 415.
 The Indo-Arab Cultural Association,
 Bombay, 308.
 The Myth of Rani Padmini and
 'Alā'ud-Din Khiljī, 409.
 • The 'Umdat-ul-Akhhbār by Mr. Sajan
 Lal, 195.
 The Undercurrents of Muslim Culture
 410.
 Wazir 'Alī and Zāmān Shāh, 194.
 We Muslims are one, 305.

DELHI

Afghānistān To-day, 316.
 Anglo-Arabic College, 94.
 Archæology, third meeting of the
 Central Board of, 90.
 Asiatic Countries, a Bibliography of,
 316.
 Central Asian Scholar, 197.

CONFERENCES :

Asian Relations, 313.
 Indian Political Science, 196.
 Inter-Asian, 93.
 Muslim Countries, 93.

DELEGATION :

Afghān, 314.
 Central Asian Republics, 315.
 Egyptian, 313.

Indonesian, 314.
 Iranian, 314.
 Indian Science Congress, 196.
 Indian Students for Iran, 94.
 Indo-Iranian Cultural Society, 93.
 Indo-Iranian Standing Committee, 316.
 Indo-Muslim Saints, Study of, 197.
 Jamiah Milliah Jubilee, 94.
 Manuscripts, a Private Collection of 95.
 Manuscripts and Documents, a Catalogue of 197.
 Middle East and India—Brochure by Dr. I. H. Qureshi, 316.
 Tashkent, a Gift from, 315.
 Urdu Week and Ghalib Day, 197.

FOREIGN

MIDDLE EAST.

Arabic Language, Revival of, 103.
 Christian Arabs, 105.
 Dr. Tāhā Husāin, 104.
 Poetry, 104.
 Pristine Islām, 105.
 University and Higher Education, 103.

SAUDI ARABIA :

Inscriptions in Himyarite, 423.
 Local Publications, 423.
 Madrasah as-Sāhrā, 424.
 The al-Hājj, 425.
 The al-Manhal, 424.
 The Jaridah al-Madinah, 424.
 Unique Manuscripts, 423.

SPAIN :

Hispano—Moresque Pottery in Scotland 207.
 Spanish Orientalists in the Spanish Civil War, 206.

TURKEY :

Ankara, the Hajj pilgrims from, 426.
 Oriental Research, 426.

YAMAN :

Al-Imān the monthly Government Gazette, 425.

Ansāb al-Ashraf (Baladhuri's), MS. of, 426.
 Education being modernised, 425.
 Jaziratul-Arab (Hamdani's), MS. of, 425.
 Manuscripts (brought by Dr. Hamidullah), 425.
 Murawa'ah, the Library in, 426.
 U.N.O. the membership of, 425.

HYDERABAD

'Aiwān—Urdu Weekly, 304.
 Dāirat al-Ma'arif, 83.
 Foreign Scientists in Hyderabad, 104.
 Government Translation Bureau, the work of, 304.
 Hyderabad Academy, 80.
 Hyderabad Educational Conference, 83.
 Hyderabad Legislative Assembly, Inauguration of, 185.
 Idara-e-Adabiyāt-e-Urdu, 84.
 Lunar Aurorae, Sky and Telescope, 185.
 New Weeklies and Monthlies, 408.
 Nizam College Diamond Jubilee, 185.
 Persian and Arabic Diaries, 406.
 Rāhat Afzā Tārikh, 301.
 Rainbow—English Weekly, 305.
 Research Works in the Osmania University, 80.
 Secunderabad, Intermediate College for 304.
 Subras, 408.
 The Magazine of the Graduates of the Osmania University, 407.
 The Rainbow, 407.
 University Convocation, 184.

NORTH EASTERN INDIA.

Assam Provincial Museum—A four hundred year old Coin, 201.
 Baha-ud-Din 'Āmili's unpublished works, 421.
 Bengalese Poetry—Qādi Nadhr-ul-Islām, 98.
 Calcutta University Professor—Mahfuz-ul-Haq, 97.
 Dacca—(Shifaul Mulk) Hakim Habībūr Rahmān Khān Akhunsādā, 317.

Dacca University—a Doctorate of Philosophy, 319.

Dacca University Convocation, 198.

Dacca, Tafsir Class at, 320.

Government of Bengal—Award of Pensions to Authors, 202.

Hindustani Academy in Bihar, 420.

Historical Society, U.P., 101.

Indian Arts, Exhibition of, in the Royal Academy of London, 420.

Indian History Congress—Patna, 202.

Indo-Iranian Society—Calcutta, 202.

Islam's Contribution to Science, 95.

Islam's Influence on Hinduism, *Ṣidq*, 102.

Islamia University in Bengal, 100.

Islamic Cultural Centre in London, 95, 97.

Muslim Artists Exhibition—Calcutta, 200.

Nadwat-ul-'Ulema, Lucknow, *Maṣḥā-hir Ahl-i-'Ilm ki Muḥsin Kita-bin*, 102.

Pakistan, the Dominion of, 416.

Patna University Convocation, 205.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal—Ibn Hazm and his *Jamharat-ul-Ansāb* by Mr. Mas'ūd Ḥasan, 419.

The *Ma'ārif* ('Āzamgarh)—*Fatawa-ʿĀlamgirī*, 421.

Urdu Language—Eastern Pakistan, 199.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA.

PUBLICATIONS :

'*Ārafāt*—*Shaiḥ* Muḥammad Asad, Meet Mr. Jinnah, A. A. Raoof, 321.

Muslim Conduct of State—Dr. M. Ḥamidullāh, 206.

Muslim Contribution to Science and Culture—M. 'Abdur Raḥmān *Khān*, 321.

Muslim Thought and its Source—Syed Muzaffar-ud-Dīn Nadvī, 321.

Cunningham, 52, 54.

DABBI, AD-, MUḤAMMAD, n. 176.

Dabhol, 49.

Dacca, 202.

Dagh, (Nawab Mirza *Khān*), (Nawab Faṣīh-ul-Mulk Bahādur), 16, n. 362.

Dahier, 415.

Daibul, 415.

Damascus, 1, 404.

Damian, John, 405.

Damodhar Mahadeo Hingane, 193.

Danishmand *Khān*, 217.

Danishsaraay-i-'*Ālī*, 231.

Dār al-Funūn, 231.

Dāra (*Shikōh*), 14, 15, 98, 128, 152, 217, 410, 411.

Darbhangā, 203.

Darwin, Sir, C. G., 184.

Dāud, 132.

Dāud 'Alī *Khān*, 194.

Dāudpota, nn. 247, 249, and 274, 409.

Daulat *Khān*, 195.

Daulat *Shāh*, 312.

Daunou, nn. 144 and 146.

Dawudi, ad-, Abū Sa'īd Bishr b. Al-Ḥasān, 181.

Daya Ram Kul (Tutā), 376, see also Tuta De Laet, see Laet.

Deccan, 14, 16, n. 154, 155, 158, 159.

Deccan States, 9.

Deguignes, M., n. 136.

Delhi, 8, 43, 44, 45, 59, 64, 65, 70, 90, 91, 93, 94, 128, 133, 195, 197, 201, 204, 228, 244, 250, 254, 256, 257, 258, 260, 335, 337, 344, 345, 352, 362, 391.

Delhi Sultanate, 256, 257, 260, 262, 345, 381, 382, 384,

Derenbourg, H., 207.

Descartes, 278.

Dhahābi, adh-, 54.

Dhan Singh (*Kāshī*), Ray, n. 393.

Dhakeshwar, G., 81, 82.

Dharmaut, battle of, 14, 130.

Dhul-Fiḡār *Khān*, 130.

Denning, Dr. W. Edwards, 184.

Dilāwar *Khān*, Bahadur, 155.

Din Muḥammad, Mufti, 320.

Dinghāh J. Irani, 231.

Dipalpūr, 243, 253, 256, 260, 261.

Diya-ud-Dīn Barni, 101.

Djavadat Effendi, nn. 274 and 276.

Don Gilianes Noronha, see Noronha.

Dorn, Dr., 360, n. 372.

Dowager Queen, 226.

Du Jarric, 216.

Dua *Khān*, 257, 258.

Dunedin, Lord, 38.

Dunthorne, 95.

Dupleix, 155, 157, 159.
Durgadas, 336, 337, 338, 339.
Dutch East India Company, 216.
Dutt, Hurree Hur, 160.
Dutt, Tarachand, 161.
Dutta, Satyen (dranath), 99.
Dutta, Shudhindea, 200.
Dwarka Nath Das, Rai Bahadur, 201.

EAST AFRICA, 227.
East India Company, 159, 228.
East Indies, 228.
Edgeley, Mr. Justice, 92.
Edris bin Sayyid Mubarak, 407.
Egypt, 103, 104, 105, 215, 257, 425.
Eliya Madey, 104.
Elizabeth, 379.
Elliot, r. 9, 54, nn. 249, 253, 369, 370,
374, 375, 376.
Ellora, 201.
Ellore, 159, 204.
Elmer, 405.
Enan, (Muhammad 'Abdullāh), nn. 273
and 276.
England, 37, 229, 235, 379.
Epigoni, 78.
Epthalikes, 54.
Ethe, Dr., n. 369.
Ethiopia, 227.
Euclid, 95.
Euphrates, 321, 400.
Europe, 96, 215, 234, 257.
Eyries, nn. 143 and 151.
Eyrout, Pere, 104.

Fadl, 115.
Fadl b. Rabi', 116.
Fadl-i-Haque, Mawlana, n. 362.
Fadlullāh Musharraf, 367.
Fakhr al-Din al-Razi, 359, and note.
Fakhr Mudabbir, 133.
Fakhri Sultān Muhammad b. 'Āmiri, 309.
Fakhr-ud-Daulāh, 203.
Fakhr-ud-Din, Hadrat Shāh, 197.
Fakhr-ud-Din Juna, Malik, 259.
Fānī, 17.
Fānī (Mīr Nawāī) see Nawāī.
Faqr Muhammad, 168.
Fārābī, al-, 285.
Farang, 124, 386.
Farghānī, al-, 284, 289, 291.

Farhād Mu'izi, 94.
Faridun, 384.
Farishṭa, see Firishṭa.
Fārisī, al-, (Abul Husain Muḥammad b.
al-Qāsim), 398.
Farmer, (Dr. H. G.), nn. 114 and 115.
Farrukh Aḥmad, 200.
Farrukh Siyar, 128, 129, 197, 203, 345,
369, 375.
Fāruq, King, 97.
Faṣāḥat Jung Bahadur, Nawab, see Jalil.
Faṣīḥ-ul-Mulk Bahadur, Nawab, see
Dāgh.
Fath Muḥammad, n. 167.
Fatehpur, (Sikri), 14, 252.
Fath Khān, Sultān, (Maḥmud Bigarraḥ),
413.
Fath Muḥammad, 169.
Fatḥullah (Khān, Mir), Yusuf Muḥam-
mad Khān, 369, 384.
Fātimah, 74.
Fayd 'Alī, 373.
Fayd-Allah Khān, Nawwab, 361, 374,
377.
Fāzil Khān, 412.
Fazl-ur-Rahman, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22.
Federici, Calsen, 217.
Feisal, Emir, 97.
Ferhad Moezzi, Mr. G., see Farhad.
Ferreiro, 265.
Fidai Khān, 126, 127.
Finch, n. 215, 223, 226.
Firishṭa, 57, 59, n. 247, 258, 262, 375,
409.
Firōz (Shāh) Tughluq, 131, 367, 409.
Firūz b. Sultān Husain, Sultān, 36.
Firūz Jang, ('Imād-ul-Mulk Ghāzi-ud-
Din), 155, 157, 370.
Firuzabadi, 138, 139, 141.
Fitch, n. 215, 216, 217, n. 224, 228, n.
230.
Fleming, Sir, Arthur, 184.
Flint, Robert, n. 264.
Forrest, nn. 169, and 171.
Foster, n. 217.
Fox, Prof., H. M., 184.
France, 185, 196, 220, 226.
Francis, 420.
French Army, 159.
French Government, 159.
Fry, C. B., 47.
Fryer, nn. 215 and 230.
Fuad 'Abdul Bāqī, Muḥammad, n. 352.
Fulad, Mirza, 383.

- GABRIEL, 395, 397.
 Gadai Kambu, Shaikh, 61, 63, 67, 70.
 Gaekwar, Raja, 165.
 Gagnier, 140.
 Galat Khān, 412.
 Galvos, Colonel, (Lope), 1, 2.
 Ganga Period, 204.
 Gangadhara Kavi, Addanki, 411.
 Ganges, 133, 202, 203, 225, 228, 260.
 Ganjaba (Ganjawa), 249.
 Gardizi, 54, 55.
 Garh Mukteshwar, 94.
 Garhwal, 89.
 Garmsir, 388.
 Geber, see Jaber.
 Genoa, 201, 215.
 George VI, H. M. the King, 95.
 Germany, 404.
 Gēsū (Khān), Mir, 243, 244, 245, 246, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253.
 Gēsūpūr, 253.
Ghalib (Mirzā), 363, and note.
 Ghāmānd Chand Katōch, 89.
 Gharghat Singh, 89.
Ghaus, Mr. Muḥammad, 408.
 Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān, Hon'ble Mr., 417.
Ghazi Khān, 125.
Ghāzi Malik, 263.
Ghazi Mujli, 9.
Ghazni, 8, 255, 256.
Ghāzzali (al), Imām, n. 175, 267, 272, 278, 285, 286, 351, 359.
Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Tughluq, 8.
Ghulām al-Sayyidain, n. 361.
Ghulām Husain Khān, 206.
Ghulām Husain Sayyid, 155.
Ghulām Muḥammad Bahadur, Haji, 361.
Ghūr, 372.
 Gibb, Prof. (H. A. R.), 97, 206, 331 and note.
 Gierke, Otto, n. 331.
 Gifford, 217.
 Giotto, 201.
 Girdhari, 85.
 Goa, 48, 216.
 Gode, Mr. P. K., 84, 85.
 Godehu, 159.
 Godhra, 414.
 Goetz, Dr. Herman, 88, 89, 90, 188, 204, 412.
 Gokhale, Mr. D. V., 193.
 Goldziher, Ignaz, n. 328.
 Golius, n. 135.
 Gomal, 53, 54.
 Govardhan Chand, 89.
 Greek, 52, 59.
 Guerreiro, 216, n. 221.
 Guillaume, Prof. Alfred, n. 279, 319.
 Gujerat, 56, 71, 204, 227, 288, 338, 374, 381, 414.
 Gul Andām, 366.
 Gulchin (-i-Gilani), 231, 232, 234, 235, 236.
 Gulbadan (Begum), 56, 58.
 Guntur, 159.
 Gupta, Mr. P. C., 420.
 Gupta, Mr. Raj Narain, 316.
 Gwalior, 407.
 Gwyer, Sir Maurice, 39, 46.
 HAARHOFF, T. J., n. 330.
 Habib, Prof., 257, 262, 263.
 Habibullāh, Shāh, n. 341.
 Habibur Rahmān Khān Akhunzāda, (Shifāu'l Mulk), Hakim, 317, 318.
 Habibur Rahmān Khān Shirwānī, Nawāb Ṣadar Yār Jung Bahādur Dr. 'Allāmā, 319.
 Hadarmard, Prof. Jacques, 185.
 Hadramaut, Coast, 112.
 Hāfiz, 17.
 Hāfiz Ibrāhīm, 104.
 Hāfz b. 'Abdar-Rahmān, 183.
 Haibat Jung, Nawāb, 202, 203, 377.
 Haibat Khān, 372.
 Haider (Hyder) 'Alī Khān, Nawāb, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 193.
 Haidar Quli Khān, 125.
 Haitham al-, b. 'Adi, n. 113.
 Hāji Begum, 246, 247.
 Hāji Khalifā, 137, 145, 146.
 Hājipur, 205, 246.
 Hājāj, al-, n. 176, 415.
 Hājjiu'd-Dabir, 409.
 Hakim, al-, 6.
Hakim Humam, 385, 386.
Hakim (Mirza), 246, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386.
Hakim Zanbil, 65.
 Halatura, see Salatura.
 Haldane, 47.
 Halfai, al-, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, 181.
 Hāli, 17.
 Halim, Dr. A., 204.
 Hallāj, (al-), 174, 285, 298.
 Hamath, 4.
 Hamdānī, al-, Dr. H. F., 308.
 Hāmīd 'Alī Khān Bahādur, Nawāb, 362, 363, 365.
 Hāmīd Khān Bahādur, Nawwāb, 370.

- Hamīd Khān, 193.
 Hamīd, Mullā, 421.
 Hamīdullāh, Dr. M., 81, 82, 83, 84, 206,
 n. 327, 423, 425, 426.
 Hammad b. Salāmāh, 394.
 Hannā, Dr. W. F., 185.
 Haram Bēgām, 381, 382.
 Harappa, 91.
 Harawī, (al-), 284, 295, 296.
 Hari Kavi, 84.
 Harikrishna, Pandit, 202.
 Harraqāni, al-. Abul-Husan, 181.
 Harrovitz, Dr., 244 n. 254.
 Hārūn (ar-Rashīd), (al-), 114, 116, 117,
 118, 122.
 Harvey, Prof. E. N., 184.
 Hasan, 255.
 Hasan, al-, 183.
 Hasan, al-, b. 'Alī b. Salam, 398.
 Hasan, al-, b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḥil al-
 Kirmani, 397.
 Hasan, al-, b. 'Alawaihi, 176.
 Hasan b. 'Abdullāh, 115.
 Hasan 'Askari, Khān, Ṣāḥeb S., 205.
 Hasan Murtaza, 205.
 Hasan Nizāmī, Hazrat Khwājā, 319.
 Hasanpur, 124, 130.
 Hastings (Warren), (Lord), 194, 420.
 Hawkins, n. 215, 216, 217, n. 220, 221,
 224, 229.
 Hayāt 'Alī, Shaikh, n. 393.
 Hazen, al-, 95, 96.
 Hājāz, 382.
 Hegel, 290.
 Helen, 114.
 Hemu, 13, 56, 59, 60, 126.
 Hindu, see Indus.
 Henry, VIII, 229.
 Herat, n. 75, 386.
 Herbert, n. 215.
 Herzberg, G., 186.
 Hibat 'Allāh b. Muḥammad, 176.
 Hidāyatullāh, Mr. Ghulām Husain, 409.
 Hidayet Husain, n. 341.
 Hifnī Nasif, Malak, 105.
 Hijāba, 147.
 Hijāz, (al-), 116, 343, 424, 425.
 Hijāz Railway, 425.
 Hījrā, year of, 147, 152, 153.
 Hikmat, H.E. 'Alī Aṣghar, 314.
 Hindukush, 54, 382, 387.
 Hippalus, 215.
 Hiri, al-, Said b. Ismā'il, n. 174.
 Hisār, 382.
 Hisār Feruzā, 245.
 Hishām al-Fauti, 354.
 Hittite inscriptions, 215.
 Hitti, Prof. Phillip K., 104, 404.
 Holkar, Malhar Rao, 155.
 Holmes, (Mr. Justice), 43, 47.
 Holtom, D. C., n. 330.
 Hormuz, 229.
 Hossain, Dr. S. M. 320.
 Howarth, n. 257.
 Hūd, Prophet, 112.
 Hudaīda, 425, 426.
 Hudhaifa, 140.
 Hugli, 222.
 Hujwiri, n. 297.
 Humāyūn, 9, 56, 57, 58, 88, 134, 245,
 252, 379.
 Humbeston, Col., 167.
 Hurmuz, 374.
 Hussain, 225.
 Husain 'Abdullāh Basalamah, 423.
 Husain, al-, 111, 174, 183.
 Husain 'Alī Khān, Sayyid, 129, 130.
 Husain Haikal, 105.
 Husain Qulī Khān, 246.
 Husain Shāh Sharqī, Sultān, 204.
 Husain Bayiqra, Sultān, 309.
 Husaini, Maulvi, 387, 388.
 Husaini, Sultān, 388.
 Husaini Bayqara, Sultān, (Abul Ghari),
 nn. 391 & 392.
 Hutai'a, al-, 5.
 Hwen Thsang, 52, 53, 54.
 Hydari, Sir Akbar, 412.
 Hyder Jang, n. 154.
 Hyderabad, 16, 17, 22, 36, 129, 159, 407,
 424.
 IBN 'ABBĀS, 176, 425.
 Ibn 'Abd-Rabbihī, n. 118.
 Ibn Aḥmad, n. 176.
 Ibn Al-Aṭhīr, n. 73, 141.
 Ibn al-Baitār, 96.
 Ibn al-Haithām, 95.
 Ibn al-Hussain, 73.
 Ibn al-'Imād, n. 5.
 Ibn al-Kalbi, ('Abul-Mundhir), 111, 112.
 Ibn al-Mubārak, 183.
 Ibn al-Mutazz, 114.
 Ibn al-Qaddah, 115.
 Ibn 'Asākir, n. 358.
 Ibn az-Zayyat, 284.
 Ibn az-Zubair, n. 176.
 Ibn Bakawayh, 76, 181.
 Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, 8, 84, 133.

- Ibn Dahqān, 284, 292.
 Ibn Duraid (Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Hasan b. Duraid), 111.
 Ibn Fīrnās, (Abū al-Qasīm), 404, 405.
 Ibn Ḥabīb, 112, 177, 181, 400.
 Ibn Ḥaiyān, 207.
 Ibn Hajar, Imām, n. 344.
 Ibn Ḥasan, Dr. 58, 59.
 Ibn Ḥātim, 179.
 Ibn Ḥazm, 'Alī bin Aḥmad bin Sa'īd, (Abū Muḥammad), 419.
 Ibn-Ishāq, 138, 139.
 Ibn-Jama'a, n. 328.
 Ibn-Khafif, 177.
 Ibn-Khaldūn, 207, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 275, 277, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 410.
 Ibn-Khallikān, 4.
 Ibn-Mas'ūd, 394, 395.
 Ibn Mathi al-Ḥimyarī, n. 395.
 Ibn Miskawayh, 279, 285.
 Ibn (-i-) Muqla, 6, 189, 365.
 Ibn Nadīm, 119.
 Ibn Nāṣir, 396, 397, 398.
 Ibn Ruṣhd, 267, 425.
 Ibn Ṣab'in, 269, 285.
 Ibn Sa'd, nn. 344, & 396.
 Ibn Salīm, 178.
 Ibn Sa'ūd, King, 424.
 Ibn Sina, 279, 281, 285.
 Ibn Tāhir, 74.
 Ibn 'Uqail, 74, 178, 396, 401, 402.
 Ibn-Zafar, 177.
 Ibn-ul-'Arabī, 283, 285, 289, 294, 295.
 Ibn-ul-Farīd, 285, 291.
 Ibn-ul-'Umaid, Muḥammad Rukn-ud-Dīn Samarqandī, 190.
 Ibrāhīm, 104.
 Ibrāhīm I, 380.
 Ibrāhīm (b. al-Mahdī), 115, 116.
 Ibrāhīm Batnī, 373.
 Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā, 134.
 Ibrāhīm Khān, 132, 206.
 Ibrāhīm Lodī, 133, 243.
 Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, 382.
 Ibrāhīm Narnaulī, 250.
 Ibrāhīm (Qutb Shāh), 411, 412.
 Iḥṣhām-ud-Dīn, Moulvi, 409.
 Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā, 285.
 Il-Khāns, 257.
 Iltutmish, 255, 256.
 'Imād-ul-Mulk Ghāzi-ud-Dīn Khān (Fīrūz Jang), 156, 157.
 Imām Qulī, 386.
 Imām-i-Rabbānī, 205.
 Imteyaz 'Alī 'Arshī, see 'Arshī.
 Inder Singh (Rathor), 335, 337.
 India, 1, 8, 16, 17, 37, 40, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58, 60, 67, 71, 142, 159, 200, 206, 215, 216, 218, 221, 223, 224, 227, 228, 244, 245, 255, 256, 257, 258, 260, 261, 345, 352, 379, 388.
 Indian Union, 421.
 Indo-Muslim History, 192, 197.
 Indonesia, 305.
 Indore, 407.
 Indus (Hendu), 53, 249, 258, 384.
 Indus Valley, 115.
 Iqbāl, 263.
 Iqbāl, (Dr.) 17, 28, 37, 292, 313, 415, 418, 419.
 Iqbāl, (Aḥmad, Sir), 47.
 Iqbālmandah, 263.
 'Irān, 94, 303.
 'Irāq, 103, 104, 118, 386.
 Ireland, 36.
 Irvine, nn. 217, and 218.
 'Isā 'Alī-Yaqṭivī, 365.
 'Isā b. Masargis, 183.
 'Isā Tarkhān, Mīrzā, 246, 247.
 Iṣṣpāhānī, al-, n. 118, 119, 122.
 Ishāq al-Mausili, 116, 117.
 Ishāq, Mr. Muḥammad, 319, 320.
 Ishāque, Dr. M., 231.
 Iskandar Beg, 246.
 Islām Shāh, 371, 373.
 Islamgarh, 193.
 Islamic Jurisprudence, 206.
 Islamic Polity, 340.
 Islamic States, 327, 328.
 Islamtek, 193.
 Ismā'el, 135.
 Ismā'il Gudharwī, Mawlānā, n. 340.
 Ismā'il Qulī Khān, 246.
 Ismā'il, Shāh, 383.
 Iṣṣpāhan, 422.
 Iṣṣpāhani, Sayyid, 202.
 Israelite State, 327.
 Israfil, 397.
 Issykkul, Lake, 54.
 Istanbul, 4, 5, 426.
 Isver Sen, 89, 90.
 I'tmād Khān, 414.
 'Itrāt Ḥusain Zubairi, Dr. 100, 200, 201.

- JĀBIR, 35.
Jābir Ibn Ḥayyān, 96.
Jacob, n. 74.
Jadhimah (al-Abrāsh), 74, and note.
Jadu Nath Sarkar, n. 15.
Ja'far, 75.
Ja'far (Bermekide), 117.
Ja'far 'Alī Khān, 362.
Ja'far Āṣāf Khān, Mirzā, 375.
Ja'far (b. Muḥammad) al-Khuldi, see Khuldi.
Ja'far Khān, 203.
Ja'far-i-Ṣādiq, Imām, 364.
Jaffa, 104.
Ja'fri, Dr. S. N. A., 37, 44.
Jagannath, 225, 227.
Jahān Arā (Begam), 365, 366.
Jahān Shāh, (Prince), 123, 130.
Jahāndār Shāh, 123, 129, 345.
Jahāngir, 14, 126, 130, 134, 202, 205, 217, 221, 224, 226, 253, 332, 365, 369, 371, 376, 386, 420.
Jahāngir Qūlī Khān, Nawwāb, 375.
Jai Singh, Raja, 85, 217.
Jaipur, 85, 161, 204.
Jaisalmir, 248.
Jajall, 128, 130.
Jajnagar, 206.
Jalāl, 134.
Jalāl Khān, 9.
Jalāl Roshania, 384.
Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 138, 141.
Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khiljī, 256, 257.
Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khwarizm Shāh, 255.
Jalāluddīn Mas'ūd, 252, 253.
Jalāluddīn Muḥammad Akbar, see Akbar.
Jalāluddīn Muḥammad, Maulana, 421.
Jalesar, 65.
Jalil, (Ḥāfiz Jalil Ḥasan), (Nawab Fāṣahat Jung Bahadūr), 16.
Jāmi, 292, 422.
Jāmīl, Mulla Muḥammad, 421.
Jamuna, 65.
Jān Bābā, 247, see also Khān Bābā.
Jān Bābā Tarkhān, 252.
Jani Beg, 13, 247.
Janki Ram Raja, 202.
Janse (Ḥasan), see Ḥasan.
Jaran, 258.
Jarret, 391.
Jarrie, Du, n. 221.
Jaseemuddin, 99.
Jaswant Singh Maharaja, 14, 130, 322, 333, 334, 335, 336.
Jatasamkara Temple, 84.
Jaunpur, 46, 204.
Java, 227.
Jawa'ib Press, 4.
Jawhiri, 138, 139, 140, 141.
Jawnzee (Hussain), see Husain.
Jayakar, Mr. M. B., 39.
Jellinck, Georg, n. 329.
Jerusalem, 146.
Jesuit Father, 221.
Jesuits, n. 215, 218, n. 230.
Jesus, 395.
Jhajhar, 245, 378.
Jhalawar, 246.
Jhelum, 126, 257, 387.
Jidda, 374, 425.
Jigar, 17.
Jilani, Ghulām, 366.
Jili, (al-, Bakran b. Aḥmad), 181, n. 290.
Jinnah, Mr. M.A., (Qāed-i-A'zām), 93, 94, 318, 415, 417, 418.
Jodhpur, 205.
Jones, Sir Harold Spencer, 184.
Jonson, Ben, n. 217.
Joseph, 174.
Josephus, Flavius, 327, 329, and note.
Jōsh, 17.
Jourdain, nn. 227, and 230.
Jubalpore, 88.
Jud Mts., 257.
Jullundhur, 257, 258.
Juna, Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, 259.
Junaid, al-, Shaiḫ (b. Muḥammad), 172, 174, 297, 396, 398, 400.
Jundub, 176.
Jurjan, 5, 6.
Jurjani, al-, Abul-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, 3, 5, 6.
Jurjani, al-, as-Sayyid ash-Shārif, n. 355.
Juwaini, n. 256.
KA'B, 395.
Kabul, 53, 54, 60, 68, 223, 243, 244, 245, 246, 374, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 388, 390, 391.
Kachhi, 54.
Kagziguda, 408.
Kahmard, 382.
Kaiqubad, 202.
Kaithar, 377.
Kālān (Beg), Khawājā, 63, 390.
Kalb 'Alī Khān, Nawwāb, 362 and note, 366, 368.
Kalidas, 17.
Kalimullāh, Ḥaḍraṭ Shāh, 197.

- Kalimullāh Husain, Sayyid, 81.
 Kalimullāh, Qārī, S. 83.
 Kalkapur Sarawani, 9.
 Kalyān, Rai, 70.
 Kām Bakhsh, 129.
 Kamāluddīn, Qādri, 155.
 Kāmgar Husain, 376.
 Kāmil Māh (Shāh), 370.
 Kāmran, (Mirzā), (Prince), 98, 244, 245, 367, 381.
 Kamwār Khān, 369.
 Kāngra Paintings, 89.
 Kanhaiya Lall, Mr. Justice, 41.
 Kanak, 263, see also Kapak.
 Kanua, battle of, 13.
 Kanwata, 243.
 Kapak, 263.
 Kapisa, 54.
 Karachi, 415.
 Karimullāh Khān, Nawwāb, 374.
 Karkarker, Mr., 92.
 Karnatak, 205.
 Kashghar, 381.
 Kashi, Ray Dhan Singh, n. 393.
 Kashmir, 52, 55, 126, 361, 384, 388.
 Kassimkonda, 411.
 Kaus, Mr. Hurmuz, 188.
 Keats, 100.
 Keel, Sir Alexander, 161.
 Kern, Fritz, n. 327, 329 and note.
 Kesho Rao, Raja, 155.
 Kṛaṣi Khān, n. 15, 124, 376, 413, 414.
 Khaizurān, 115.
 Khakar, 263.
 Khālīd b. al-Walīd, n. 74, 372.
 Khalīf Husain, 87.
 Khalīl Jibrān, 105.
 Khalīl Matrān, 104.
 Khalīl-ur-Rahmān Ridvi, Hakīm, 422.
 Khālīq Ahmad Nizāmi, Mr., 197.
 Khān 'Ālam (Dakhini), 128.
 Khān Bābā, 247.
 Khān Bakhsh, 128.
 Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltash, n. 154.
 Khānūm, 381, 382.
 Khānzādā Muḥammad, 246.
 Kharraz, 285.
 Khata, 124.
 Khātīr, al-, Abū 'Alī al-Qāsim b. 'Alī, 6.
 Khattri, 54.
 Khawaf, n. 154.
 Khawāsā Khān, 9.
 Khazini, al-, 96.
 Khelat, 407.
 Khidr, al-, 399.
 Khodaband, 381.
 Khokhars, 255, 256, 257.
 Khuldābād, 408.
 Khuldī, al-, Jafar (b. Muḥammad), 172, 177, 396.
 Khulm, 380.
 Khurāsān, 53, n. 154, 243, 386.
 Khurrānī, Prince, 217.
 Khurshīd 'Alī, Mr., 303, 304.
 Khusrau, (Amir), 17, 258, 262, 263.
 Khusrau (Shāh), 101, 224.
 Khusru Khān, 8.
 Khwājā Mu'in-ud-Dīn Chishtī of Ajmer, 8.
 Khwārizm Shāh, Jalāluddīn, 255.
 Kifā (Syria), 368.
 Kilab, 135.
 Kili, 259.
 Kinana tribe, 138.
 Kirat Singh, Raja, 217.
 Kirmān Mirzā, 65.
 Kishen Rao, 167.
 Kol (Aligarh), 65, 244, 250, 251, 252, 253, see also Aligarh.
 Kolaba, 48.
 Kolar, 167, 169, 171.
 Komatgi, 91.
 Kondaveedu, 411.
 Konkan, 49.
 Köprulu, Dr. Faut, 426.
 Kosi, 377.
 Kremer, A. Vön, 265 and note, 268.
 Krenkow, Dr. F., 319, n. 344.
 Kularjak, 55.
 Kunhan Raja, Dr. C. 85.
 Kurram Valley, 53.
 Kursi, 388.
 LAET, DE, 216, 219, n. 230.
 Lahawur, see Lahore.
 Laheri, 249.
 Lahor, see Lahore.
 Lahore, (Alahwar, Lahawur, Lahor, Lahorkot, Lahur, Lavor, Loharin, Loharkot, Lohkot, Lohur, and Luhur), 52, 53, 54, 55, 68, 89, 101, 123, 129, 205, 221, 222, 245, 250, 256, 258, 335, 388, 416.
 Lājin-al-Ṭarāblasi, 368.
 Lakhnauti, 131.
 Lakshminarayana, V., 204.
 Lal, Dr. K. S., 409.
 Lancaster, nn. 227 and 230.
 Lane, n. 180.

- Lang Sarban, 61.
 Lashkar Khān, Sayyid, (Rukn-ud-Daulah Nāṣir Jang), 155, 156, 158, 159, see also Nāṣir Jang.
 Lāval, (Pyrard de), see Pyrard.
 Lavor, see Lahore.
 Lazarus, 201.
 Lebanon, 103, 104, 308.
 Levi-Provenca, E., 207.
 Library,
 Allahabad University, nn. 360 & 376.
 Aligarh Muslim University, n. 360.
 Al-Islāh (Patna), 98.
 Arsenal, 142.
 Āṣafia, 155, 189, 305.
 Bankipur, n. 367.
 Berlin, 364.
 Bodleian, 364, 371.
 Cambridge University, 4.
 Escorial, 207.
 Habibganj, n. 360.
 Hamidiyyā (Istanbul), 4.
 Imperial (Calcutta), 363.
 India Office, n. 368.
 Kapurthala State, 372.
 Khuda Bakhsh, 206.
 Madinah, 423.
 Oriental Public, n. 360, 419.
 Pir Muḥammad Shāh, 191.
 Punjab University, 390.
 Rampur State, 360, 371, 419.
 Ṣaḍr Yār Jung, n. 254.
 Socrates, n. 360.
 Tonk State, 88.
 Linschooten, 216, n. 230.
 Lisbon, 1, 2.
 Logos Doctrine, 288.
 Lohari (Bandar), 248 and note.
 Loharin, see Lahore.
 Lohārkōt, see Lahore.
 Lohkōt, see Lahore.
 London, 231, 232, 426.
 Lopes, (David de Melo), 1, 2.
 Lord, 226 and note, n. 230.
 Lucknow, 361, 388.
 Luhur, see Lahore.
 Luṭfullāh, 85.
 Luṭfullāh Khān-i-Ṣādiq, Nawwāb, 369.
 Macedonians, 144.
 MacLagan, n. 221.
 Macmillan, 404.
 Macnaughton, Sir Francis, 161.
 Madras, 217.
 Maharaja Arjun Bahadur, 155.
 Madrid, 1.
 Madura, 92.
 Mahabalipuram, 91.
 Mahabat Jung, 377.
 Mahābat Khān, 126.
 Maham Anga, 60, 64, 65, 66, 71.
 Mahdī, al-, 114, 115, 425.
 Mahdī Khawāja, 125.
 Mahdī Mir Fakhrai, 231.
 Mahfuz -ul-Ḥaq, 97, 98, n. 367.
 Mahmood, Mr., Justice, 47.
 Mahmūd, 368.
 Mahmūd (Arghun, Sultān), 246, 247, 248, 249, 250.
 Mahmūd Bigarah, (Sultān Fath Khān), 413.
 Mahmūd Ghaznī, (Sultān), 101, 369.
 Mahmūd Ḥasan, Dr., 198.
 Mahmūd Khalil, Sultān, 85.
 Mahmūd, (Shāikh), 340.
 Mahmudabad, 37.
 Mahmūd-al-Ḥasan, Mr., 363.
 Mahra, 112.
 Maikash, (Ṣāhibzāda Muḥammad 'Alī), 24, 27, 28, 31.
 Maimun, 399.
 Maitland, F. W., n. 331.
 Majd ad-Din Mir Fakhrai, see Gulchīn.
 Majd al-Mulk, 6.
 Majnūn Khān, 70.
 Makhdūm (Muḥi-ud-Dīn), 24, 32, 33, 34, 35.
 Makhdūm Sharaf-ud-Dīn, 206.
 Maknūna, 115.
 Makrān, 406 see also Mukrān.
 Malabar Coast, 167, 171, 216.
 Malaprop, Mrs., 22.
 Malcolm, Col., 168.
 Malhar Rao Holkar, 155.
 Malhotra, Mr. Raj Kumar, n. 215.
 Malik, n. 74, 75.
 Malik 'Alā-ul-Mulk, 258.
 Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn Jūna, 259.
 Malik, Imām, n. 344, 349, 350.
 Malik Jaisi, 409.
 Malik Kāfur, 263.
 Malik Muḥammad, 246.

MACARTNEY, LORD, 168, 169.

Macasar, 229.

MacDonald, (Prof. Duncan Black), nn. 271, 274, 302, 328. and 359.

- Malik Naik, 262.
 Malmesbury, 405.
 Malwa, 68, 252, 370, 376.
 Mamūn, al-, 114, 118.
 Man Singh, 384.
 Manāzīr Aḥsan (Gīlānī), 82, n. 341.
 Mandahukur, 55.
 Mandelslo, nn. 219, 227 and 230.
 Mendi, 90.
 Mandu, 85, 252, 414.
 Mangalore, 171.
 Mangu, 257.
 Manjur, 258.
 Mankut, 62.
 Mann, Thomas, 86.
 Manrique, n. 215, 222, nn. 226 and 230.
 Maṣṣūr, al-, 115.
 Maṣṣūr 'Alī Khān, Sayyid, 378.
 Maṣṣūr b. 'Abdallah, 398, 401.
 Maṣṣūr Jang, 124.
 Maṣṣūr, Shaikh, 341.
 Manucci, n. 215, 216, 217, n. 220, 222, 223, nn. 224, 225, 227 and 229.
 Maṣṣūr Aḥmad, nn. 341 & 374.
 Maqbool Aḥmad Ṣamdānī, Maulvi, 422.
 Maqqari (al-), n. 116, 404, 405.
 Maqrizi, 137, 138, 141, 142, 143, n. 144, 145, 146.
 Marj, 118.
 Marshall, nn. 215 and 230.
 Marston Moor, 259.
 Maṣṣabān, 161.
 Mārṣār, 332, 333, 335, 336, 337, 338.
 Marwazi, al-, 79.
 Mary, 395.
 Maryam-i-Zamani, 66.
 Marzubani, (al-), n. 1, 111.
 Marzuqi, (al-), 111, 112.
 Masargis family, 183.
 Masket, 407.
 Massignon, 280, 284, 285, n. 295.
 Maṣ'ūd Hasan, Mr. 419, 420.
 Maṣ'ūd Shāh Khān, n. 361.
 Maṣ'ūdī, 137, 138, 141, 146.
 Māsulipatam, 159.
 Mathura Prashad, Mr. Rai, 372.
 Matila, 248, 249.
 Maunier, (R.), 265 and note.
 Mause Ram, Lala, 304.
 Maw, 362.
 Māwarā-un-Nahar, 257, 258.
 Mawardi, al-, 60, n. 331.
 Mawla Bay, 105.
 Maymundulum, 168.
 Mayurbhanj State, 204.
 Mecca, 56, 66, 68, 70, 71, 75, 77, 135, 137, 141, 142, 147, 152, 245, 308, 343, 374, 385, 386, 414, 423, 424, 425.
 Medina (Madina), 137, 141, 142, 146, 152, 308, 350, 423, 425.
 Mediterranean, 215.
 Medni Rai, 85.
 Melrose, Abbey of, 207.
 Markedonius, 144.
 Menzies, A., n. 329.
 Mertha, 243, 250, 252.
 Merv, 54.
 Messiah, 293.
 Mēwār, 333, 337, 338.
 Mewat (Miwat), 70, 246.
 Michael, 395.
 Midnall, n. 215.
 Midnapore, 201.
 Milford, Humphrey, n. 330.
 Mina, 139.
 Mināi, Munshi Amir Aḥmad, 16.
 Mīr 'Alī, Mullā, 365.
 Mīr 'Alī Sher Nawāi, see Nawāi.
 Mīr Ḥasan 'Alī, n. 154.
 Mīr Ḥasan Amānat Khān, n. 154, 155.
 Mīr Jumla, 205.
 Mīr Khālifa, 247.
 Mīr Ma'sūm, 250, 252.
 Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān, 155.
 Mīr Nizam Khān, 159.
 Mīr Ṣāhib, 244, 249, 250, 251, 252.
 Mirza Ḥakīm, 246.
 Mirza Ḥusain, 247.
 Mirza Kāmraṇ (Prince), 98, 244, 245, 367.
 Mirza Muḥammad Babar Prince, (Bedār Bakht), 371.
 Mirza Muḥammad Ḥakīm, 374.
 Mirza Muḥammad Ḥāshim, 202.
 Mirza Muḥammad Qayim, n. 49.
 Mirza Muḥammad Riḍa, 48.
 Mirza Muḥammad Ṣwalih, 247.
 Mirza Murād, 202.
 Mirza Rustum Ṣufavi, 202.
 Mirzāpur, 160.
 Mitter, Mathur Mohan, 160.
 Mitter, Mr. Justice Dawarka Nath, 47.
 Miwat, 245.
 Mohan Roy, Raja Ram, 165.
 Mohibullāb, 206.
 Mohiuddin, Ghulām, 406.
 Moinuddin, Mr., 408.
 Mongol invasion, 253, 256, 257, 262, 263

- Monserrate, n. 215, 216, 220, n. 221, 223, 226.
 Monson, 420.
 Mookerji, Syama Prasad, 90.
 Morgan, Mr. J. H., 43.
 Morocco, 2.
 Morris, Mr. R. C., 92.
 Mortimer Wheeler. Dr. E., see Wheeler.
 Moses, 173, 354, 356, 357, 395, 398.
 Mozamdar, Dr. R. C., 91, 92.
 Mu'azzam 'Abbāsi, 361.
 Mu'azzam, Shaikh Muḥammad, 341.
 Mubārak Khān, 248.
 Mubārak Shāh, see Qutb-ud-Dīn Khiljī.
 Mubārīz-ul-Mulk Sarbaland Khān, 195.
 Mubarrad, al-, 420.
 Mudabbir, al-, Yahya b. 'Alī, 179.
 Mughal Emperor, 155, 157, 216, 218, 228, 380, 381, 383, 386.
 Mughal Empire, 60, 123, 205, 384, 389.
 Mughal force, 9.
 Mughal India, 205, 230.
 Mughal Nobility, 61.
 Mughal Paintings, 88.
 Mughal Peerage, 155.
 Mughal Period, 8, 131.
 Mughal rule, 7, 9, 56, 89, 124, 303.
 Mughultai, 111.
 Muḥallab, al-, b. 'Abī Ṣufra, 52, 53, 54.
 Muḥammad, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 152, 153, 178, 225, 279, 280, 282, 290, 299, 327, 328, 331, 398, 401, 410.
 Muḥammad 'Abdullāh, 371.
 Muḥammad 'Ādilshāh, see 'Ādilshāh.
 Muḥammad Akbar, 195.
 Muḥammad Akram, 421.
 Muḥammad 'Alī, 158.
 Muḥammad 'Alī Anṣārī, 376.
 Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, Nawwāb Sayyid, 361.
 Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh, 377.
 Muḥammad Amīn Dīwān, 70.
 Muḥammad A'zam, Prince, 369.
 Muḥammad Amīr, 169.
 Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī, 173, 180, 395, 398.
 Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Qāsim, 400.
 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, 177.
 Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl -, al 'Abbasi, 179.
 Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ahwāzī, 179.
 Muḥammad b. al-Husain as-Sulami, 402.
 Muḥammad b. al-Malik b. Khairun, 179.
 Muḥammad b. 'Alī, 174.
 Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-Māzandarānī, 367.
 Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, n. 177.
 Muḥammad b. Iḍris, n. 179, 183.
 Muḥammad b. Jarir, 173.
 Muḥammad b. Kunasa, 112.
 Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, n. 77.
 Muḥammad b. Nāṣir, 77, 394, 395, 396, 398, 401, 402.
 Muḥammad b. Qāsim, 408, 415, 416.
 Muḥammad b. 'Umar, n. 174.
 Muḥammad b. Waṣī, 396.
 Muḥammad Bāqir, Mr., 53, 55.
 Muḥammad Faiq, Maulānā, 421.
 Muḥammad Ghori, 255.
 Muḥammad Ḥādī, (Kamwār Khān), 369.
 Muḥammad Husain Mirzā, 134.
 Muḥammad Husain, Qādī, 421.
 Muḥammad Ibn Sayyid 'Abdullāh al-Qārī n. 366.
 Muḥammad, Imām, 350.
 Muḥammad Jarkasi, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 143, 145, 146.
 Muḥammad Khān Ḥājī, 66.
 Muḥammad Khān Rūmī, 125.
 Muḥammad Mahdī, 194.
 Muḥammad, Prince, 256.
 Muḥammad Qulī, 382.
 Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, 16.
 Muḥammad Qutb Shāh, 16.
 Muḥammad Rida Khān, 194.
 Muḥammad Shafī', Maulānā, 421.
 Muḥammad Shafī' Warid b. Muḥammad Sharif Tehrānī, 376.
 Muḥammad Shāh Akhūnzāda, Mawlānā, 317.
 Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī, 125.
 Muḥammad Shāh, (Sultān), (Emperor), 85, 124, 125, 132, 195, 343, 344, 345, 367, 369, 370, 376.
 Muḥammad Sistānī, Ḥājī, 63.
 Muḥammad Sulaimān, Shāh, 37.
 Muḥammad Tāhir, 61.
 Muḥammad Tughluq, i, 133.
 Muḥammad 'Uthmān, 37.
 Muḥammad Wafa, 377.
 Muḥammad Zamān, 387.
 Muḥammadabad, 414.
 Muḥibb al-Dīn Afandī, n. 355.
 Muḥibb i-'Alī (Khān), 125, 247, 248, 249, 250, 252, 253.
 Muḥi-us-Sunnat, 129.
 Muḥiyud-Dīn, Shaikh, 341.
 Muḥsin al-Taymī al-Tirhuti, n. 343.

Mu'inud-Din Chishti, Khawājā, n. 342.
 Mu'izz-ud-Din, (Prince Jahāndār Shāh),
 123, 195, 345.
 Mu'izz-ud-Din (Muhammad b.) Sām, 131,
 368, see also Shihāb-ud-Din Ghōri.
 Mujāhid Khān, 247, 248, 249.
 Mukerjee, Shama Prashad, n. 361.
 Mukhlis Khān, 127.
 Mukhtār Khān, 130.
 Mukkela, 406.
 Mukrān, 54, see also Makrān.
 Multān, 53, 221, 248, 256, 257, 258, 260,
 369.
 Mumbā Devī, 413.
 Mumford, Lewis, 404.
 Munawar Khān, 128.
 Mundhir, al-, 158.
 Mundy, (Peter), 222, 223, n. 230.
 Munim Khān, 56, 380.
 Muqarrab Khān, 217.
 Muqim (Mirzā), Khān Herāti, 246, 247,
 249.
 Muqri, al-, Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusain b.
 'Alī, 183.
 Muqtār Muḥammad, Sayyid, 304.
 Murād, III, 386.
 Murād 'Alī, 168, 169.
 Murād, Mirzā, 202.
 Muradpore, 200.
 Murawah, 426.
 Murra, 135.
 Murshid Quli Khān, 375.
 Murshidābād, 378.
 Murtaḍa Ṣāhib, Muḥammad, 408.
 Mūsā, 251.
 Mūsā al-Kāzim, Imām, 340.
 Mūsā b. 'Abdullāh, 368.
 Mūsā b. Hārūn, 76.
 Mūsā b. 'Isā, 398.
 Muṣāhib Khān, 63.
 Musaijid, 424.
 Mushki, 54.
 Mushṭaque 'Alī Khān, Nawwāb, 362 and
 note.
 Muslim Achievements, 201.
 Muslim Army, 258.
 Muslim Artists, 200.
 Muslim Bengal, 199.
 Muslim Conquest, 205.
 Muslim Culture, 201.
 Muslim Empire, 255, 257, 260.
 Muslim, Imām, n. 344.
 Muslim Law, 203.
 Muslim Litterateurs, 199.
 Muslim Rule, 8, 101.

Muslim Rulers, 205.
 Muslim scholars, 206.
 Muslim Spain, 404.
 Muslim State, 415, 416.
 Muslim Theocracy, 408, 409.
 Muslim World, 305.
 Mustafā, 13, 125.
 Mustafa 'Alī Sabz Pusht, Sayyid, n. 366.
 Mustafā Khān, 377.
 Mustafā Momen, 305, 313.
 Mustakfi, al-, n. 116.
 Musta'sim Billāh, Caliph, 307.
 Mutāh, n. 75.
 Mu'tamad Khān, 57.
 Mutammim, (b. Nuwairah), 74 and note.
 Mutanabbi, (al-), 3, 5, 6.
 Mutawakkil, al-, 115.
 Muthusami Iyer, Sir, 47.
 Muẓaffar Jang (Nawāb), 158, 303, 408.
 Muẓaffar II, Sulṭān, 414.
 Muẓaffarabad, 414.
 Muẓaffar-ud-Din Nadvī, Syed, 321.
 Muẓaffer Ḥusain Hyderābādī, 303.

NABI BAKHSH BALOCH, MR., 52.

Nadhr-ul-Islam, Qādī, 98, 99, 100, 199.
 Nādir Shāh, 89, 125, 131, 132, 345, 376.
 Nafis Ahmad, Mr., 320.
 Nagor (Nagaur), 70, 248.
 Nagpūr, 246.
 Nāhid Begum, 247.
 Naik, 168.
 Nai'mud-Din, Prof., 88.
 Naisabur, 6.
 Najaf 'Alī Khān, Muḥammad, 378.
 Najati Sidqi, 104.
 Najib-ud-Din 'Alī Khān Bahadur, 124.
 Najmuddin Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umār b. Muḥam-
 mad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafi, Imām,
 359.
 Nakhshabi, an-, Abū Turāb, 178.
 Nana, 171.
 Naqshbandiyah, order, 342.
 Narnaul, 245, 246.
 Narsingh Rayanapet, 167.
 Nasi, 148, 149, 150.
 Nasif al-Yaziji, 104.
 Nāsir Jang (Nawab), 124, 154, and note,
 155, 303.
 Nāsir Khusrau 'Alawī, 416.
 Nāsir-ud-Din 'Alī Khān, 155.
 Nāsir-ud-Din Hashmi, 408.
 Nāsir-ud-Din Nuṣrat Shāh, 201.
 Naṣr al-Ḥuryanī, nn. 273 and 276.

Naur (?) Bahadur, Mr., 97.
 Nawāī, Mīr ('Alī Sher), 309, 390, 393.
 Nazar Muḥammad Khān, 14.
 Nazar Khewshgi, 202.
 Nehru, Pandit Jawahar Lal, 196.
 Netherlands, 216.
 New York, 104.
 Newton, 37.
 Nicholson, (R.A.), Prof., nn. 292, 297,
 and 416.
 Nihal Singh, Mr. Gurmukh, 196.
 Nilakanta Sastri, Mr. K. A., 204.
 Ni'matullāh, 360, 372, 373.
 Ni'matullāh b. Khwāja Ḥabibullāh Harani
 Khwāja, 371.
 Nisibius, 152.
 Nizam, 171.
 Nizam College, 17.
 Nizām Khān, Mīr, 159.
 Nizām, Mulla, n. 341.
 Nizām Shaikh, 421.
 Nizamiah Observatory, 80.
 Nizāmshahi Sultāns, 49, 50.
 Nizāmuddin (Ahmad Bakhshi),
 Nizāmuddin, Maulana Saiyyed, 57, 59,
 64, 65, 66, 67, 421.
 Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣif Jāh (Chin Qulij
 Khān), n. 154, 156, 370.
 Nobiron, Rev. Bro. Louis, 135.
 Noer, Von, 59, 60, 62.
 Nomocracy, 330.
 Noronha, Don Gilliane, 48.
 Nur-al-Haq, 57.
 Nurgarh, 336.
 Nur Jahān, 126, 127.
 Nuri, an-, (Abul Ḥusain), 174, 180, 399,
 400.
 Nurpur, 89.
 Nurul Haq 'Alawī, M., n. 352.
 Nuṣrat Shāh, 371.
 Nuṣrāt Yār Khān, 124.
 Nyberg, n. 290.
 OBYA DULLAH SINDI, 'ALLĀMA,
 352 and note.
 Ogtai Princess, 257.
 Ohind, 52.
 Ohsson, 143.
 Omarov, Prof., U., 185.
 Orissa, 13, 204.
 Ottawa, 185.
 Oudh, 155, 161, 164, 194, 370, 376.
 Oviedo, 207.
 Ovington, n. 215, 222, 224, 225, n. 230.
 Oxus, 177.

PADMINI, 409.
 Padua, 201.
 Pākistān, 45, 199, 305, 410, 415, 416
 417, 418, 419.
 Palagautcherry, 171.
 Palestine, 103, 146.
 Panini, 52.
 Panipet, (battle of), 13, 56, 125, 126, 133,
 245, 345, 352.
 Paris, 1, 2.
 Parmenides, 296, 297.
 Parvis, 202.
 Patan, 338.
 Patna, 202, 203, 205, 227, 228, 374, 378.
 Paul, St., 329.
 Paul Tabori, 86.
 Pavet de Courteille, 391.
 Pavlovsky, Prof. L., 185.
 Peacock, Sir Barnes, 47.
 Pearce, William Hopkins, 160.
 Pelsaert, n. 215, 216, 217, n. 223, 224,
 227, 228, 229, n. 230.
 Pennar, 171.
 Persia, 379, 380, 381, 383, 385, 386, 389.
 Persian Gulf, 321, 425.
 Peshawar, 255.
 Peshawar Enquiry Committee, 38.
 Persia, 98, 227, 231, 232, 257.
 Petheran, Sir Comer, 47.
 Pharaoh, 397, 399.
 Phillip II, 379.
 Philippines, 227.
 Phoenicia, 152.
 Pines, Dr. S., 403.
 Pinheiro, n. 215.
 Pir Muḥammad, 380.
 Pir Muḥammad, Sheikh, 375.
 Pir Muḥammad Sherwani, 63, 64, 68, 70, 71.
 Pisa, 201.
 Pishin, 53, 54.
 Pithaura, Rai, 8, 131.
 Pitt, 217, 218.
 Plutarch, 144.
 Pondicherry, 159.
 Poona, 17.
 Pramoda (Charan Banerjee), Sir, 47.
 Procopius, 152.
 Prophet, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 105,
 141, 176, 178, 244, 279, 280,
 281, 299, 301, 330, 344, 349,
 351, 365, 385, 394, 401, 410,
 417, 418, 423.
 Punjab, 52, 55, 69, 70, 71, 246, 255,
 256, 258, 384, 387.
 Pyrdard (Laval), n. 215, 216, 228, n. 230.

- QADHIN, QADI, 340.
 Qāidū, 257.
 Qalāt, n. 53.
 Qamar-ul-Hasan, 201.
 Qandabil, 54.
 Qandhār, 56, 130, 245, 386, 388.
 Qandhārī, see 'Arif.
 Qannaui, 9, 133.
 Qāsim 'Alī b. Mirzā Muḥammad b. Mirzā Ja'far b. Mirzā Muḥammad Amīr Hamdānī, 377.
 Qāsim Amīn, 105.
 Qāsim Dānā Arzānī, Khwāja, 376.
 Qāsim Khān Kokā, 246, 247.
 Qasur, 257.
 Qaṭṭān, al-, n. 177.
 Qavi Jang Bahādur, 155.
 Qawīm Khān, 246.
 Qazwīn, 422.
 Qazzāz, al-, Abū Maṣṣūr ('Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muḥammad), 77, 172, 173, 178, 182, 400.
 Qiftī, al-, 403.
 Qiḡān, al-, 53.
 Quadir, Dr., 97.
 Qubaicha, 255, 256.
 Quddūs, Chulām, 200.
 Qudrat-Allāh Khān, n. 361.
 Quetta, 54.
 Quj Beg, 125.
 Qulī Beg, 70.
 Qulī, Ustād, 125, see also Ḥaidar Qulī Khān.
 Qundūz, 382.
 Quraish, Mīr, 384, 385, 388.
 Qur'an, 141, 143, 175, 176, 264, 284, 289, 305, 322, 348, 349, 352, 354, 397, 401, 402, 417, 426.
 Qureshī, Dr. I. H., 316.
 Qusdār, 54.
 Qushayrī, (al-), 286, 287, n. 399.
 Qusuru Jang Bahādur, 155.
 Quṭb ad-Dīn an-Nahrawanī, 1.
 Quṭb Khān Baneh, 9.
 Quṭb Khān, Lōdī, 9.
 Quṭb Shāh, 'Abdullā, 412.
 Quṭb Shāh, Muḥammad, 16.
 Quṭb Shāh, Muḥammad Qulī, 16.
 Quṭb-ud-Daulah Muḥammad Anwar Khān, 155.
 Quṭb-ud-Dīn, 342, see also Waliyullāh.
 Quṭb-ud-Dīn Aibak, 192, 255, 409.
 Quṭb-ud-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Khwāja, 342.
 Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khiljī, Sultān, 101, 204.
 Quṭb-ul-Mulk Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān, 130.
 Qutlugh Khwāja, 258, 262.
 RADHAKRISHNAN, DR. SIR S., 92.
 Raḍī-ud-Dīn, Shaikh, 421.
 Rafī' b. Khudaij, 78.
 Rāfiḍa, 294.
 Rafī' ud-Darajāt, 345, 375.
 Rafī'ud-Dawlā, 345.
 Rafī'-ush-Shān (Prince), 123.
 Raghvan, Dr. V., 411.
 Rahim Shāh, 362.
 Rai, ar- 6.
 Rai Singh Darbari, 250.
 Rai Singh, Rana 337, 339.
 Raj Mahal, 228.
 Rajahmundry, 159.
 Rajapur, 49.
 Raj-i-Muḥammad Kolvi, n. 254.
 Rajput War, 333, 335, 336, 338.
 Rajputana, 332, 333.
 Rakkah, 400.
 Ramalinga Reddy, Sir C., 204.
 Raman, Sir, C.V., D.Sc., 184.
 Ramkul, Raja, see Tuta.
 Rampur, 16, 361, 363, 365, 366, 377.
 Rana, 56.
 Ranade, Mr. Justice, 47.
 Rangoon, 161.
 Ranjit Singh, (Maharājā), 89, 161, 164, 407.
 Ranjit Singhji, 47.
 Raoof, A. A., 321.
 Raqmullāh Khān, 371.
 Raphel, 98.
 Ras Tanurah, 425.
 Rasafi, al-, 104.
 Rashdī, Mr., 45.
 Rashīd Karīm, 98, 99.
 Rashīd Ridā, 'Allāmā, 352.
 Rashidi, Hājī, 305.
 Ratan Singh, 409.
 Rathambore 259.
 Raūf Aḥmad, Shāh, n. 361.
 Raūf, Mr. Justice, 38.
 Raverty, n. 254.
 Ravi, 54, 55, 123, 263.
 Rawlinson, n. 216.
 Rayy, 77, 118, also see Rai.
 Raza 'Alī Mirzā, Dr., 320.
 Rāzi, al-, Imām Fakhr al-Dīn, 359 and note.
 Rāzi, ar-, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, 173.

- Rāzi, ar-, Abū Zākariyyā, 96.
 Raziuddin Siddiqi, Dr. M., 80, 81, 82, 83.
 Ragdanda (Revdanda), see Cheul.
 Reinand, M. 142, 143.
 Relan, nn. 138 and 143.
 Resht, 231.
 Rewwa, 204.
 Rezā 'Alī Khān, Nawwāb Sayyid, 363.
 Rhazes, see Rāzi.
 Ridalf, Father, n. 215.
 Rieu, nn. 374, 375, 376 & 377.
 Rif'at, 361, 366.
 Ritter, Dr. Helmut, 426.
 Riyād, 425.
 Roe, n. 215, 216, 217, 218, 223, 227, 229, n. 230.
 Rome, 345.
 Routledge, n. 404.
 Royal Asiatic Society, 360.
 Rubio, Father P. Luciano, 206.
 Rukn-ud-Dīn (Raju of Manglor), 194.
 Rūm, 13, 124.
 Rūmī, (Mawlānā), 292, 366.
 Rūp Narain Khatri, 369.
 Rupert, 259.
 Rushbrook Williams, Prof. L. F., 39, n. 47.
 Russia, 185, 196.
 Rustam, 234.
 Rustam Khān Dakhnī, 15.
 Rustum Şufavi, Mirzā, 202.
 Ruwaim, 176, 177.
- SA'ADAT KHAN (Burhān-ul-Mulk), 131, 195, 203.
 Sā'adullāh, Mufti Muḥammad, 362 and note.
 Sabzevar, 231.
 Sachin, 407.
 Sacy, M. De. 140, 141, 142, 143, n. 146.
 Šādiq 'Alī Sayyid Muḥammad, 387.
 Šādiq Khān, 246.
 Šādiq, Dr., 314.
 Šadr Jahan Mīr, 385, 386.
 Šadr-al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Nizām-al-Dīn, 368.
 Šadr-ud-Dīn, Bakḥshī Qāzī Mīr, 407.
 Šafavi Kingdom, 383.
 Šafdar 'Alī, 195.
 Šafdar Jang, 155.
 Šafi (Morocco), 2.
 Sagghar, 17.
 Saharawān, 54.
 Sahi Princes, 54.
- Šāhib ibn 'Abbad, 5, 6.
 Šāhebzāda Muḥammad 'Alī Maikash, see Maikash.
 Sahl (b. 'Abdallah), 174, 183.
 Sahlaki, as-, 176.
 Sahra, as-, Madrasah, 423.
 Sa'id al-Afghānī, 113.
 Sa'id b. al-Musayyib, 178.
 Sa'id b. Ismā'il al-Hiri, n. 174.
 Sa'id b. Jubair, 176.
 Sa'id Khān, 58, 383.
 Sa'id Khān Bahādur, Nawwāb Muḥammad, 361.
 Saif Khān, 203.
 Saif Khān Kokaltash, 8.
 Saif-ud-Dīn, 201.
 Saif-ud-Dīn 'Abdūl Momin Armawi, 307, 308.
 Sajan Lal, K., 205, 407.
 Sajjād Husain, Prof. Sayyid, 199.
 Sakkhar, 249.
 Šalābat Jung, 154, 156, 158, 159, 303.
 Salar Jang Bahadur, Nawab, 412.
 Salatura (Alatur, Halatura, So-lo-tu-lo), 52, 53.
 Salbai, 171.
 Saldi, 258.
 Saleh Bakḥari, 388.
 Saletore, Dr., 413.
 Salīm, Hājī, 314.
 Salīm, Maulavi Wahī-ud-Dīn Šāhib, 17.
 Salīmullāh Bahādur, Nawāb Sir, 317.
 Salivahana, 204.
 Salmak, 122.
 Sam, Mu'izud-Dīn, 131.
 Samana, 256, 260, 261.
 Samarkand, 255.
 Samdhu Lāl, Rai, 155.
 Samiya Begum, 247, 249, 253.
 Šamšam-ud-Daulāh, (Shāh Nawāzkhān), 154, 155, 156, 157, 159, 243.
 Samugarh, battle of, 14, 128.
 San Juan de Arenas, 207.
 Sana, 112, 425, 426.
 Sangar, Prof. S. P., 205.
 Sanhedrin, 138.
 Sanhoury, A., n. 327.
 Sankalia, Dr. H. D., 413.
 Sankaracharya Swami, (Gossain), 195.
 Sansar Chand, 89.
 Sapru, Sir Tej Bahadur, 38, 46.
 Saran, Dr. Parmathanath, 204.
 Saran Lal, Mr. Kishori, 101.
 Sarawani, 'Abbās (Khān), 9, 373.
 Sarawani, Kalkapur, 9.

- Sarwani, Khawāṣ Khān, 9.
 Sarbaland Khān, (Mubariz-ul-Mulk), 195, 205.
 Sarban, Lang, 61.
 Sardar Jung, 203.
 Sarfarz Khān, 378.
 Sargent, Sir John, LL.D. 184.
 Sarir, 140.
 Sarkar, Jagdish Narain, Prof., 205.
 Sarkar, S. C., 420.
 Sarkar, (Sir) Jadu Nath, n. 15, 332, 333, 334, 336, 337, 338, 360.
 Sarojini Nāidu, Mrs., D.Litt., 184.
 Sarraj, (as-, 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī), 180, n. 207.
 Sarraj, as-, (Abū Naṣr), 175, 178, 183.
 Sarshar, 17.
 Sarupchand, 375.
 Sastri, K. N. V., 205.
 Satyendranth Dutta, see Dutta.
 Saurat, Prof. Denis, 97.
 Sayrafi, as-, 'Abdullā, 189.
 Sayyid Lodi, 251.
 Sayyid Muḥammad, 250.
 Sayyid Muḥammad ('Alī A'l Husain), 303.
 Sayyid Muḥammad, Mīr, 421.
 Schmidt, (Nathaniel), 264, and note.
 Scotland, 207.
 Scott, Michael, 208.
 Scott, Sir Walter, 207.
 Sehwan, see Siwistan.
 Semenow, Prof. A. A., 315.
 Sen. Dr. S. N., 92.
 Serai Adl, 261.
 Seringapatam, 158, n. 167.
 Serta (Portugal), 1.
 Shafā'at Aḥmad Khān, Sir, 90.
 Shafi', Mullāh, 206.
 Shafi', Imām, 350.
 Shāh 'Ālam, 217, 245.
 Shāh 'Ālam II, 197, 203, nn. 363 & 393, 407.
 Shāh Husain Arghun, Mīrzā, 246.
 Shāh Isma'il, 202.
 Shāh Jahān, 49, 101, 130, 203, 221, 222, 332, 365, 367, 376, 392.
 Shāh Jamāl, 243, 244, 251, 252.
 Shāh Ma'ālī, see Abul Maālī.
 Shāh Maṣṣūr Barlas, Muḥammadi Kakul-dash, 125.
 Shāh Mīr, 14.
 Shāh Nawaz Khān, see Ṣamṣam-ud-Daulah.
 Shāh, Sulṭān, 372.
 Shāh Tahmasp, 245.
 Shāh Walī, 155.
 Shāhrukh (Mīrzā), 374, 382, 383, 384, 385, 387, 388.
 Shāhryār, 127.
 Shaibānī, Khān, 379.
 Shaikh Aḥmad, 205.
 Shaikh Budh, 205.
 Shaikh Ghurān, 252.
 Shaikh Munawwār, 375.
 Shaikh, Prof., Khān Bahādur, 413.
 Shaikh Zain, 243.
 Shairani, Prof. Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd, 88.
 Shakespeare, 199.
 Shakla, 115.
 Shamsabad, 362, 269.
 Shams-ad-Dīn (Muḥammad) Atka, 62, 64, 65, 66.
 Shams-al-Dowla Bahadur Sādiq, 369.
 Shamshir Jung, (Mīr Najab 'Alī Khān Bahadur), 303.
 Shams-ud-Dīn, 131.
 Shams-ud-Dīn al-Mufti, Shaikh, 340.
 Shams-ud-Dīn 'Alī, 369.
 Shams-ud-Dīn Bakhshi, 169.
 Shanti, 84.
 Shapley, Dr. Harlow, 184.
 Sharf-ad-Dīn, (Mīrzā), 64, 70.
 Sharfuddin Yazid, 315.
 Shariar, Sultan, 314.
 Sharifuddin, Mr. Syed, n. 47.
 Shaṭṭ al-Arab, 321.
 Shaw, George Bernard, 86.
 Shawana, 76.
 Shawq, Ḥafīẓ Aḥmad 'Alī Khān, 362.
 Shawqi, 104.
 Sheikh Muḥammad Irānī, 365.
 Shelley, 233.
 Shendarkar, D. D., 82.
 Sher 'Alī Beg, 245.
 Sher Khān, 9, 132, 256.
 Sher Muḥammad Diwān, 71.
 Sher Shāh (Sher Khān), 59, 134, 203, 206, 370, 373, 377.
 Shere, Mr. S. A., 187.
 Sheridan, 22.
 Sherwānī, Mr. H. K., 90, 92, 94, nn. 328, and 331.
 Shew Prashad, 377.
 Shibli, ash-, (Abu Bakr), 173, 175, 179, 180, 181, 400, 401.
 Shibli, ash-, (Dulaf b. Jaḥdār), 77 and note.
 Shihabud-Dīn Dawlatabādī, Malik, al-'Ulama, 348.
 Shihāb-ud-Dīn (Ghorī), (Sulṭān), 8, 65, 66, 131, 369.

Shihr, ash-, 112.
 Shintoism n., 330.
Shirāz, 181, 407.
Shirāz, ash-, 397.
 Shiva, 225.
Shuaib, 175.
Shudān bint Aḥmad, 401.
Shujā, 341.
Shujāt 'Khān, 246.
Shuluki, ash-, 397.
 Siddhanta, Prof., 92.
 Sijistani, as-, 111.
 Sikandar (Shāh, Sūr), 69, 245, 371.
 Sikandar 'Alī Vajd, see Vajd.
 Sikandar Lōdī, 206.
 Sikandra, 65, 251.
 Sikandrābād, 253.
 Sind, (as-), (Sindh), 52, 53, 222, 250, 256, 407, 408, 415.
 Sindhia Bahādur, 161.
 Sinha, Dr. H. N., 408.
 Sipihir Shikōh, 15.
 Siqaya, 147.
 Sirāj-ud-Daulāh, 202, 378.
 Siraḥī, as-, Abul-Qāsim 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Ja'far, 181.
 Sirhind, 245, 372.
 Siri, 258, 260.
 Sivaji, 341.
 Siwistan, 258.
 Siyalkut, 369.
 Slane, de, nn. 266, 276, 277 and 278.
 Smith, Dr. V. A., 57, 63, 65 and note, 71, n. 254.
 Smith, Ryder, n. 329.
 Sodh Sook, Lalla, 160.
 Sofat, 336.
 Solomon, 175.
 So-lo-tu-lo, see Salatura.
 Soviet Union, 196.
 Spain, 228, 379, 404, 405, 419.
 Spanish-Islamic History, 207.
 Sreerangaraya, 412.
 Srinavas Rao, 171.
 Srinivasachari, D. B., 192.
 Stanley, Lane Pool, 416.
 Storey, n. 370.
 Stuart, Major-General, 168, 170.
 Sudan, 403.
 Sudarshan Shah, 89.
 Sufyān ath-Thauri, 79, 363, 365.
 Suhrah, 234.
 Suhrawardy, Mr. A., n. 364.
 Suhrawardi (al-), Maqtul, 285, 289.
 Sukari, 320.

Sulaimān (Sir Shāh Muḥammad), (Mr. Justice), 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47.
 Sulaemān, Mīrzā, 374, 380, 381, 382, 383.
 Sulaimān Nadavī, Dr. 'Allāma Sayyid, 319, 320.
 Sulaimani Range, 54.
 Sulāmī, as-, Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥman, 173, 175.
 Sulī, as-, Abū Bakr, 5, 116, 119.
 Sulṭān Maḥmud (Arghun), 246, 247, 248, 249.
 Sulṭān Muḥammad, 130.
 Sulṭān Muḥaiyuddin, Mr., 90.
 Sumatra, 227.
 Sumer, 215.
 Sumnun, 399.
 Sunipat, 340.
 Surajgarh, 132.
 Surat, 216, 222, 229, 407, 414.
 Sutlej, 257, 258.
 Sylhet, 419.
 Syria, 103, 112, 152, 176, 257, 374, 422.
 TABARĪ, nn. 74, and 173.
 Tabatabai, Maulvi 'Alī Ḥaidar Ṣāhib, 17.
 Tabori, Paul, 86.
 Taghribirdi, 54.
 Tagore, (Rabindranath), 36, 99.
 Tāha Ḥusain, Dr., 86, 87, 104, 105.
 Tāhir, 391.
 Tahmasp, Shāh, 345, 381.
 Tai Bu, 263.
 Taifur (Abū Yazid), 177, 396, 397.
 Tailliar, M., 329 and note.
 Taizz, 425.
 Tājud-Dīn, 343.
 Takeshar, 54, 55.
 Takkās, 54.
 Talikota, 411.
 Tall, 111.
 Talut, King, 372.
 Tamerlane, 98.
 Tangeda, 411.
 Tanukhi, al-, 'Alī b. al-Muḥassin, 181.
 Tanton, Dr. T. L., 185.
 Taqi-ud-Dīn al-Sulh, 313.
 Tara Chand, Dr., 92, 196.
 Tarain, 255.
 Tarapore, Capt., P. S., 187.
 Tardi Beg, 56, 59, 60, 63, 125.
 Tarek G. al-, Yaffi, see Yaffi.
 Targhai, 262.
 Targhi, 259, 260, 262.

- Tarn, W. W., n. 330.
 Tarsun Beg, 66.
 Tarsun Muḥammad Khān, 250.
 Tartaq, 262, 263.
 Tashqand, 371.
 Tatta, 246, 247, 248, 249.
 Tavernier, n. 215, 216, n. 219, 222, n. 224, 226, nn. 227 and 230.
 Tawfiq al-Hakim, 105.
 Tawhidī, (al-), 285, 403.
 Tayy, 5.
 Tayyi, tribe of, 3.
 Teheran, 94, 231, 232.
 Tellenback, Gerd, n. 329.
 Tennyson, 18.
 Terry, n. 215, 216, 217, 218, nn. 219, 220, 224, 225, and 226, 229.
 Tha'alibi, 6.
 Thabit Khān, 124.
 Thacoor, Muneeram, 160.
 Thalaba, 140.
 Thana, 413.
 Thaqafi, ath-, 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, 5.
 Thatta, 221, 384.
 Theocracy, 327, 408, 409.
 Thevenot, nn. 215, 224, 226, and 230.
 Thomson, Prof. R. B., 185.
 Tibarmarkovi Island, 161.
 Tigris, 76, 321, 399, 400.
 Tilimsan, 404.
 Timūr, (Amīr), 8, 9, 13, 128, 379.
 Tipū (Sultān), 167, 168, 169, 171, 193, 194.
 Tirāh, 388.
 Tirmidhi, al-, 75.
 Tirupathur, see Tripassore.
 Tizanabadh, 118.
 Tochi Valley, 53.
 Tomlin, Lord, 38.
 Tosamaidan Pass, 55.
 Toynbee, Arnold J., n. 330.
 Transoxiana, 379, 380, 384, 386.
 Trichinopoly, 159.
 Tripassore (Tirupathur), 168, 169.
 • Tripathi, Prof. R. P., n. 58, 61, and note, 64, 66, 69.
 Tu-Chuch, see Turks.
 Tudball, Mr. Justice, 41.
 Tului, 257.
 Turān 303, 379, 381, 386, 387, 388, 389.
 Turfān, 54.
 Turkey, 386, 387, 426.
 Turkistan, 257.
 Turks, 53, 54.
 Tus, 422.
 Tusī, at-, Abū Ḥamid, 175, 182.
 Tutā, Daya Rām Kūl, 376, 378.
 Twist, Von (John), 225, nn. 226, and 230.
 U. N. O., 425.
 U. S. A., 184, 196.
 'Ubaidā, 115.
 'Ubedullāh Khān, 247.
 Ucha, 256.
 Udaipur, 60, 332.
 Udayagiri, 411.
 Ukaz, 112, 142.
 'Ulayyā ('Ulaiyāh) Princess, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 122, 425.
 Ulugh Khān, 257, 259.
 'Umar ('Omar Fārūq), (b. al-Khattāb) 73, 74, 75, 340, 349, 372, 394, 395.
 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. 'Uṭmān, n. 175.
 'Umar b. Dharr, 75.
 'Umar b. Zafar, 173.
 'Umar-i-Khayyām, 98.
 Umarov, M. Sultān, 197.
 United Provinces, 37, 39.
 University.
 Agra, 39, 40.
 Al-Azhar, 97.
 Aligarh, 39, 44, 205.
 Annamalai, 411.
 Benares (Hindu), 189, 204.
 Bombay, 84, 416.
 Cairo, 103.
 Calcutta, 97, 205, 419.
 Cambridge, 3, 4, 185.
 Dacca, 39, 196, 198, 319.
 Delhi, 94, 315, 316.
 Dublin, 38.
 Fāruq, Alexandria, 86.
 Fuad I, 103, 104.
 Hebrew, 426.
 Hyderabad, see Osmania below.
 Kabul, 314.
 Leningrad, 185.
 Lucknow, 204, 205, 416.
 Madras, 204.
 Madrid, 207.
 Muslim, 204, 420.
 Mysore, 90, 205.
 Nagpur, 408.
 Osmania, 17, 23, 32, 94, 185.
 Patna, 205, 420.
 Princeton, 104, 184.
 Sind, 409, 410.
 Tashkent, 185.
 Teherān, 314.

- Toronto, 185.
 Trivandrum, 410.
 Uzbekistān, 197.
 Unvala, Dr. J. M., 186.
 Uraib, 116.
 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, 77.
 'Uthmān, b. Mazun, 75.
 'Uthmān, Khwājā, 371, 372.
 'Uwaisi, 344.
 'Uways (b. Amir al-Qarani), n. 344.
 Uzbeg, 68, 247, 380, 381, 383, 384.
 Uzbek, 315.

 VAJD, (SIKANDAR 'ALĪ), 23, 24, 26, 27.
 Valiuddin Dr. Mir, 81, 82, 83, 84.
 Valle, (Delle), 216, n. 220, 221, n. 230.
 Vellōre, 168.
 Venice, 201, 215.
 Venkata, 411.
 Venkatarama Ayyar, Pandit K. R., 195, 196.
 Vicuna, Father Carlos, 207.
 Vidyadhara, 85.
 Vijapur, 23.
 Vijayanagar, 125, 411.
 Vinukonda, 411.
 Visag Dist., 411.
 Vishnu, 225.
 Vision, Beatific, 253.
 Visnaga, Kingdom of, 2.
 Volgin, Prof. P., 185, 197.
 Von Noer, 59, 60, 62.

 WAFĀ'Ī, SHAIKH ZAINUDDIN KHWANI, 374.
 Wafduallah, Shaikh, 343.
 Wahhabiyah Movement, 352.
 Wāhid 'Alī Khān, Maulvī, 363.
 Wāhid-ud-Dīn Ṣāhib Salīm, Maulavī,
 .. see Salīm.
 Wāhiuddin, Syed, 81, 82.
 Wahind, 52, 53, 55.
 Wājīd 'Alī Khān, 363.
 Wājīd 'Alī, Shāh, 370.
 Wājihud-Dīn, ShaiKh, 341, 421.
 Wājih-ur-Rab, Mullā, 421.
 Walajāh, Nawāb, 168, 171.
 Wali Bēg, 61, 67, 384.
 Wāhuddin, Shaikh, n. 356.
 Waliyullāh (al-Muhaddith ad-Dihlawi),
 Shāh, (Qutbud-Dīn-'Azīmud-Dīn-
 Ahmad-Shāh), 340, 341, 342, 343,
 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350,
 351, 352.
 Wallada, Princess, n. 116.
 Wardha Scheme, 40.
 Warangal, 259.
 Warraq, al-, Abū 'Bakr, 174.
 Washshā, al-, Abū Bakr, n. 181.
 Washington, 184.
 Wasiti, al-, 174, 175.
 Wathīq, al-, Caliph, 114.
 Wazīr 'Alī, 194.
 Wazīr, Nawāb, 193.
 Weir, M. G., n. 327.
 Wellhausen, J., n. 327, 329 and note.
 Wells, H. G., 86.
 West, Sir Raymond, 47.
 Westropp, Sir Michael, 47.
 Wheeler, Dr. E. Mortimer, 90, 91, 92.
 White, Prof. P. B., 184.
 Wien, n. 265.
 Wilks, nn. 167, 169, and 170.
 Williams Hopkins Pearce, 160.
 Wilson, F. G., n. 327.
 Withington, 224.
 Wordsworth, 99.
 Wright, Quincy, 330 and note.

 XAVIER, n. 215, 216.

 YADGAR SULTAN SHAMLU, 388.
 Yaffi, al-, Tarek G., 308.
 Yahya b. 'Alī al-Mudabbir, 179.
 Yahyapur, 422.
 Yaldoz, 255.
 Yaman, 425, 426.
 Ya'qūb, 116.
 Ya'qūb Isrā'el, 372.
 Ya'qūb, Sultān, 392.
 Yāqūt, n. 75.
 Yāqūt Hamavi, 413.
 Yāqūt Musta'simī, (Jamal-ud-Din Abu'd
 Durār), 189, 306, 307.
 Yarim, 425.
 Yathrib (Medina), 137, 139.
 Yazdānī, Mr. Ghulām, D. Litt., 184.
 Young, Sir Douglas, 47.
 Yunus-i-'Alī, 125.
 Yusuf 'Alī Khān, Nawwāb Sayyid, 361.
 Yusuf b. 'Abdullāh, 368.
 Yusuf b. al-Hussain, 179.
 Yusuf ibn Asbat, 79.
 Yusuf Khān, 383.
 Yusuf Muḥammad Khān, 369, 370.
 Yusuf, Munshi Md., 406, 407.
 Yusufuddin, K. M., 82, 83.

- ZABID, 426.
 Zadhan, 395.
 Zafar, 425.
 Zafar Hasan, Khān Bahadur Maulawi,
 95, 197, 306.
 Zafar Khān, 258, 259.
 Zafar Nadvi, Maulānā, S. A., n. 9.
 Zafar Shāh, 371.
 Zagloul Pasha, 87.
 Zahawi, al-, 104.
 Zāhid Harawi, Mirzā Muḥammad, n. 341.
 Zāhidī, Principal, 409.
 Zāhīr bin Ṭāhīr, 76.
 Zahrān, 424, 425.
 Zaid, 74, 75.
 Zaid b. Rifa'a, 403.
 Zaid ibn 'Alīy, 425.
 Zain ad-Dīn, 1.
 Zainud-Dīn Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'il bin
 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusain
 al-Jurjānī, 368.
 Zain-ud-Dīn Khān, Nawāb, 202.
 Zain ud-Dīn Khawānī, Sheikh, see Wafā'i.
 Zain-ul-Abedin, 201.
 Zain Yar Jung, Nawab, 97.
 Zamakhshari, az-, 354 and note, 357 and
 note.
 Zaman Shāh, 194.
 Zamindawar, 388.
 Zaragoza, 2.
 Zauq, 44.
 Zhukovski, n. 182.
 Ziādāh, May, 105.
 Ziāuddīn Aḥmad, Dr., 39.
 Zinjani, az-, 174.
 Zubaida, Empress, 115.
 Zubaidah Canal, 423.
 Zubair, az-, b. Bakkar, n. 113, 424.
 Zubair Ṣiddiqi, Prof., Muḥammad 360,
 nn. 361 and 366.
 Zubayri, Dr. I. H., 100, 200, 201.
 Zulqadar, 384.

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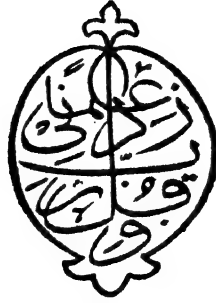
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[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân]

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. DAVID LOPES	
—DR. F. KRENKOW	i
II. AL-‘ĀMIDĪ	
—DR. F. KRENKOW	3
III. CONDUCT OF STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WAR DURING THE MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA	
—S. SABAHUDDIN, Esq.	7
IV. MODERN URDU POETS OF HYDERABAD	
—GHULAM YAZDANI, Esq.	16
V. SHĀH MUḤAMMAD SULAIMĀN (1886-1941)	
—PROF. A.A.A. FYZEE.	37
VI. AN INTERESTING ‘ĀDILSHĀHĪ FARMĀN	
—G. H. KHARE, Esq.	48
VII. ALĀHWĀR, LŌHKŌT AND LAHĀWUR	
—DR. S.M. YUSUF	52
VIII. WAS BAIRAM KHĀN A REBEL ?	
—Q.M. AHMAD, Esq.	56
IX. DEVIL’S DELUSION	
—(Late) DR. D.S. MARGOLIOUTH	73
X. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES.	80
HYDERABAD	
DECCAN	
DELHI	
NORTH-EASTERN INDIA	
FOREIGN	
XI. NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW	106

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DAVID LOPES

THE war prevented me from obtaining more precise information about a scholar who was not so well known in India because most of his works were written in Portuguese, and who was thus not appreciated by a large number of students of Islamic history. David de Melo Lopes, for this is his full name, was born in the little town of Serta in Portugal in 1867, and died in Lisbon on the 13th of February 1944. He made his first studies in Lisbon and later at the École des Hautes Études and École des Langues Orientales at Paris. He was appointed professor at the Central Lyceum at Lisbon in 1896, which post he held till 1902 when he took over the Superior Course of Literature at the University of the same city till 1911, when he became Director of the Faculty till his retirement in 1937. He was a member of the Academy of Science and the Academy of History in Lisbon, correspondent member of the Academy of History of Madrid and the Arab Academy at Damascus. I am indebted to Colonel Lope Galvos, permanent secretary of the Geographical Society of Lisbon, for a bibliography of his publications. This list which I give at the end does not contain the following works which deal with the history more closely connected with India. They all have reference to the activities of the Portuguese in the East and in North Africa.

(1) *Extractos da Conquista do Yaman pelos Othomanos*; Lisboa, 1892. This short treatise contains extract from the history of Quṭb ad-Dīn an-Nahrawānī, "*al-Barq al-Yamānī*," dealing with the conquest of Aden by the Turks and the conflicts with the Portuguese. Besides an introduction it contains the Arabic text and a Portuguese translation.

(2) On the occasion of the fourth century of the discovery of the way by sea to India he published three separate works. The first was the Arabic text with a Portuguese translation of the chronicle of Zain ad-Dīn entitled *Historia dos Portugueses no Malabar*. This work contains also a long historical introduction of over 100 pages, and some ancient maps of the coasts of India.

(3) An anonymous Portuguese chronicle of the kingdom of Visnaga with the title *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga*. This work also contains lengthy historical introduction.

(4) *Textos de Aljamia Portuguesa*. This is a curious collection of official documents written in Arabic letters but in the Portuguese language mostly concerning the dominion of the town of Safi in Morocco. *Aljamia* i.e., al-'Ajmiya texts are known in Spanish also and they were written by Muslim correspondents who knew either Portuguese or Spanish but could not write Latin letters.

So far goes my personal knowledge of the works of Lopes. I have not seen the following, the list of which I owe to Colonel Galvos.

- (5) *Note historique sur l'Inde* ; Paris , 1897.
- (6) *Toponimia arabe de Portugal* ; Paris, 1902.
- (7) *Quem era o rei Esmar da batalha de Ourique*; Zaragoza, 1904.
- (8) *Trois faits de phonétique historique arabico-hispanique* ; Algier, 1905.
- (9) *Anais de Arzila (Annals of Arzila)* ; 2 Vols. Lisbon, 1915-1920.
- (10) *Historia de Arzilla durante o dominio portugues* ; Coimbra, 1924-1925.
- (11) *Cronica do rei D. Manuel composta por Damião de Gois*. Nova edição.....por Teixeira de Carvalho e David Lopes. 4 Vols.
- (12) *A expansão da lingua portuguesa no Oriente nos seculos ; XVI, XVII e XVIII*, Barcelona, 1936.
- (13) *Les sources inedites de l'Histoire de Maroc*. Premiere Série Dynastic Saadienne. Archives et bibliotheques de Portugal Paris, 1939.
- (14) *Portugais au Maroc ; Revue d'Histoire moderne* ; Paris, 1939.
- (15) *Textos em Aljamia Portuguesa* ; New Edition, Lisbon, 1940.
- (16) *O Cid Portugues; Gerlado sem pavor.....Coimbra, 1940-41.*
- (17) *Cousas luso-marroquinas, Notas filologicas.....Buletin de Filologia* ; Vol. VII; Lisbon, 1941.

F. KRENKÖW.

A L-'A M I D I

IN casually looking into the *Encyclopædia of Islam* I found to my astonishment in the article on *al-'Āmidī* (al-Ḥasan b. Bishr) by Brockelmann that the Cambridge University possessed *two* MSS. of his *Kitāb al-Mu'talif wa'l-Mukhtalif*. When I published in 1354 A.H. this important work after the beautiful and correct Istanbul Codex (*Fātih*, 4504) dated 641 A.H., I believed this copy to be unique.¹

An inspection of the two manuscripts (Handlist 1127=1128) revealed at once that Brockelmann had made a mistake, which is not repeated in his *Litteraturgeschichte*. According to the Handlist both manuscripts contain "The Weighing-up of the merits of the two poets Abū-Tammām and al-Buḥturī," i.e., the *Muwāzana*. The difference is that the codices contain two entirely different works. The first (shelf-mark Qq 59) certainly contains the work of al-'Āmidī, while the other presents us with an enigma. On the title-page we read :

رساله قاضى القضاة ابى الحسن على بن عبدالعزيز الجرجانى الثقفى فى الوساطة بين المتبى وخصومه

"Treatise by the chief judge Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jurjānī concerning the reconciliation between al-Mutanabbī and his adversaries." However the colophon says :

نجز كتاب الموازنه بين الطائين

"End of the book called the weighing-up between the two poets of the tribe of Tayyī'."

This last statement is substantially correct judging by the contents, with which I shall deal later. This manuscript is complete, in a nice clear hand and well-preserved. It is dated at the end, as printed in the Handlist,

1. My Arabic introduction giving full particulars of this manuscript and that of the *Mu'jam ash-Shu'arā* by Marzubānī printed with it was unfortunately not published with the manuscript but appeared in an obscure Egyptian journal, because the whole book was printed in great haste. I had intended to indicate in this introduction page and line to substantiate my statements.

Friday the 22nd of Rabī' II 694 in Hamāh (the native town of ibn-Khallīkān).

Handlist 1127 (Qq 59).

The *Muwāzana* by al-'Āmidī was printed in Constantinople as one of the first productions of the Jawā'ib Press in 1287 A.H. (197 pp.). The printing is not as neat as that of the later publications of the same press and the Cambridge University Library does not appear to possess a copy. It was reprinted in Bairut 1332 and Cairo 1928 and 1932 according to Brockelmann. I have not seen these publications.

I cannot endorse the statement of the Handlist that the writing is difficult to read. Manuscripts as old as this one are very rare even in the largest European libraries and from the ductus and the paper I believe we can safely date it early in the fifth century of the Hijra, i.e., not long after the death of the author. It has frequent marginal notes showing that the manuscript was compared with the original from which it was copied, and a number of corrections are written in the margins in red ink, the reading of the text being crossed out with the same ink.

A pencil-note at the beginning states that the first leaf is lost. This is not correct as the first leaf is glued to the second, and held to the light the title of the book and some other writing can be discerned. This writing may have contained the Samā' or other indication which might establish the exact date of the manuscript.

At the end is another pencil note stating that two leaves are missing. I can see no justification for this remark. At the bottom of the last page the text was carefully shaved off centuries ago, the last words being *وَنَمُّ الرُّكْبِ* line 19 of page 174 of the printed text. After this follow in the edition a further 23 pages which appear really to be an after-thought of the author. The basis of the Constantinople edition is the comparatively modern manuscript in the Hamīdiyya Library, Istanbul (No. 1207) dated 1129 A.H., so that the Cambridge Codex is about seven hundred years older. This text often differs considerably in minor details from the printed one. I give a few examples : p. 2 line 4 after *الْحَلْ* in margin in red ink *تَحْرِي الصَّدَقِ* , line 7 *مَطْرَحٌ وَمَرْذُولٌ* also line 8 *مَطْرَحٌ* line 11 *مَنْ أَهْلُ* *وَذَلِكَ الْيَلِّ مِنْ أَهْلِ* line 12 *حَلَاوَةُ اللَّفْظِ* also *حَسَنُ التَّخْيِيسِ* line 14 *أَبَا تَمَامٍ* p. 3 line 5 *وَمِيلٌ مِنْ فَنَلٍ* *فَأَقُولُ أَيُّهَا* the text of the edition being crossed out; line 10 *كِرَامَتِكَ* instead of *سَلَامَتِكَ* ; line 14 *أَوَازِنٌ* instead of *أَفَارِنٌ* ; line 22 *وَتَلْمِذَةٌ* instead of *وَبَارَاءٌ* ; p. 4 line 9 *الْخَبِيرُ الشَّيْخُ* instead of *الْخَبِيرُ الشَّائِعُ* ; line 17 *يَعْنِيَا* instead of *يَعْنِيَا* ; line 25 the text had correctly *عِيدَ اللَّهِ* ; but this is crossed out and *عَبْدَ اللَّهِ* written above it (as in the printed edition); p. 5 line 2 *أَبَا سَعِيدٍ الصَّامِي* instead of *الْكَاتِي* . In the *Diwān* of Abū-Tammām this person, who died in 238 A.H., is called *محمد بن يوسف الطائي الثوري* . The manuscript adds the second half of the verse in red ink : *فَصَوَابٌ مِنْ مَقْلَةٍ أَنْ تَصَوَّبَا بِتَخْمِيرِهِ* . Later, in the chapter on the literary thefts of Abū-Tammām I have noted (besides other variants)

p. 23 line 12 *بشجرة* instead of *بشجره*; line 16 *شعراء الجاهلية*; line 17 *شعر الفحول*; line 24 after *وكده* is added in red *وغزته*; line 25 *وعليه وانه ما فاتته شئ كبير*; p. 25 line 17 *راقى ضريبة*. ثم انبرى . As a last example I will mention the verse of al-Ḥuṭai'a, p. 26 line 13, where the text has *لو لو وزبرجد* but the marginal note says *في شعره وشنوف*, which is found in the printed edition and agrees with the text of the *Diwān*. I can only think that 'Amidī himself, citing from memory, made the mistake. Later copyists corrected the error. I have been able to compare only part of the manuscript and took notes in pencil in my copy of the Constantinople edition, ink not being allowed, and I hope that some one in the future will be able to study the manuscript more closely.

The *Muwāzana* of al-‘Āmidī was an answer to the biography of Abū-Tammām written by Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣūlī, which has recently been published on the basis of a unique manuscript preserved in Istanbul. Abū-Tammām if not the originator, was the chief representative of a new style in Arabic poetry abounding in far-fetched metaphors, while his younger contemporary adhered to the old style and this roused a lively controversy in literary circles in the fourth and fifth centuries of the Hijra. Abū-Tammām's poems found commentators, while this was not the case with Buḥturī. A century later all interest in these disputes appears to have vanished and only the book of al-‘Āmidī was copied, because it contained much material concerning ancient poets and among others a list of the many anthologies of Arabic poetry collected by Abū-Tammām, of which only the *Ḥamāsa* attained lasting celebrity.

To complete the series of works on the subject the following represents perhaps the final summing up.

Handlist 1128 (Qq 286)

As already stated the title claims that the manuscript is a kind of justification of the poetry of Mutanabbī in relation to his adversaries, while at the end we are told that it is the *Book of the Weighing-up* of the two poets of the tribes of Ṭayy'. i.e., the poets Abū-Tammām and Buḥturī, which is confirmed by the contents. This treatise in defence of Mutanabbī was written as is attested by many biographers, by the chief-judge, 'Alī b. 'Abd al-‘Azīz al-Jurjānī. On the title-page is a short biography which agrees substantially with what we are told by many others.¹

The summary of all is that 'Alī b. 'Abd al-‘Azīz ath-Thaqafī was a Shāfi'ī lawyer, a native of Jurjān, got into touch with Ṣāḥib ibn 'Abbād and by his influence was finally made judge of his native town and chief

1. Biographies are found in the *Tārīkh-i-Jurjān*, Oxford MS. Laud 276; Abū Ishāq, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Baghdad, p. 101; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, V, 249-258; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 308; Yatīma, ed. Damascus, III, 238; Ibn al-‘Imād III, 56, and others.

judge of ar-Rai, where he died on Tuesday the 24th of Dhu'l-Hijja 392 A.H. His body was carried to Jurjān to be buried there. The Qādī Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad conducted the prayers and his bier was followed by al-Khaṭīr Abū 'Alī al-Qāsim b. 'Alī, wazīr of the Sultān Majd al-Mulk and other notabilities. Al-Ḥākim in the *Tārikh Naisābūr* says that in his youth he came with his brother, then a renowned lawyer, to Naisābūr. Tha'ālibī in the *Yatīma*, copied by all latter authors, states that he wrote a beautiful hand resembling that of ibn Muqla. All authors mention his treatise in defence of Mutanabbī, but none mentions anything about his comparing the two poets Abū-Tammām and Buḥturī.

The whole matter turns round this. The Ṣāhib ibn 'Abbād had written a short treatise of 24 pages (printed text Cairo 1340) in which he pointed out a number of puerilities and other offences against good taste in the poems of Mutanabbī. The work of Jurjānī is in defence of Mutanabbī, pointing out in a long introduction that no poet, even the most celebrated of antiquity, has composed poems free from all kinds of blemishes. After citing numerous examples from poets of all ages he concludes that the best test is to show how the poets Abū-Tammām and Buḥturī treated various subjects and what faults they committed against good taste. He then gives examples on selected subjects such as praise, Khayāl, travel, etc. and gives often quite extensive citations, first from Abū-Tammām and then for comparison verses by Buḥturī on the same subject. He does not confine himself to single lines like al-'Amīdī, but rather desires to show the general impression which longer extracts would give.

The manuscript is therefore correct in its title-page—the Justification of Mutanabbī—but is incidentally also a weighing-up of the merits of the two poets.

I know of no other manuscript. The Cambridge manuscript is in excellent condition and seems to me correct as regards the text.

I have other work in hand, but I hope that some young scholar, well versed in Arabic poetry, may undertake to publish it.

By the courtesy of the librarian of the University Library I am able to give a page of the ancient MS of the *Muwāzana* in facsimile, so that others may be able to give an opinion as to its age.

F. KRENKOW.

CONDUCT OF STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WAR DURING THE MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA

(Continued from p. 352 of the October 1946 Issue)

4. CONDUCT OF A BATTLE

A BATTLE was generally commenced in the morning and stopped at evening. The opposite camps tried to begin an engagement as late in the day as possible, so that in the event of defeat it would be possible to fly under cover of night. Just before the beginning of battle a drum was beaten by the orders of Sar-i-Lashkar, and then a horn blown and the Takbīr was recited as a signal for the soldiers to prepare for encountering their enemies. At the second beat of the drum they got ready with their horses and arms and arranged themselves in battle-array. At the third beat they jumped on their horses and waited for further orders,¹ and when the Chā'ūsh blew the war-horn, the combatants proceeded to fight. The war-cry of the Muslim troops was 'Allāh-o-Akbar,'² and the Hindu shouted 'Narayan' or 'Mahadeva.'³

A battle commenced almost in a similar manner during the Mughal rule. The engagement always began with the beat of drums and sound of other warlike instruments.⁴ There were different words for the war-cry in this period. Beside Allāh-o-Akbar, the Muslim soldiers cried بستان (Smite),⁵ ده (strike),⁶ زن زن (strike, strike),⁷ بکش بکش (kill, kill).⁸ Akbar's war-cry was Yā Mu'in⁹ (O, Helper)! The name has also reference

1. *Ādāb-ul-Harb*, quoted in *Islamic Culture*, October 1937.

2-3. *Tughluq Nāmah*, p. 92, 93.

4. *Malfūzāt-i-Taimūrī*, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 438.

5-6. Describing one of the battles of Akbar at Ahmedabad, Badā'ūnī writes (Vol. II, p. 167).

فروشد بماهی و بر شد بماه بن نیزه و قبه بارگاه
هوانیگون شد زمین آبوس بجوشید دریا ز آواز کوس
بانگشت لشکر بهامون نمود سپاهی که انرا کرانه نبود
کمان کیانی در آمد به زه یکی گفت بستان یکی گفت ده

7-8. Badā'ūnī, Vol. I, p. 345, Khāfi Khān, Vol. II, p. 58.

9. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III, p. 55 and *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 20.

to Khwaja Mu'in-ud-Dīn Chishtī of Ajmer, for whom Akbar had a great regard and veneration. Saif Khān Kokaltāsh was killed at Ahmedabad shouting his battle-cry 'Ajmirī, Ajmirī.'¹ The warriors sometimes shouted aloud the name of their royal master.² The Hindus cried "Ram Ram" and also "Narayan."³ The Marathas shouted "Gopal, Gopal" and "Har Har Mahadeva."

When the combatants became intermingled with the enemy in hand-to-hand clashes, they recognised the soldiers of their own camp either by peculiar sign of their dresses or by a secret watch-word. For example, when Muḥammad Tughluq was fighting against 'Ayn-ul-Mulk, ibn-Baṭūṭṭah writes, "The king on that night fixed two distinctive words 'Delhi' and 'Ghaznī.' When any cavalier met another he said 'Delhi.' If the other replied 'Ghaznī' he was supposed to be of our camp, otherwise he was killed."⁴ The secret watch-word of Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Tughluq's troops in the battle against Khusrū Khān was 'Qala.'⁵ I have failed to find any such secret words which were used in battle by the troops of the Mughal period.

The battle began with the assault of the vanguard,⁶ the right wing staged its movement next, then the centre tried to push its way forward and the left wing came up at the end.⁷ In the beginning of the Muslim rule in India, when fire-arms were not abundantly available, havoc and panic were created on opposite sides by the incessant discharge of arrows. When Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ghorī rearranged his army against Rai Pithaura to avenge his former defeat, he directed his men to harass the enemy on all sides, on the right and on the left, in front and in the rear, with their arrows.⁸ And when the Muslim rule was firmly established in India, elephants were utilized by the archers, who seated themselves on the howdahs, protected by iron sheets.⁹ The howdahs had holes through which arrows could be discharged. These arrows were fiery as well as deadly poisonous. Naphtha which caused flames was also thrown from the back of elephants.¹⁰ Big stones, and liquid fire were also hurled at the enemy through Manjanīq placed on elephants.¹¹ When Sulṭān Maḥmūd Tughluq fought against Tīmūr, his elephant carried howdahs in which were throwers of grenades (Ra'd-andāz), fireworks (Ātash-bāz) and rockets

1. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III, p. 58, *Badā'ūnī*, Vol. VII, p. 170.

2. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 104.

3. *Wāqī'āt 'Ālamgīrī*, p. 29.

4. Ibn Bājah, Urdu translation, p. 181.

5. *Tughluq Nāma*, p. 123.

6. For example, study the battle fought between 'Alā-ud-Dīn and Qutlugh Khwāja Mughal. Baranī, p. 260.

7. *Ādāb-ul-Ḥarb* quoted in *Islamic Culture*, October 1937.

8. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 120.

9. *Tughluq Nāma* p. 92.

10. *Ṣubḥ al-A'ṣha* Vol. V, p. 97.

11. I shall discuss the fire-arms later on.

(Taksh-andāz).¹ Prior to the Mughal rule the ruler of the Deccan States had begun to use cannon which helped greatly in breaking the ranks of the enemy.² Elephants were also employed to create confusion amongst the files of the hostile army.³ And when panic was sufficiently created in the ranks of the enemy, the cavalry and the infantry, armed with swords and spears, rushed forth at their commander's orders for a hand-to-hand contest, and then the battle raged with relentless fury. The pressure of the battle was generally on the centre of the enemy, where the supreme commander stationed himself and the archers were posted at different convenient positions to make him the target of their incessant archery. If he was killed or his elephant wounded, victory was gained without much trouble.

If any wing of the army grew weaker, fresh re-inforcements were hurled at it either from reserve forces or from other wings. But this re-inforcement was arranged with the utmost caution and care. When Humāyūn and Shēr Khān were fighting on the plains of Qannauj, 'Abbās Khān Sarawani writes : " The Emperor's forces were broken by Khawās Khān's division, but Shēr Shāh's right, under his son Jalāl Khān, was defeated ; four of the chiefs, however, kept their ground, namely Jalāl Khān himself, Miyān Aiyūb, Kalkapur Sarawani, and Ghāzī Mujli. When Shēr Shāh saw that his right was broken, he wished to go to its assistance but Quṭb Khān Lodī said, ' My lord, do not quit your own post, lest men should think that the centre also is broken. Go on into the midst of the enemy.' As Shēr Shāh's division proceeded straight on, they encountered the Mughal force which had routed Shēr Shāh's right ; they defeated and drove it into the Emperor's centre division. Shēr Shāh, having driven away Mughal force in front of his son, Jalāl Khān, and his left, in which was his other son, 'Ādil Khān and Quṭb Khān Baneh, having repulsed the troops opposed to them, fell on the Mughal Centre. Shēr Shāh's right, which had been defeated, rallied at the same time, and thus the Afghan army completely surrounded the Mughal force."⁴

Amīr Tīmūr had very vivid, clear-cut and explicit laws and regulations for encountering the enemy. He writes in his *Tuzuk* :

"The troops should be posted just opposite to the hostile army at the distance of one stage.....My order is that the troops should be arrayed in rank and file one day before the battle begins. And the movement should be staged after the forces have been properly arranged. If the horsemen move in one direction, they should not turn back their horses in the same direction. They should not divert their attention by

1. *Malfuzāt-i-Tajmūrī*, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 439.

2. Vide my translation of Maulānā S.A. Zafar Nadvi's Urdu article " The Use of Cannon in Muslim India " in *Islamic Culture*, October 1938.

3. I shall discuss the use of elephants in the Muslim army in another article.

4. *Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shāhī*, Elliot, Vol. IV, pp. 381, 382.

looking to right and left. My order is that when the hostile army comes into their sight they must at once raise their war-cry by shouting 'Takkīr.'

"If the 'Arīd of the troops finds that a commander has erred in his post, he (the 'Arīd) should at once replace him by another officer..... My order is that the commanders of the army must study the numerical strength of the enemy with the help of the 'Arīd, and also compare the number of the commanders of the enemy with those of their own forces, and then make up the deficiency of their numerical strength. They should also keep in view the armaments of their hostile army as well as their own. They must watch the movements of the enemy, and observe whether they wage battle slowly and steadily or in a haphazard manner. The mode of combating the enemy must be thoroughly grasped, i.e., it should be foreseen whether the attack must be made simultaneously from all sides, or whether one troop should follow another. It should be marked whether the enemy during the course of his assault, turns back and makes a fresh offensive or remains content with the first attack. If he remains content with the preliminary attack, the troops of the right wings, which bear the brunt of the attack, must stand patiently, for real bravery lies in patience.

"My order is that the attack must not be commenced until the enemy has begun the aggression. My order is that when the enemy comes to the battle-field, the commanders should keep a strict vigilance on their own troops, and instruct them how to work. The duty of the commanders is to keep their troops busy, and the commanders must not weaken their hearts during the course of engagements, nor should they lose their nerve. They should utilize every file of their army like a weapon. Some must be used as arrows, some as spears, some as swords, some as maces, some as knives and some as daggers. Every troop should be employed for different purposes on different occasions. The commanders should not treat themselves nor their armies like wrestlers, who make simultaneous use of their hands, feet, head, breast, and every part of their bodies. When nine strokes of swords are given turn by turn on the enemy he is sure to be defeated at the ninth stroke. The commander must first move the vanguard against the enemy,¹ and then the van of the right wing should be ordered to follow it to give it necessary support. And then the van of the left wing should be instructed to remain just behind the van of the right wing. In this way the enemy will receive three blows. If the vanguard suffers reverses, the first army of the right wing must make headway, and the second army of the left wing should keep up with it. If victory is not obtained, the second army of the right wing must advance forward, and the first army of the left wing should follow it closely. At this juncture I must be informed of the action, and the commanders must wait for me. The commanders must join the battle, having full confidence in God, and should always think me present in the battle. If by God's grace the enemy receives eight blows, he will then be routed

1. This instruction is for the forces, when their number consisted of about nine or twelve thousand men.

on the ninth blow, and victory will be gained.

“ The commander ought not to be in a hurry, and he should keep the troops busy. And when he is engaged in action, he must save himself from being killed by all possible means, for, if a commander is killed, it causes disgrace, and makes the enemy bolder. The commander should therefore make the best use of sound judgment and judicious device, and must not hurry, for hurry is a Satanic feature. The commander should not rush to a place from which he cannot extricate himself easily..... My order is that if the strength of the enemy is more than twelve thousand but does not come up to forty thousand then the assault on the enemy must be led by one of my sons. In his army there should be two Beklar Bēgī, nobles, and the Qushūn, Tumān, and Ulūs must not consist of less than forty thousand cavaliers. And the conquerring troops, thinking me always present amongst them, must not at any cost give up the cord of wisdom, boldness and heroism..... An efficient supreme commander studies the relative position of the commanders of the enemy, and stations his own commanders accordingly. He should keep in view the archers, swordsmen, and spearmen of the enemy and watch also the movement of their entire army, i.e., whether they bring their forces into the field slowly and continuously or with the speed of an army which runs away being vanquished. He must also know the inlets and outlets of the battle-ground, and observe minutely the modes and devices of warfare of the enemy, for they sometimes appear to be in lesser number and pretend to be flying away from the battle-field. A commander must not be misled by their stratagems and dodges. An efficient and experienced commander is he who knows the art of war, how and when to move an army, how to avoid disaster prudently, and how to encounter the enemy. He should grasp fully the intents of the hostile army, and then outmanœuvre all their tactics..... A commander must keep an eye on the movements of the enemy and warn his Amīr if he moves from his position without order....

“ If the enemy initiates the attack and advances his forces from the right and the left wings, a commander must then swing forward ¹ his chief vanguard against them, after which the right and left vans of the Chapāwal and Shaqāwal (i.e., left and right sides of the left and right wings) must be thrown in to co-ordinate with the Chief vanguard. And then the first army of the Chapāwal (left side of the right wing) and the second army of the Shaqāwal (right side of the left wing) should march ahead, and just behind them the second army of the Chapāwal (i.e., the left side of the right wing) and the first army of the Shaqāwal (the right side of the left wing) must make headway. If the victory is not gained after these seven blows, the vans of the rights as well as the left wings must thrust on, until the enemy receives nine blows. And if the resistance of the foe is not overwhelmed even by these nine blows, the first army of the right wing and the

1. This instruction is for forces numbering twelve to forty thousand.

second army of the left wing must be advanced. If the victory is not accomplished even after these eleven blows, the second army of the right wing and the first army of the left wing must forge ahead and attack, and the enemy is sure to be defeated at this thirteenth blow. But if they are not, the commander should properly arrange the centre, and proceed in such a manner as if his forces were adamantine rocks. He must march slowly and steadily, and order his soldiers and archers to gallop with swords and bows. If the hostile army does not collapse even at this attack the commander should personally give fight, as well as wait for my royal banner. My order is that the Amīrs of the forces should not begin a battle until my specific command reaches them. They should also not personally wage battle till they find no other alternative than to fight, but they must keep themselves always prepared for an encounter. And when they receive orders to commence a battle, they must study the tactics of the enemy and observe the inlets through which he manages to break through. These inlets must be blocked and the blockade should again be made free by well-devised means.

“My order is that when the van of the vanguard advances in an engagement, the Amīr of the vanguard should divide his forces into six parts, all of which should wage battle one after another. These successive blows are sure to inflict disaster on the enemy. At this juncture the leader of the Chapāwal must send turn by turn his own six contingents in support, and should also attack personally. Similarly the Amīr of Shaqāwal should also help the forces of the vanguard with his own six contingents. He must also personally reach them, and by God’s grace the enemy will crumble at this eighteenth blow. If even at these blows the enemy does not show signs of confusion, the Amīr of the right wing should make a drive of his van; and so should the Amīr of the left wing and with the onslaught of the vans of the two wings the enemy is sure to be disrupted. But if the foe does not succumb, the Amīrs of the right and left wings should push on their different forces turn by turn. And if even at this the opposition of the enemy is not frustrated, the Amīrs of the right and left wings should exert themselves personally. And if these Amīrs of the wings experience difficulties, the royal princes, posted on the reserves of the right wing, and the favourite ones stationed on the reserves of the left wing, must attack the enemy, keeping their eyes on the supreme commander and his banner. They should break the ranks of the enemy by their bravery and heroism, and try to capture the commander of the hostile army, and put his ensign to disgrace. And if even at these successive blows the enemy does not give way, all the different forces, the heroes of the centre, the army of the Ulūs, arrayed behind the centre must suddenly make sweeping advances. And if the victory is not assured even by this, the king must move courageously and heroically. If the enemy, by dealing blows on the left and the right wings, as well as on different sides of these wings, manages to reach the centre, the king must consolidate his patience and forbearance and

try to stem their pressure.”¹

The above extracts will help us to understand the art of making a total offensive and defensive effort against the enemy in a battle-field. Tīmūr's descendants profited considerably by the science of warfare of their illustrious ancestor, although they made some changes from time to time in these conventional and traditional forms of fighting. For when incendiary armaments were greatly improved, they were of great assistance in speedily smashing the rank and file of the hostile army. The battle often began with the fiery assault of guns and cannon, which consisted of different kinds and sizes viz., Dēg (mortar), Zamburak (Little wasp), which was so called probably in allusion to its power of stinging), Darb Zan (Swivel guns), Hatnāl (Elephant-barrel), Shutarnāl (camel-barrel), Dhamakah (matchlock), Raḥkalah (small field-pieces), etc.

At the battle of Kanua, Bābur's artillery was placed in the centre of the right wing as well as in front of the centre. The guns were connected by chains and protected by tripod-like breastworks. Matchlockmen stood behind them. The matchlocks and culverins of the centre of the right wing were led 'by the marvel of the age,' Mustāfa of Rūm, while the heavy ordnance in front of the centre was under another 'marvel of the age,' Ustād 'Alī Qulī. With the commencement of the battle, Mustāfa's destructive fire of the small-calibre matchlocks broke the ranks of the Rajput forces, while Ustād 'Alī Qulī's heavy guns discharged big cannon-balls at the iron-mantled elephants of the enemy. When the battle was in full swing, Bābur ordered his flanking parties (Tulghuma) to wheel round and charge. Simultaneously Mustāfa's artillery was moved forward, and the household troops and the cavalry stationed behind the barrage of artillery were ordered to gallop out to right and left of Ustād Qulī's matchlock-men, who also moved ahead and re-doubled the activities of their fire-arms. This movement, which was manœuvred very skilfully, threw the enemy into confusion.²

Hēmū, in the second battle of Panipet, had great confidence in his big cannon. So he sent in advance of himself his park of artillery great both in quality and in quantity, to give a crushing blow to Akbar's army, but the latter out-manœuvred Hēmū's cannoneers by their celerity, dexterity and feline skill.³ In 982 A.H. when Akbar's forces were arrayed against the Afghans near Bajaura, the imperialists caused great havoc amongst the enemy by commencing a heavy discharge of Darbzan and Zamburak, which were mounted on carriages in front of the ranks of the army. The fire of the guns drove back the elephants which were placed in front of the Afghan attack.⁴ Cannon-balls and fire-arms at the commencement of the battle caused similar confusion amongst the elephants of Jānī Bēg of Orissa whom Akbar

1. *Tuzuk-i-Taimūri*, pp. 191-207, Bombay edition.

2. *Bābur Nāma*, by A. S. Beveridge, 568, 569; *Akbar Nāmā*, Vol. I, pp. 108, 109.

3. *Akbar- Nāmā*, Vol. II, p. 36.

4. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, p. 385.

feated in the thirty-sixth year of his reign.¹ And when Jahāngīr's troops were engaged against 'Ambar at Fatehpur in the Deccan, the fight commenced with rocks and gun fire after consternation had been caused in 'Ambar's army by the volleys of these fire-arms, "the chiefs and warriors" writes Jahāngīr in his *Tuzuk*, "drew their swords and vigorously attacked the enemy's advanced force. Their bravery and courage soon put their opponents to confusion. Without turning aside, they then fell upon the centre. In the same manner each division attacked the division which was before it, and the fight was terrible to behold."² In 1056 A.H., Shāh Jahān's troops encountered Nazar Muḥammad Khān in Balkh. "And when the combatants" writes 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lahori "were arrayed in ranks on both sides, the cannoneers and the rocket-men of the victory-laden forces discharged their cannons and bans, which killed many soldiers of the hostile army. The right and the left wings of the enemy, hearing these terrible volleys, which make the gall-bladder of even the lion distracted, could not afford to stand firmly and were put to flight."³

Again, when prince Aurangzēb fought against the Persians at Shāh Mīr, he had a long line of artillery in front of his army, and behind the artillery was placed the advance guard. The Persians arranged their artillery in a similar manner, so the battle opened with a heavy discharge of fire from either side. The Persians avoided the cannonade of the front lines, and so wheeled round and pressed on the flanks and rear of the Mughals. But the Mughals stood invincible against the vigour of the Persian charges.⁴ The battle of Dharmaut, fought between Aurangzēb and Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, also began with the usual discharge of artillery, rockets and muskets at long range. The guns and muskets, fired at point-blank range from Aurangzēb's vans, woefully thinned the ranks of Mahārāja Jaswant Singh's troops. But the Rajputs dashed forward and made impetuous attacks on Aurangzēb's artillery, which was shaken for the time being. Aurangzēb's gunners, however, recovered from the shock and managed to mount their pieces on high ground and then concentrated their fire on the enemy's centre. This caused great havoc in the Mahārāja's army.⁵ At the battle of Samugarh, Dārā's artillery was drawn up in one row along his entire front. Behind it, there stood a body of foot-musketeers, who were sheltered by the wall of big cannon. Next were stationed camels bearing Shutarnāl (camel-barrels) on their backs, and then, further behind, were placed elephants carrying elephant-barrels. The front of Aurangzēb's van was similarly protected by two divisions of artillery, each under a separate officer. The action began with discharges of rockets and guns. Dārā initiated the offensive. He "discharged his artillery, making a frightful noise, and covering the air with a thick cloud of smoke like the mantle of dark night." Aurangzēb was cautious in making counter-charges with his big guns, as he did not like to waste his power

1. Akbar Nāma, Vol. III, p. 612.

2. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 154.

3. *Bādshāh Nāma*, Vol. II, p. 551.

4. *Ibid.*, 551.

5. *Ālamgīr Nāma*, p. 66.

uselessly. He avoided a distant cannonade and waited for a closer range. Dārā's army misjudged the silence of Aurangzēb's guns, so Dārā's son Sipihir Shikoh, the leader of the advance force, in concert with the well-known hero and scarred veteran of the day, Rustam Khān Dakhnī, forced his way to Aurangzēb's artillery, with ten or twelve thousand horses. The cavalry tried to sweep down upon Aurangzēb's van but it failed to penetrate the rows of Aurangzēb's guns, which were chained together. Aurangzēb's chief of artillery and the musketeers behind his guns stood fast and unperturbed in their positions, and warded off the powerful onset with one murderous volley from their cannon. Just at this juncture a ball struck the elephant of the brave Rustam Khān and stretched the animal dead upon the ground. Rustam Khān hewed his way to his right hand and fell upon the left wing of his opponents. But the cannon-balls from Aurangzēb's army caused fearful carnage in the ranks of Rustam Khān's followers. Dārā could not tolerate the discomfiture of Sipihir Shikoh and Rustam Khān, so he foolishly quitted his position in the centre and hastened with his guns against Aurangzēb's artillery. He advanced in person placing his van and guns behind himself. This obstructed the discharge of his artillery, while Aurangzēb continued to make heavy volleys of rockets, cannons and musket balls without giving his opponents any chance to retaliate. Dārā found himself in a perilous position and asked his gunners to bring their pieces up to him, but it was too late. Meanwhile Aurangzēb's artillery blasted a lane of death into the thick of the foe. Dārā avoided his enemy's cannonade by swerving towards his extreme right, but before he reached his van, a large number of his followers succumbed to the deadly fire of the hostile army. Seeing confusion in Dārā's ranks, Aurangzēb's right wing wheeled round to encircle the former's division, and the batteries from the right and left sides assailed it simultaneously without the least danger of being subjected to counter-fire. Like the waves of the sea they approached Dārā with countless guns in front of them, and then began the incessant cannonade. " Cannon-balls carried off head or limbs ; shots weighing 16 lbs. and 20 lbs. flew through the air."

Dārā's elephant was the main target. A large number of his officers perished fighting frantically. Seeing so many of his noble and heroic followers killed, Dārā became distracted and irresolute, and knew not what to do. Just at this moment a rocket struck the howdah of his elephant. This alarmed him so much that he alighted in haste from his elephant without even waiting to put on his slippers, and mounted a horse. And when Dārā's troops saw that the howdah of his elephant was empty, they believed that their supreme commander had fallen, and at once all was over with Dārā.

(To be Continued).

S. SABAHUDDIN.

1. For details vide 'Ālamgīr Nāma, pp. 96-105 Wāqī'āt 'Ālamgīrī, 43-48; Khāfī Khān, 28-31. Jadu Nath Sarkar has also given a long description of the battle in his *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. II, Chapter XVI.

MODERN URDU POETS OF HYDERABAD¹

THE plateau of the Deccan, which is now occupied by the Hyderabad State, has been the cradle of vernacular poetry from very early times, and if we turn back the pages of history we notice that at the end of the sixteenth century A.D. and the beginning of the 17th century there were two kings of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty, Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, and Muḥammad Qutb Shāh, who composed lyric verse in the Dekhani language in an elegant style. The Dekhani language, according to the opinion of expert Urdu scholars, is the foster-mother, if not the real mother of the Urdu language. Coming down to later times we find among the rulers of the Āṣaf Jāhī dynasty poets of great merit, particularly the late Nizām and his illustrious and talented son, the present ruler. The charm of the late Nizām's verse lay in beauty of language as well as in elegance of diction and piquancy of ideas. The poetry of His Exalted Highness also amply deserves the compliment contained in the old adage - *كلام الملوك ملوك الكلام* - 'the king's verse is the noblest verse,' because he is not only a masterly craftsman, but a deep thinker and a profound scholar.

The love of poetry of these two kings not only inspired the people of Hyderabad State, but also attracted the master poets of India to their court. Notably, Nawab Mirza Khān Dāgh, who came to Hyderabad in the eighties of the last century and was duly honoured by the Court, receiving the title of Nawab Faṣīḥ-ul-Mulk Bahādur with a princely allowance. Later, Munshī Amīr Aḥmad Mīnā'ī also moved from Rampur to Hyderabad, and he breathed his last at this place. The best poems of Dāgh were composed in Hyderabad, and besides the late Nizām a large number of Hyderabad nobles became his pupils. Dāgh was succeeded at the Court by his distinguished disciple, Hāfiz Jalīl Hasan Jalīl, whom His Exalted Highness, the present Nizām, honoured by the title of Nawab Faṣāḥat Jung Bahādur.

*This paper was read at a meeting of the Hyderabad Centre of the Poetry Society, held at the residence of Sahibzada Nawab Basalat Jah Bahadur in January, 1946—G.Y.

During the reign of the above-mentioned two kings of the Āṣaf Jāhī dynasty, some other poets of creative genius visited Hyderabad, the most notable among them being Hālī and Sarshār who came during the rule of the late Nizām and Iqbāl, Fānī, Aṣghar Josh, Ḥafīz, Jigar and Sāghar who visited it during the reign of the present ruler. All of them were warmly received and some were offered suitable appointments, or were granted adequate pecuniary aid. As these poets belonged to different schools of thought their verse widened the outlook of the younger generation of Hyderabad, particularly those who possessed the poetic instinct.

It will be appropriate to mention in this connection the names of Maulavī 'Alī Ḥaidar Šāhib Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Professor of the Nizam College, and Maulavī Waḥīd-ud-Dīn Šāhib Salīm and Maulavī 'Abdul Ḥaq Šāhib of the Osmania University, who interpreted to the students the true ideals of poetry and saved them from the pitfalls of superficial verse. Hyderabad now has a galaxy of young poets, and the four whom I have selected for my discourse should not necessarily be considered to be the best among them, but they are fairly representative of the group—one of them is a Government official, another is a communist, the third is a rustic hailing from a country town, and the fourth belongs to the royal family. The political and economic conditions of the world in general and of India in particular have given a certain poignancy to their ideas, but the grace of expression and the musical effect which have been the characteristics of Oriental poetry from the times of Kālīdās and Bhāsa, or Khusrāu and Ḥafīz still form the attractive features of the verse of the modern Urdu poets of the Deccan.

I shall first of all introduce to you Fazl-ur-Rahmān, the talented Controller of the Broadcasting Department of H.E.H.'s Government. He is forty-three years of age, slim, handsome, with large bright eyes; determined to a degree in his convictions, but polite and courteous to all. He was first educated at the Nizam College and afterwards at the Poona College whence he obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts of the Bombay University with honours. The political activities of Poona made an indelible impression on the young mind of Fazl-ur-Rahmān and we see reflections of this in such poems as :

جب آگے بڑھینگے دست و قدم چالیس کروڑ انسانوں کے
 ہل جائینگے گنبد مشرق سے مغرب تک سب ایوانوں کے
 لاجپاروں کی قسمت چمکے گی پھر جائینگے دن نادانوں کے
 پھر یہ ساری دکھیا راتیں
 گویا منظر افسانوں کے

Translation

When the hands and feet of four hundred million people move
 forward.

The domes of all the palaces of the East and West will shake :
 The fortunes of the helpless will smile, the days of the innocent
 will brighten,
 And all these painful nights will appear as dark scenes of a story.

This poem besides its patriotic tone and the charm of its language has a metrical force appropriately echoing the march of an army of 400 millions soldiers. Fazl-ur-Rahmān is most judicious in the selection of metres, but in the present case he seems to be influenced by some English poets, notably Tennyson, whose well-known poem, *The Charge of the Light Brigade*, produces a similar effect.

Fazl-ur-Rahmān has read English literature extensively and one may find the echo of Tennyson's well-known lines on the nebular theory in the *Princess* in Fazl-ur-Rahmān's *Karishma-i-Vujūd*, the *Miracle of Existence*. But our poet has dealt with the theory in such an original way and with such charm of diction that his art cannot be called purely imitative. I quote the poem, but for such readers as are not familiar with the Urdu language I give also a translation :

نہ ستاروں کے تھے چراغ یاں	نہ زمیں بنی تھی نہ آسماں
فقط ایک سیاہ سا کچھ دھواں	فقط ایک دھندلی سی کھر تھی
نہ یہ ابر و باد نہ بارشیں	نہ یہ مہر و ماہ کی گردشیں
نہ یہ دشت تھے نہ یہ گلستان	نہ یہ روز و شب نہ یہ بحر و بر
ابھی لاکھوں نقش ابھرنے تھے	ابھی ماہ و سال گزر رہے تھے
ابھی زندگی کی یہ داستان	نہ لکھی تھی وقت کے ہاتھوں نے
مچی دھوم عرش سے فرش تک	اٹھا شور چار سو یک بہ یک
وہ چلا حیات کا کارواں	وہ کھلے وجود کے راستے
تھی خوشی کی اصل میں انتہا	غم زندگی کی یہ ابتدا
کہیں رقص محفل آسماں	کہیں دور میں قدح زمیں
کبھی چادر ابر بہار کی	کبھی آفتاب کی روشنی
لگا جگمگانے یہ خاکدان	کبھی ماہتاب کے نور سے
کہ نہ جس کی حد نہ کچھ انتہا	وہ ارتقا کا وہ سلسلہ
بنے آج انجم ضوء فشاں	جو حیرت ڈرے تھے کل کے دن
کہیں شعلے شمع خیال کے	کہیں جلوے حسن و جمال کے
ہوئی سر فرازی دو جہاں	غرض اک نگہ کے اشارے میں

Translation

Neither was the earth made nor the sky,
 Nor did the lamps of the stars shine therein :
 There was but a dim fog-like veil,
 Or a dark smoky screen.
 There were no revolutions of the sun and the moon,
 Nor were these clouds, or the winds and rains :
 Nor the day and night, nor the ocean and sea ;
 Nor the deserts, nor the gardens.
 Many a cycle was to pass,
 Many a feature to take shape :
 Nor had the hands of Time
 Written down the story of creation.
 Suddenly a loud voice was heard in all directions :
 It echoed below and above ;
 Lo, the paths of existence have opened,
 The caravan of life has started.
 The beginning of the sufferings of life
 Was really the excess of joy ;
 The cup of earth was rotating here,
 The assemblage of heaven revolving there.
 Sometimes the blaze of the sun,
 Sometimes the shady screen of the spring-cloud,
 Sometimes the light of the moon
 Which lit up the entire earth.
 The continuous process of evolution
 Which has no limit nor any end ;
 What yesterday were the insignificant atoms,
 Today shine as light-reflecting stars.
 Here the vision of beauty and charm,
 There the radiance of the lamp of intellect ;
 In short, by a nod
 Both worlds (the visible and invisible) were honoured.

In this poem Fazl-ur-Raḥmān has kept in view the Islamic idea of the creation of the world side by side with modern scientific theories. The religious spirit of Fazl-ur-Raḥmān is also apparent in another poem in which he describes the different features of the universe according to the theory of electrons. The latter poem is one of his masterpieces, for the poet has exhibited therein not only his high imaginative power, but also exqui-

site taste in the choice of words and the fluency of metre. The language is extremely simple, offering perhaps a solution of the difficult problem of how to combine Hindi with Urdu, and the expression so resonant with feelings of love that it at once touches the inner chords of the heart. For instance, these two hemistichs :

یہ پرند یہ پیت کے مارے ہوئے
نہیں بجھتی پریم کی جن کے اگن

Translation

These birds, the victims of love,
The glow of whose ardour never flickers.

I quote the poem in full and also give a translation :

یہ پہاڑ یہ نہرین یہ کھیت یہ بن
وہ ستارے جو پھول ہیں روشنی کے
یہ سہائے نظارے یہ پیاری زمیں
وہ فضائیں فلک کی وہ چرخ بریں
یہ ہے برق کے ذروں کا ناچ پیا
وہ ہے بجلی کی لہروں کا کھیل سجن

یہ ہوائیں جو باغوں میں مست ہیں سب
یہ بہار اور نکھت و رنگ کی مئے
یہ سہائے نظارے یہ پیاری زمیں
وہ صراخیں لالہ یہ جام سن
یہ ہے برق کے ذروں کا ناچ پیا
وہ ہے بجلی کی لہروں کا کھیل سجن

یہ شگوفے حسینوں کی جن میں ادا
یہ پرند یہ پیت کے مارے ہوئے
یہ سہائے نظارے یہ پیاری زمیں
یہ نسیم کا رقص یہ موج صبا
نہیں بجھتی پریم کی جن کے اگن
یہ فضائیں فلک کی وہ چرخ بریں
یہ ہے برق کے ذروں کا ناچ پیا
وہ ہے بجلی کی لہروں کا کھیل سجن

یہ بشر جو ہے خلق کا لخت جگر
یہ کون سے ذروں کا ناچ پیا
یہ تخیل و فکر یہ ذہن رسا
یہ جو ساری خدائی کا نور نظر
یہ ہے کونسی لہروں کا کھیل سجن
یہ تکلم و نطق یہ ذوق نوا
یہ ہے کون سے ذروں کا ناچ پیا
یہ ہے کون سی لہروں کا کھیل سجن

Translation

These mountains, rivers, fields and forest,
This earth which for its natural charms excels a garden,

The stars which are light-emitting flowers,
 The sky which is the illuminated garden of heaven,
 These delightful views, this beautiful earth,
 Those attractive visions of the sky and the sublime firmament :
 The former, O my love, is the dance of electric units,
 The latter, the play of electric waves.

The zephyr which is in a state of inebriation in the garden,
 The trees which hold cups in their hands,
 This wine of bloom, fragrance and colour,
 The flagon of tulips, the cup of jasmine :
 These delightful sights, this beautiful earth,
 Those attractive visions of the sky, the sublimity of heaven,
 The former, O my love, is the dance of electric units,
 The latter, the play of electric waves.

The buds which possess the charm of beautiful maidens,
 The dance of the breeze, and the waving of the zephyr,
 These birds, the victims of love,
 The glow of whose ardour never flickers ;
 These delightful views, this beautiful earth,
 Those attractive visions of the sky, and the sublime firmament :
 The former, O my love, is the dance of electric units ;
 The latter, the play of electric waves.

Man who is the heart of ' the creation,'
 The light of the eyes of the entire universe ;
 The dance of which electric units represents him ?
 The play of which electric waves portrays him ?
 This imagination, thought, and the discerning mind,
 The power to talk, the art of speaking, and the taste for music,
 The dance of which electric units represents him ?
 The play of which electric waves portrays him ?

Fazl-ur-Rahmān is not a *ghazal-go*, lyrical poet, in the true sense of the term, but a considerable element of love poetry is to be noticed in his poems. There is however no outburst of passion, on the contrary the poet's artistry, regulated by a strict mental discipline, presents the delicacies of emotion in beautiful patterns of philosophical themes. The nappy union of feelings of love with sober thought is best illustrated in poems like *Jagat Devi*, ' the Goddess of the Universe,' some lines of which with a translation I venture to quote below :

کبھی دھوپ کے روپ میں مسکرانا	کبھی چھپ کے بدلی میں آنسو بہانا
شعاعوں سے سورج کی ماتھے پہ افشاں	شفق سے ہتیلی پہ منہدی لگانا
ستاروں سے مکھڑا چھپانے کی خاطر	پھر اودی گھٹاؤں کو آنچل بنانا
سبھا میں کبھی شہر والوں کی آکر	لجائی نگاہوں سے بجلی گرانا

کبھی قتل کرنا جلانا کبھی پھر کبھی یونہی شور قیامت مچانا
 ادھر دل میں بس کے شوخی دکھانا ادھر دور رہنے کی آنکھوں سے کوشش
 ادھر پیت کی ریت من کو سکھانا ادھر ڈھونڈنا چلے انجان بن کر
 دل و جان کو سو سو طرح آزمانا دکھا کر کبھی بے رخی زندگی بھر
 دکھی دل کی ہر دم تسلی کو آنا کبھی بن کے آرام جان بن بلائے
 غرض اس کی چاہت کا کوئی بہرہ نہ کچھ بیر اور دشمنی کا ٹھکانا

Translation

Sometimes smiling in the glory of sunshine,
 Sometimes concealing herself behind the clouds and shedding
 Decorating the forehead with the gold of morning rays ; [tears :
 Painting the palms with the *henna* of sunset :
 To conceal her face from the stars
 Using the veil of mauve clouds ;
 Sometimes entering the assemblies of town-people
 And casting thunder-bolts of amorous glances :
 Murdering sometimes, reviving at others,
 Sometimes causing the tumult of resurrection.
 On the one hand keeping herself at a distance from the eyes,
 On the other occupying the heart and dallying.
 Outwardly finding out excuses to pretend ignorance,
 Inwardly teaching the heart the rules of love.
 Sometimes showing indifference throughout one's life,
 And examining the heart and soul in a thousand ways ;
 Sometimes solacing without request,
 And visiting to minister to the heart in anguish.
 In short neither is her love to be trusted,
 Nor is there any limit to her hostility and revenge.

In addition to his high poetical talent Fazl-ur-Rahmān possesses a well-developed critical ability, and these double qualifications have made him eminently fit for the task which he has set before him of holding *Mushā'iras* at regular intervals to guide the budding poets of Hyderabad by his sound advice and balanced judgment. I may add, parenthetically, that Fazl-ur-Rahmān is also an accomplished dramatist, and founder of the Urdu stage in Hyderabad. He has translated several English dramas, adapting them to Indian conditions of life. For instance, his *Fasāhat Begam* shows no less ingenuity and sense of humour than Mrs. Malaprop in *The Rivals* of Sheridan. Fazl-ur-Rahmān has written several original dramas also which have been published. Apart from their literary merit these dramas throw considerable light on the present social and economic problems of the country.

I now pass on to another poet whom I have called 'rustic' in the beginning of this paper. His name is Sikandar 'Alī and his poetic title Vajd. I shall refer to him by the poetic title only henceforward. Vajd was born in a village of the Vijapur Taluqa of Aurangabad district. He grew up in a rural atmosphere, hence the simplicity and directness of his character. Vajd went for secondary education to Aurangabad, the historical environs and traditions of which appealed to his patriotic instinct and artistic mind. He has appropriately expressed his feelings regarding the glory of this place in his poem entitled *Aurangabad*. He writes :

تری پائندگی یوں ہنس رہی ہے انقلابوں پر سمندر جیسے ہنستا ہے حقارت سے جباہوں پر
 زمانہ میں ترے آثار کی توقیر ہوتی ہے تری آغوش میں تہذیب اہل ہند سوتی ہے
 رہی چشم مذاہب تیرے در پر خونچکان برسوں رہینگے دامن کہسار میں جن کے نشان برسوں
 ہے تیری وادیوں میں عزم خلجی بے قرار اب تک فضا میں ہمت تغلق کا اڑتا ہے غبار اب تک
 ولی کے نعمہ جاسوز گونجے تیری محفل میں سراج بزم عرفاں سے اجالا ہے ترے دل میں
 ترے ہی ساز پر میں نے سنے نعمے جوانی کے ترے ماحول میں سیکھے ہیں گر جادو بیانی کے
 تخیل پر مرے منقوش ہے تیری بہار اب تک
 مرے آنسو تری الفت کے ہیں آئینہ دار اب تک

Translation

Thy immortality is smiling at the revolutions of Time,
 Just in the same way as the ocean laughs at the bubbles.
 Thy monuments are looked at with respect all the world over,
 The culture of India rests in thy lap.
 The eye of many a religion has shed tears of blood in search of
 truth at thy threshold,
 The stains will survive in thy hills for centuries to come.
 The tremor of Khalji's expeditions is still felt in thy valleys,
 Thy atmosphere is still cloudy with the dust raised by Tughluq's
 dauntless invasion.
 The heart-melting songs of Walī resound in thy assemblies,
 And the inspiring poems of Sirāj illumine thy heart.
 I have heard the notes of youth from thy harp,
 I have learnt the magic of speech in thy nooks.
 Thy glory is painted fresh on my imagination,
 My tears mirror-like reflect affection for thee even now.

Vajd came to Hyderabad for higher education and joined the Osmania University, where he had a brilliant literary career. He edited the Urdu section of the *Osmania University Magazine* and developed his poetic talents under such teachers as Maulānā 'Abdul-Ḥaqq Ṣaḥīb, and in the

company of such fellow-students as Makhdūm and Maikash. Vajd possesses a musical voice, and his own view is that the musical effect of a poem much enhances its appeal. He writes :

طرز کہن سے سرد ہوئی محفل ادب ساز سخن کو نغمہ جدت طراز دے

The literary assemblies have become cold by reason of old rhymes,
The lute of poesy should produce fresh melodies now.

Again, he does not consider verbal elegance essential for poetry ; according to him the search for truth, which is real beauty, should be the aim of a poet :

شعر کے پردے میں راز زندگانی فاش ہو صرف لفظی شاعری کا وجد میں قائل نہیں

Poetry should reveal the truths of existence ;
Vajd has no faith in the verse which has only verbal ornamentation.

The poet, although quite young, being only 33 years old, is a sound thinker and a clever artist, which characteristics promise well for his future progress. To show the music of his poetry, and his fertile imagination combined with deep thought, I quote some stanzas of his well-known poem, *Ajanta*, which is considered to be a masterpiece :

جگر کے خزن سے کھینچے گئے ہیں نقش لائانی تصدق جن کے ہر خط پر تخیل خانہ مانی
مشکل ہے شباب و حسن میں تخیل انسانی تقدس کے سہارے جی رہا ہے ذوق عربانی
گلستان اجنتا پر جنوں کا راج ہے گویا
یہاں جذبات کے اظہار کی معراج ہے گویا

بہانہ مل گیا اہل جنوں کو حسن کاری کا اثاثہ لوٹ ڈالا شوق میں فصل بہاری کا
چٹانوں پر بنایا نقش دل کی بے قراری کا سکھایا گر اسے جذبات کی آئینہ داری کا
دل کہسار میں محفوظ اپنی داستان رکھدی
جگر داروں نے بنیاد جہان جاوداں رکھدی

ہنرمندوں نے تصویروں میں گویا جان بھر دی ہے ترازو دل میں ہو جاتی ہے وہ کافر نظر دی ہے
اداؤں سے عیاں ہے لذت درد جگر دی ہے کھلینگے راز اس ڈر سے دھن پر مہر کردی ہے
یہ تصویریں بظاہر ساکت و خاموش رہتی ہیں
مگر اہل نظر پوچھیں تو دل کی بات کہتی ہیں

کرشمہ ہے یہ ارباب ہم کی سعی بیہم کا جنہیں احساس تک باقی نہ تھا کچھ شادی و غم کا
دلوں پر عکس کھنچ آیا تھا جن کے حسن عالم کا قلم کو نقش از بر ہو گیا تھا اسم اعظم کا
چٹانوں پر شباب و حسن کی موجیں رواں کر دیں
فسوں کاروں نے رنگوں میں مقید بچلیاں کر دیں

جہاں چھوڑا خوشی سے جادواں پیغام کی خاطر خوشامد اہل دولت کی نہیں کی نام کی خاطر
 نہ چھانی خاک در در کی کسی انعام کی خاطر جئے بھی کام کی خاطر مرے بھی کام کی خاطر
 زمانہ کی جبین پر عکس چھوڑے ہیں نگاہوں کے
 رہینگے نقش ان کے نام مٹ جائینگے شاہوں کے

Translation

With the blood of the heart unique figures have been drawn,
 Their charm throws into the background the magical art of Mānī.
 Human imagination has personified itself in the forms of beauty and
 The aptitude for nudity is disguised in the veil of religion. [youth,
 The garden of Ajanta lies as if in the kingdom of genii,
 The expression of emotion has reached its zenith here.

The enthusiasts found an excuse to exhibit their artistic skill,
 In their passion they exhausted the treasures of Spring's beauty.
 They have painted the impatience of their heart on the rock-wall,
 And taught Art to mirror their feelings.
 They have preserved the story of love in the bosom of the rock ;
 The courageous have thus laid the foundation of an everlasting
 world.

The artists have given life to the images,
 They have given them amorous glances which pierce the heart :
 Their gestures indicate that they relish the pain of love,
 But artists have sealed their lips lest they should disclose the inner
 Apparently the paintings are silent and speechless, [secret.
 But when those who are initiated question them they tell the story
 of the heart.

The paintings are a monument of the continuous effort of those
 high-minded persons,
 Who had extinguished their feelings for pleasure and sorrow ;
 The beauty of the universe was impressed upon their hearts,
 Their brush had learnt the significance of the Divine name :
 They have set streams of beauty and youth to flow on the hills ;
 The wizards have concealed electric effect in colours.

They willingly forsook the world for the eternal message,
 Did not flatter the wealthy personages in order to acquire fame ;
 Never disgraced themselves by going from door to door for re-
 They lived for art and died for art. [ward,
 They have left the impress of their vision on the forehead of Time,
 Their work will survive while the names of kings will disappear.

Vajd has written lyric poems as well, which have considerable sweetness, but he is more a realist than a visionary in his ideas. For instance, poems like *The Nurse*, or *The Wine-Tavern* are more typical of his mental outlook and technical skill than any of his *Ghazals*. In India the profession of a nurse has not become popular as yet. Vajd's poem is an appeal to the fair sex to take up this sacred duty in order to ameliorate human suffering. He has described the life of a nurse in these enchanting lines :

گلوں سے قبل اوس آتی ہے تیرا منہ دھلانے کو	نسیم آتی ہے سب سے پیشتر تیرے جگانے کو
تجھے ہنا کے جوڑا کل جہاں پر پھیل جاتی ہے	سحر ملبوس نورانی قمر سے مانگ لاتی ہے
ترے آنے سے گل ہنستے ہیں کلیاں مسکراتی ہیں	ہوائیں مست و عنبر بار تیرے ساتھ آتی ہیں
تری آمد نہیں کم آمد باد بہاری سے	دل پژمرده پاتے ہیں رہائی بے قراری سے
تری رفتار میں ہے موجزن طوفان رعنائی	بلا کی دلنشینی ہے تری گفتار نے پائی
اثر اکسیر کا پنہاں ہے تیری غمگساری میں	نہاں جذبات مہر و لطف ہیں خدمتگزار میں
نظام دھر کو تھا ناز اپنی بے مثالی پر	
عمل تیرا مگر ہے خندہ زن اس کج خیالی پر	

Translation

The zephyr comes to wake thee first,
The morning-dew washes thy face before attending to flowers :
Dawn brings the white garment from the Moon,
And after dressing thee spreads its light on the universe.
The sweet smells and fragrant air accompany thee,
At thy visit the buds smile and flowers bloom.
The withered hearts are relieved of restlessness,
Thy arrival is not less welcome than the arrival of the spring-air.
There is an indescribable charm in thy speech,
In thy gait is the rhythm of a sea nymph.
The feelings of love and affection are concealed in thy service,
Thy sympathy works like an elixir in curing the malady.
The law of the universe was proud of its unique effectiveness,
But thy work laughs at this conceit.

The Wine-Tavern, although suggesting rakishness by its title, is very philosophical in its ideas and reflects the deep thinking capacity of the poet. I give some lines of this poem :

بے حقیقت فرق صبح و شام تھا	میکدہ میں ایک ہی ہنگام تھا
چشم ساق کا کھلا پیغام تھا	جس کو پاس ہوش ہے اندر نہ آئے
وقف عشرت ہر دل نا کام تھا	عام تھی تقسیم لطف زندگی
ہر طرف ذکر مئے گلفام تھا	قصہ توبہ رہا بیرون در
فکر عقی اک خیال خام تھا	ہال مستی کی عیاں تھی پختگی

بزم میں زندوں کے تیور الاماں جو تھا اپنے وقت کا خیام تھا
 نغمہ پیرا تھی حیات جاوداں
 زندگی پر موت اک الزام تھا

Translation

Time had lost its relativity in the wine-tavern,
 The difference of morning and evening was unreal.
 Whoever possesses his senses should not come inside,
 This was the clear order of the maid of the tavern.
 The distribution of the pleasures of life was uniform,
 Every disappointed heart was enjoying eternal pleasure.
 The doctrine of repentance was driven out of the door,
 All were talking of the rose-coloured wine.
 The state of inebriation indicated the maturity of mind,
 The care for the next life was a childish idea.
 The glances of drunkards in the assembly were awe-inspiring,
 Each of them was a Khayyām of his time.
 The eternal life was playing a sweet note,
 Death appeared to be a false charge on existence.

In this brief review it is difficult to deal with every aspect of Vajd's poetry, but as a considerable number of his poems have been published in the form of a book entitled *Lahū Tarang*, I would suggest the study of this book to those who are interested in his verses.

The third poet of Hyderabad whom I have selected for review is Ṣāhib-zāda Muḥammad 'Alī Maikash. He belongs to the royal family, and has therefore an inherent aptitude for poetry. He is an alumnus of the Osmania University, for which he has great affection, and several of his poems are addressed to the University dons and students, and describe the University and its environs. Maikash is young, but he is a prolific writer, his verse being characterised by spontaneity, freshness of ideas, and simplicity of language. He does not belong to any particular school; he writes *Ghazals* in the classical style and songs in the modern. But there is no tendency towards vulgarism in his modern poems. As a specimen of his work in the latter style I quote some stanzas from *Kisī-kī-Yād*, the Remembrance of a Friend :

آتش شرر شوق کی بھڑکاتا ہے کوئی
 سینے میں دل زار کو گرماتا ہے کوئی
 طوفان بلا میرے لئے لاتا ہے کوئی
 یاد آتا ہے کوئی
 جلوں سے نظر آتی ہیں معمور فضائیں
 مستانہ کئے دیتی ہیں مستانہ ادائیں

آنکھوں میں نظر بن کے سا جاتا ہے کوئی
یاد آتا ہے کوئی

جب جوشِ محبت میں نکل جاتی ہیں آہیں
گڑ جاتی ہیں رخ پر مری پر شوق نگاہیں

دنیاۓ تصور میں بھی شرماتا ہے کوئی
یاد آتا ہے کوئی

پھر جوش میں آتی ہے مرے درد کی دنیا
پھر حشرِ پیا کرتی ہے بیتاب تمنا
سوئے ہوئے فتنوں کو جگاتا ہے کوئی
یاد آتا ہے کوئی

Translation

The flame of the fire of love has been set ablaze by someone,
The wounded heart has received warmth from someone,
The storms of affliction are assuaged by someone,
Certainly, I remember someone.

The atmosphere is rich with visions,
The amorous glances intoxicate the sense,
Someone takes her abode like a vision in the eye ;
Certainly, I remember someone.

When through excess of love sighs escape from my heart,
And my eager glances are fixed on her face ;
Even in the world of imagination someone blushes ;
Certainly, I remember someone.

The world of my grief breaks into a tumult,
My restless emotion causes a resurrection,
Someone awakes the dormant feelings,
Indeed, I remember my friend.

In the third stanza the line :

دنیاۓ تصور میں بھی شرماتا ہے کوئی

‘ Even in the world of imagination someone blushes,’
exhibits the poet’s artistic conception in a vivid style.

Maikash has written several poems in the style of Iqbāl, among which *Jawānī kā Gīt* is very typical of the ‘doctrine of action’ as inculcated by the latter poet. I quote here a few lines of this song also :

میں اپنے ذوقِ آرزو سے زندگی بناؤں گا
شرارِ شوق کی تڑپ میں شمعِ دل جلاؤں گا

جہاں کی سختیوں کو کھیلنے ہوئے اٹھاؤنگا
ترقیوں کی شاہراہ پر قدم بڑھاؤنگا

عمل کے گیت گاؤنگا
جہاں نو بساؤنگا
ابھی تو میں جوان ہوں

رباب دل میں مرتعش ہے نغمہ زار زندگی
رگوں میں بہ رہی ہے ایک جوئبار زندگی
نفس کی بے قراروں میں ہے قرار زندگی
قدم قدم پہ لاکھ مشکایں ہوں مسکراؤنگا

عمل کے گیت گاؤنگا
جہاں نو بساؤنگا
ابھی تو میں جوان ہوں

ہیں جستجو کی بے قراریاں نظر کے نور میں
ہے انکسار کی جھلک شباب کے غرور میں
چھپی ہوئی ہے ایک تڑپ سکون کے وفور میں
میں زندگی کی وسعتوں پہ کیف بنکے چھاؤنگا

عمل کے گیت گاؤنگا
جہاں نو بساؤنگا
ابھی تو میں جوان ہوں

Translation

I shall shape my life according to my ideals,
I shall light the candle of the heart with the flame of my search,
I shall bear the hardships of the world in a sportive mood,
I shall quicken my pace on the path of progress.

I shall sing the song of action,
I shall build a new world,
For I am still young.

The melody of life is vibrating in the rebeck of my heart,
The stream of life is flowing in my veins;
My impatient breathing shows the fullness of life,
I should smile even if there were obstacles at every step.

I shall sing the song of action,
I shall build a new world,
For I am still young.

The restlessness of search exists in the light of my vision,
 There is a glimpse of selflessness in the conceit of my youth,
 In the amplitude of perseverance there is concealed the potential
 force for action,
 I shall dominate the expanses of life like one drunk with wine.
 I shall sing the song of action,
 I shall build a new world,
 For I am still young.

In this poem the line—میں زندگی کی وسعتوں پہ کیف بن کے چھاؤنگا—is a vivid picture of the unfettered emotion and inebriated mood of youth.

Again, the line—انکسار کی جھلک شباب کے غرور میں—indicates artistry of a subtle type.

To widen the scope of Urdu poetry Maikash has also written poems in the form of English *sonnets*, but they are absolutely oriental in conception and feeling. As an illustration I quote his sonnet, *Moon and Poet*.

دھان کے کھیتوں کی جانب دیکھتا ہے بار بار پریت کے مارے ہوؤں کی طرح چہرہ زرد ہے
 اس کی بیتابی بتاتی ہے کہ دل میں درد ہے چاند بھی شاید ہے لذت آشنائے انتظار
 قلب کی گہرائیوں میں آرزو مستور ہے بس گیا ہے جب سے فکرستان ہستی میں کوئی
 آگ سی بھڑکا رہا ہے دل کی بستی میں کوئی قلب شاعر جوش احساسات سے مجبور ہے

ابر سے چہن چہن کے گرتی ہیں شعاعیں ماہ کی
 حسن منظر پر حجاب نور ہے چھایا ہوا
 پڑ گیا ہے چہرہ گیتی پہ اک رنگیں نقاب
 ہے سکوت شام میں آتش نوائی آہ کی
 روح تڑپاتی ہوئی قلب گرمایا ہوا
 ساغر تخیل میں گویا چھلکتی ہے شراب

Translation

She is looking at the rice fields often and often,
 Her face is pale like that of a love-sick person,
 Her quivering indicates that she has pain in the heart,
 The Moon also perhaps enjoys the feelings resulting from waiting.

Desire is concealed in the depth of the heart,
 Since the world of my thought has been occupied by someone :
 In the habitation of my mind someone is kindling fire,
 The poet's heart is inundated by the flood of emotion.

Rays of the moon are falling after being sifted with clouds,
 A veil of light has enveloped the beautiful vision,
 A coloured scarf has concealed the face of the earth.

In the silence of evening the fiery voice of the sigh
Has tormented the soul and heated the brain (lit. heart) ;
The cup of imagination is, as it were brimful of the wine of ecstasy.

Maikash has written some charming poems on the phenomena of nature and scenic beauty, among which *The Moon-lit Night* and *The Embankment of the Sāgar* have become very popular and are widely read and recited. The recent events of the world have caused a revolution in the ideas of the poet, for he sees that the opulence, prosperity, and the so-called culture of the powerful nations are based upon the exploitation of the weak. His new poems therefore reflect feelings of disgust and anger at the supercilious behaviour and lack of sympathy of those in authority, and point out that a change in the political and economic outlook of the world is absolutely necessary for the well-being of mankind. His refined artistic taste and beautiful language may be admired even in such poems. I quote a few lines from the poem entitled *Behind the Screen* :

ان پردوں کے پیچھے کیسے عشرہیں تو کیا جانے	رنگ و بو کے متوالے حسن و نور کے دیوانے
کتنے طوفان جھول رہے ہیں شاخ گل کے جھولوں میں	کتنی بہاریں توڑ رہی ہیں دم ان ہنس مکھ پھولوں میں
کتنے طوفان انگڑائی لیتے ہیں اس کے سینے میں	شبم جو آسودہ نظر آتی ہے کنول کے سفینے میں
کتنے بھوکوں کی آہیں ہیں کھیتوں کی شادابی میں	کتنے بے بس پیاسوں کے ٹوٹے ارماں ہیں گلابی میں
انسانوں کے روپ میں کتنی زندہ نعشیں پھرتی ہیں	ٹوٹتے تاروں کو لے کر کتنی نگاہیں گرتی ہیں
چاندنی راتیں آتی ہیں کھوجاتی ہیں قبرستانوں میں	برکھارت ماتم کرتی پھرتی ہے اب ویرانوں میں

حسن ملیگا نظاروں میں اب وہ گھڑیاں آئینگی
اپنے ہاتھوں اپنی بہاریں واپس لائی جائیں گی

O thou fond of fragrance and colour, O thou mad after brilliance
and splendour,
Dost thou know the horrors behind these scenes ?
How many springs have lost their bloom because of the flowers
which are smiling ?
How many storms are gathering in the gentle sway of the rose-bush?
Dew-drops which appear to be enjoying rest in the lotus-cups,
Many a tumult is being planned in their heart.
The craving of how many thirsty souls is reflected in the wine-
cups ?
The toil of how many hungry persons is concealed in the fertility
of the crops ?
How many visions lose their upward ascent and fall down like
meteors ?
How many human being walk about as living corpses ?
The spring is seen in mourning in desolate nooks,
The moon-lit nights come and disappear in graveyards.
The time is coming when beauty will regain its seat.
The 'springs' will be restored only by personal effort.

The fourth poet is Makhdūm Muḥī-ud-Dīn, who is a communist in regard to his political views. But he is most sincere in his belief rather religious-minded, and hopeful of a better future for humanity. He received his education at the Osmania University where he began writing verse as well. After obtaining his M.A. degree he served for several years as Lecturer in Urdu at the City College, but the political conditions and consequent misery among the poor classes of the country stirred feelings of sympathy in his heart, and he resigned his lecturership for the service of the community. He is now the Vice-President of the Hyderabad Railway Employee's Union, and the President of the Textile Workers' Union.

Makhdūm is a poet by instinct and talent. In transmitting the feelings of a heart exuberant with emotion, the subtle charm of his expression may be noticed even in those poems which he wrote during his University life. To show his exceptional skill as an artist I quote certain stanzas from his poems entitled *Tūr*, 'Ali Sāgar and *Intizār* (Expectation). I give two stanzas from the *Tūr* first :

حیا کے بوجھ سے جب ہر قدم پر لغزشیں ہوتیں فضا میں منتشر رنگیں بدن کی لرزشیں ہوتیں
ریاب دل کے تاروں میں مسلسل جنبشیں ہوتیں خفائے راز کی پر لطف باہم کوششیں ہوتیں
ہیں کھیتوں میں پانی کے کنارے یاد ہے اب بھی
بلائے فکر فردا ہم سے کوسوں دور ہوتی تھی سرورِ سرمدی سے زندگی معمور ہوتی تھی
ہماری خلوتِ معصوم رشک طور ہوتی تھی ملک جھولا جھلاتے تھے غزلخواں حور ہوتی تھی
ہیں کھیتوں میں پانی کے کنارے یاد ہے اب بھی

Translation

Through the weight of feelings of honour when the feet stumbled
at each step,
When the trembling of the resplendant body caused waves in the
air,
The strings of the rebeck of my heart vibrated continuously as if
in response.
The delightful plans of concealing the secret were thought out
jointly,
In these fields by the side of the river : do you remember ?

The toil of thinking for the morrow remained miles away from us,
Our life was filled as with eternal joy.
Our innocent privacy was the envy of (the divine union) of Mount
Angels served us in the swing and *houris* sang ghazals, [Sinā'ī,
In these fields by the side of the river : do you remember ?

Similarly these lines from the *Morning* at 'Ali Sāgar :

مندر میں پجاری لگے ناقوس بجانے وہ ان کے بھجن پیارے وہ گیت اون کے سہانے
تاریکی شب اور زہ کے رخصت ہوا عصیاں تقدیس کے جاری ہوئے ہر سمت ترانے
انگڑائیاں لیتا ہوا طوفان جوانی ملتا ہوا آنکھیں اٹھا فتنوں کو جگائے

Translation

In the temple the votaries began to sound the horn,
How impressive their hymns and how sweet their songs !
Sin departed, having draped itself in the black cloak of night,
The musical notes of sanctity resounded in all directions.
The stormy youth rose up yawning,
Rubbing his eyes to awaken amorous glances.

Finally, the following lines from *Intizār* which besides emotion exhibit considerable religious ardour :

شب کے جاگے ہوئے تاروں کو بھی نیند آنے لگی	آپ کے آنے کی فکر آس تھی اب جانے لگی
صبح نے سیج سے اٹھتے ہی لی انگڑائی	او صبا تو بھی جوانی تو اکیلے آئی
میرے محبوب مری نیند اڑانے والے	میرے مسجود مری روح پہ چھانے والے
آ بھی جاتا کہ مرے سجدوں کا ارمان نکلے	آ بھی جاتا ترے قدموں پہ مری جاں نکلے

Translation

The stars which had kept awake the whole night began to sleep,
I had a slight hope of thy coming, but that was lost now.
Dawn yawned as she rose from her bed,
O zephyr, thou hast come, but come alone.
My beloved, who hast robbed me of my sleep,
My adored, who hast prevailed upon my soul,
If thou hadst come, the object of my prostrations would have been fulfilled;

If thou hadst come, I should have laid down my life at thy feet.

Sincerity, religious fervour, and love of humanity being the salient features of Makhdūm's character, he expresses his ideas about the last world-war in a very effective style :

دعوتِ دہ پیامِ عبودی ادھر تو آ	بربط نواز بزمِ الوہی ادھر تو آ
اس آسمان والے کی بیداریاں تو دیکھ	انسانیت کے خون کی ارزانیاں تو دیکھ
دستِ ہوس سے حسن کی غارتگری تو دیکھ	معصومہٴ حیات کی بیچارگی تو دیکھ
قربانگاہِ موت پہ رقصاں ہے زندگی	خود اپنی زندگی سے پشیاں ہے زندگی
اس فتنہ زار زمین کا کوئی پاسباں بھی ہے	انسان رہ سکے کوئی ایسا جہاں بھی ہے

O lute-player of the divine assembly, come hither,
O apostle of God's message, come hither :
Look at the cheapness of human blood,
Wonder at the alertness of the One in heaven.
Look at the helplessness of innocent life,
Look at the ravage of beauty by the hand of lust :
'Life' itself despairs of its existence,
Upon the alter of 'death' life is dancing.
Is there any zone where man can survive ?
Is there any guardian in this vicious world ?

But Makhdūm's poetry does not indicate 'frustration.' In the darkest hour he keeps up his spirits to guide the forlorn. For instance, listen to the soul-encouraging music of this song :

ترے ہم رہی کھو گئے رے مسافر مسافر چلے چل
 نہ جانے وہ کیا ہو گئے رے مسافر مسافر چلے چل
 تری منزلیں تیری نظروں سے اوجھل
 مسافر
 چلے چل چلے چل چلے چل
 اندھیرے میں اب ساتھ کیا دیکھتا ہے دیا بجھ گیا ہے
 بہر حال چل رات کیا دیکھتا ہے دیا بجھ گیا ہے
 تری منزلیں تیری نظروں سے اوجھل
 مسافر
 چلے چل چلے چل چلے چل
 سمجھ موت کی وادیوں سے گزرتا چلا جا رہا ہے
 سحر کے تعاقب میں گرتا ابھرتا چلا جا رہا ہے
 تری منزلیں تیری نظروں سے اوجھل
 مسافر
 چلے چل چلے چل چلے چل
 مسافر

Translation

O Traveller thy companions are lost,
 Traveller, go on, go on :
 O Traveller I do not know whither thy companions have gone,
 Traveller, go on, go on.
 Thy goal is concealed from thy sight,
 Traveller,
 Go on, go on, go on, go on.
 Why dost thou seek company in darkness ?
 The lamp is extinguished.
 Go on, why dost thou feel the gloom of night ?
 The lamp is extinguished.
 Thy goal is concealed from thy sight,
 Traveller,
 Go on, go on, go on, go on.
 Consider that thou art passing through the valley of death,
 Going on, going on.
 In the search of Dawn thou art falling and rising :
 Going on, going on.
 Thy goal is concealed from thy sight,
 Traveller,
 Go on, go on, go on, go on.

The force of Makhdūm's verse when he is in an angry mood can be judged from such poems as *Bāghī*, *Jang*, *Mashriq*, *Maut-kā-Gīt*, *Havelī*, *Ghar* and *Zulf-i-Chalipā*, which are all published and included in the *Surkh Savēra*. In *Mashriq* (Orient) he writes :

ایک قبرستان جس میں ہوں ہاں کچھ ہی نہیں ایک بھٹکتی روح ہے جس کا مکان کوئی نہیں

Translation

A grave-yard silent and dumb,
A wandering soul with no abode for rest.

He condemns religious hypocrisy in the following lines :

کوڑھ کے دھبے چھپا سکتا نہیں روح الامیں بھوک کے شعلے بجھا سکتا نہیں روح الامیں

Translation

The robes of religion cannot conceal the scales of leprosy,
The angel Gabriel cannot quench the flames of hunger.

But even when Makhdūm is in an angry mood his faith in a better future for the world is not shaken, and he addresses the young in words full of hope :

اے جوان سال جہاں جان جہاں زندگی ساربان زندگی روح روان زندگی
جس کے خون گرم سے بزم چراغاں زندگی جس کے فردوسی تنفس سے گلستان زندگی
بجایاں جس کی کنیزیں زلزلے جس کے غلام جس کا دل خیبر شکن جس کی نظر ارجن کا تیر
ہاں وہ نغمہ چھیڑ جس سے مسکرائے زندگی
تو بجائے ساز الفت اور گائے زندگی

Translation

O youth of the world ! the soul of the universe of life,
The driving force of life, the moving spirit of life :
The warmth of whose blood has lit up the lamps of life,
Whose heavenly breath has imparted bloom to the garden of life,
Whose slave-girls are thunderbolts, whose servants earthquakes,
Whose courage has pierced the Khaibar, whose vision is accurate
in aim like the arrows of Arjun :

Ay, sound the note which may make life smile,
Thou art to play the lute of love and life is to sing.

The charm of Makhdūm's verse lies not only in his artistry, but also in his high moral and intellectual qualities. He has studied Russian literature extensively, and has translated a Russian poem. The author of the original poem is Jābir, a native of Tartary. Some lines of the Urdu translation by Makhdūm are given below :

صف اعداء کے مقابل ہے ہمارا رہبر
استالین

مادر روس کی آنکھوں کا درخشاں تارا
 جس کی تابانی سے روشن ہے زمین
 وہ زمین اور وہ وطن
 جس کی آزادی کا غماں ہے شہیدوں کا لہو
 جس کی بنیادوں میں جمہور کا عرق
 ان کی محنت کا اخوت کا محبت کا خمیر
 وہ زمین
 اس کا جلال
 اس کا حشم
 کیا میں اس عزم کا خاموش تماشائی بنوں
 کیا میں جنت کو جہنم کے حوالے کر دوں
 کیا میں مجاہد نہ بنوں؟
 کیا میں تلوار اٹھاؤں نہ وطن کی خاطر
 میرے پیارے مرے فردوس بدن کی خاطر
 ایسے ہنگام قیامت میں مرا نغمہ شوق
 کیا مرے ہم وطنوں کے دل میں
 زندگی اور مسرت بنکر
 نہ سا جیگا
 قرۃ العین ! مری جان عزیز
 او مرے فرزند
 برق پا وہ مرا راہوار کہاں ہے لانا
 تشنہ خون مری تلوار کہاں ہے لانا
 مرے نغمے تو وہاں گونجیں گے
 ہے مرا قافلہ سالار جہاں استالین

In this short paper I have tried to present to you some typical specimens of four poets of Hyderabad, who in my humble opinion fairly represent the large group of modern verse-writers of this great city. As regards intellectual qualities and artistic features their work resembles very closely the verse of contemporary poets in British India, for the political, economic, and social problems confronting us here are the same as there. The poetry of young writers has besides freshness a certain force, which gives joy to the intellect and also provides a stimulus to action. Poets have played an important role in directing the course of human progress in other countries recently, for example in Ireland, we therefore entertain great hopes from the poets of our country, particularly when they have had such distinguished predecessors as Iqbāl and Tagore.

G. YAZDANI.

SHAH MUHAMMAD SULAIMAN

(1886-1941)

[It takes more than the law to make a lawyer. It takes all sorts of men and women to make one man.—R.A. Hire, *Confessions of an Uncommon Attorney* (1945), 114]

IF, in the year 1940, a well-informed Indian had been asked who in his opinion were the ten or twelve leading intellectuals of this country, it is extremely doubtful whether the name of Shāh Muḥammad Sulaimān would have been included in the list. Speaking for myself, I certainly should not have put him down as one of the greatest minds in India. But in March, 1941, when he died and the light of day was thrown upon his remarkable career and achievements, I doubt if any thinking Indian would have omitted his name. This is due I think to two reasons. The first is that Sulaimān never sought cheap popularity. He was an intellectual, working in his own sphere, entirely unconcerned with the acclamation of the multitude. Secondly, not being a political leader, his fame, such as it was, was confined to the United Provinces, where he lived and worked; and thus one can quite understand why it is that immediately after his death the reputation of Sulaimān began to grow almost to legendary proportions.

It is therefore proper for us, five years after his death, to examine critically his life, work and intellectual achievements, and to arrive at a proper conclusion with sobriety of judgment.

Shāh Muḥammad Sulaimān was born in 1886 in the Maḥmūdābād Tahsīl, A'zamgadh, U.P. He received his early education at Jaunpūr, that great home of Islamic scholarship. His father, Maulawī Muḥammad Uthmān, was a leading lawyer in the district and was noted for his mastery of details and legal acumen. One of the ancestors of Sulaimān was the famous author of *Shams-i-Bāzigha*, a work on physics written in the time of Newton. Later, in 1902, he joined the Muir Central College, Allāhābād, and Dr. S. N. A. Ja'fri tells us that one of his professors called him a shy girl (*Deccan Times*, 28 March 1941), because he was extremely unostentatious and retiring in his character. In 1906, he obtained first class Honours in Mathematics at the B.A. examination and was placed first in the University in order of merit. After this brilliant performance, he was selected as a Government of India scholar and sent to England. He joined Christ's College, Cambridge, and took the Mathematical Tripos in 1909

and the Law Tripos in 1910. As regards the degree that he took at Cambridge, there is some difference of opinion. Mr. M. B. Ahmad has given the facts as I have stated them, but I have read elsewhere that he took the Moral Sciences Tripos as well. It seems to me however that the statement made by Mr. Ahmad is more likely to be correct. He must have taken Part I of the Mathematical Tripos and Part II of the Law Tripos. In 1910, he was called to the Bar from the Middle Temple and in the same year he took the LL.D. degree of Dublin University.

Like many other truly great Indians he also appeared for the I.C.S. examination and failed. He did not care to appear again, and by not getting an entry into the steel frame which governs India he obtained the opportunity of serving his country better. Of him it can be truly said that the loss of the Indian Civil Service was the gain of the country.

Returning to India, he practised for about a year with his father, and in 1912 he migrated to the Allahabad High Court. His practice grew rapidly and Sir Tej Bahādur Saprū testifies to the fact that it took very little time for experienced lawyers to realize that a new star had arisen, destined to overshadow the reputations of most of them.

It is indeed extraordinary that within eight years of his joining the Allahabad High Court he not only had a leading practice at the bar, but also acquired the reputation of having a keen and analytical mind. In 1920, at the age of 34 he was called upon to act as a Judge of Allahabad High Court in the vacancy created by Mr. Justice Ra'ūf's proceeding on leave. He acted again in 1921 and 1922, and in 1923 he was appointed a permanent judge of that High Court. Almost from the very beginning, he was noted for his unfailing courtesy, great patience and extraordinary grasp. In the year 1932, after having acted several times as the Chief Justice, Sulaimān was appointed the permanent Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court at the comparatively early age of 46. He thus became the first Indian Chief Justice of one of the leading High Courts of India.

Another significant fact is that in the year 1930 he was appointed as Chairman of the Peshawar Enquiry Committee. It is well known that about that time in the North-West Frontier Province there had occurred serious disturbances and much loss of life had ensued. Sulaimān was appointed President of the Commission of Enquiry and his report is reputed to be a document of a great independence and fearlessness. The report was never published but apparently the Government gave effect to its recommendations. It is therefore surprising that, this report notwithstanding, he was still chosen to fill the high office of Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court. This fact alone speaks volumes for the high regard in which he must have been held.

About the same time, he was appointed a member of the Capitation Rates Tribunal, along with Lords Dunedin and Tomlin, where again he distinguished himself by his capacity to understand the intricate details of

the enquiry. The result of the labours of the tribunal was that the British Government agreed to bear a certain amount of the military expenditure incurred in India.

When the Federal Court came into being in 1937, he was appointed one of the Judges, with Sir Maurice Gwyer as Chief Justice and Mr. M. B. Jayakar as a brother Judge. He worked only for a short while, for on March 12, 1941 he died after a brief illness, universally mourned as a judge, scholar and gentleman.

As Chief Justice he exhibited great independence of character. An episode which made history in the United Provinces is related by Mr. Ahmad, who has written the longest account of his life in *Great Men of India* (edited by Prof. L. F. Rushbrook Williams and published in the Home Library Club, by the *Times of India*). It is said that once, in the Legislature of the United Provinces, questions were asked about judicial acts performed by the judges and particularly in regard to the appointment of Official Receivers. The President of the Council allowed such questions but Sulaimān refused to answer any of them, and maintained that under the Letters Patent the responsibility involved was not that of the Government but entirely of the High Court. That being the case, the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court refused to entertain any questions which in anyway interfered with the absolute independence of the judiciary.

His work as an educationist and as a social reformer also requires mention. In 1928 when quarrels arose between Šāhebzāda Aftāb Aḥmad Khān and Dr. Ziauddin Aḥmad regarding the administration of the Aligarh University, Sulaimān was appointed Vice-Chancellor. His appointment was hailed by everyone as of great importance to the Muslim community and they also expected that the University affairs would be put in order. It is a sad commentary on our national life that even so great a man as Sulaimān was helpless to do much good, but at the sacrifice of his hard-earned leisure he continued to serve the Muslim University for some time. Although he was not able to put matters absolutely right, he did two things which will always be remembered. First, he framed new rules of service and superannuation, and secondly, he obtained a large grant from Government to the extent of about fifteen lacs.

Sir Shāh Muḥammad Sulaimān was connected in addition with a large number of educational and social organizations. It is impossible to give a full list, but a number of important institutions which he served are mentioned by Mr. Aḥmad (p. 625). He also presided over Educational Conferences and delivered convocation addresses at the Universities of Dacca, Aligarh, Hyderabad and Agra. A complete collection of his addresses and speeches would be most valuable but unfortunately for us it has not yet been published. His style was simple and he consciously avoided rhetoric. He disliked bombastic expressions, or long periods of flowery language. He thought out carefully what he had to say and spoke in the simplest possible language, arranging his argument in logical order,

as was to be expected of a jurist with a mathematical training. It has been well said that his addresses savour more of the Gandhian method of less talk and more work ; they exemplify the modern spirit of simplicity, lucidity and logical precision. From his numerous addresses and speeches I shall select only two for my purpose to illustrate the character of his mind and thought.

He delivered the Convocation Address to the Agra University in 1938. In this address he dealt with the problem of the over-production of graduates in the different universities. In his opinion the number of graduates, having regard to the size of the country, was not great and the solution which was generally proposed, *viz.*, to reduce the number of graduates, was entirely wrong. "The object of Universities was not merely to produce earning machine." Education had higher values to consider and cultural standards should never be overlooked. The remedy, therefore, was not to restrict education but rather to expand trade, commerce and industry in order to absorb all the available talent in the country. In this address he also made it clear that for a long time to come it was extremely necessary for education to be State-aided. In the present condition of India it is useless to expect private effort adequately to tackle the problem of mass education.

The next address to which I should like to refer is his address at the All-India Educational Conference at Udaipur, delivered on the 27th December 1940. (This is reported in the *Times of India* of 28-12-44). Considering the problem of education as a whole he conceded that it was a very big problem, but he was opposed to the making of changes which might raise a number of unforeseen difficulties. He was also entirely opposed to the emphasis on vocational bias in school education to the detriment of cultural values. He saw clearly that if the mind was trained properly, a young man could set his hand to anything that came in his way ; and he spoke of the value of home training and pre-school education. At one place he says that schools are not to be converted into "little manufactories supplying child labour." It is possible that he was thinking of plans which, like the Wardha Scheme, put a different ideal before the country ; and, true humanist as he was, he pointed out the dangers of exaggerating the value of the vocational bias in education.

The next point he dealt with was the difficulty of enormous numbers. The standard of English had gone down, but he took the view that it is not necessary to be greatly concerned about that. It was due to the introduction of the study of the vernaculars and the increase in the bulk of the syllabus due to the addition of scientific subjects. As a matter of detail, he was opposed to the teaching of English literature as a compulsory subject at the B.A. stage, but did not object to a paper on General English.

It is proper that Sulaimān should primarily be considered as a jurist and I shall now turn to some of his judgments. He took his seat as officiating judge for the first time on the 15th April 1920, and his first reported

judgments are to be found in 1920 (42 All. 514 & 515). These are two small judgments of about half a page each, and they were the judgments of the Court which consisted of Mr. Justice Tudball and Mr. Justice Sulaimān. His first *separate* judgment is to be found in the same volume (42 All. 549, 553). This judgment is not long and the point is not important, but it shows two things clearly. First, lucidity of expression and secondly, grasp of first principles. From the official reports it appears that he frequently sat with two judges, Tudball and Kanhaiya Lal JJ. His first Full Bench decision appeared in 1922 (44 All. 19).

On the 4th April 1923, he took his seat as a permanent judge in the Allahabad High Court and from that time onwards his judgments appear frequently. This is not the time or the occasion to deal fully with his judgments, for I must not forget that the readers of this Journal are not principally concerned with the technicalities of law. I shall, therefore, confine myself to a few judgments which are of general interest.

In 1924 (46 All. 94) an interesting case arose which shows his independence of mind and clarity of thought. A Hindu merchant had mixed pig's fat with ghee and was prosecuted under Section 272, I.P.C. The material part of the Section runs as follows: "Whoever adulterates any article of food or drink so as to make such article *noxious as food*," etc., is liable to punishment. Sulaimān J. held that the merchant was not liable. In his judgment he says that he had to consider the expression "*noxious as food*" he could not give to it the meaning of repugnant to the feeling of Hindus or Musalmans. One can well imagine what a flutter this decision must have caused in the U.P., but it shows that precision of thought for which Mr. Justice Sulaimān was noted, and the correctness of the judgment can hardly be questioned.

During the year 1925 he delivered what appears to me to be one of his most important judgments on Muhammadan Law (47 All. 823, 824 to 848). In this important case he laid down a number of propositions of law which are of great importance, both legally as well as socially. He decided, first, that where a Sunnī husband was married to a Shī'a wife, on a suit being filed, the law of the defendant should be applied. In this case the defendant was the wife, and therefore the Shī'a law was applied. Secondly, he held that such a marriage was perfectly valid and in this part of the judgment he upheld the authority of the famous Shī'a text, *Sharā'i'-ul-Islām*. Thirdly, he decided that Shī'a law being the law of the land, no experts or Mujtahids could go into the box as witnesses and give expert evidence. Thus he cut the ground under the feet of the reactionary Ulema and laid down the salutary rule that the judges of the High Courts are not concerned with the opinion of Ulema; it is for the court to consider the texts for itself and lay down the law. It will be remembered that in this important point, Their Lordships of the Privy Council have approved of his dictum in the well-known *Masjid Shahid Ganj* case. Fourthly a Shī'a girl marrying a Sunnī husband has, on the attainment of puberty,

the option of repudiating the marriage. Fifthly, wherever there was conflict of opinion among the ancient jurists, it was the duty of the court to apply that rule which was in consonance with justice, equity and good conscience. He held that hard and fast rules should not be laid down regarding this question and it was always for the court to consider all the circumstances and arrive at a proper decision. It may be observed in passing that this tendency in Sir Shāh Muḥammad Sulaimān is in consonance with the earlier texts and traditions of the Prophet.

In 1926 (48 All. 648) a learned judgment on the Hindu law of succession is reported. In 1931 (53 All. 963) there is a learned judgment on questions connected with the law of contract, acknowledgment and limitation. Then we come to 1933 (55 All. 743). Here again we have one of his most important judgments regarding points of law which are of great interest to the Muslim community. The facts in this case were as follows :

A Muslim husband was not on good terms with his wife. He had ill-treated her and kept a mistress in his own house. She therefore went away to her parental home. The husband filed a suit for restitution of conjugal rights (*i.e.*, obtaining her from her parent's house and bringing her back to his own). Sulaimān J. decided that a man had the right to claim restitution of conjugal rights, but even after a period of matrimonial relations the wife is entitled to claim *mahr*. He therefore passed a decree for conjugal rights, but made it conditional upon the payment of the whole of the dowry. He also ordered that the wife should be allowed to reside in a separate house and be provided with two servants, because the husband had kept a mistress in the house.

Thus, even before 1939, when greater rights were given to women in matrimonial matters, Mr. Justice Sulaimān took a very independent attitude and firmly established the right of a wife to decent treatment.

In this case he also laid down that where there was conflict of opinion among the jurists, two rules must be followed. First, generally speaking, later authorities were to be preferred to earlier ones, in order that the law may not be unduly disturbed ; but at the same time, the modern judge should have a right to deal independently with the matter and choose that text which was in consonance with justice, having regard to the social conditions of the time. At page 756, he makes an interesting observation that marriage in Islam has also a religious significance, quite apart from its being a mere civil contract.

In 1936 (48 All. 889) he dealt with a community of Mussalmans who were converted to Islam and had retained family customs contrary to the provisions of the Muhammadan Law of inheritance. He held the custom as duly proved and gave effect to it.

In 1937, ([1937] All. 609.) discussing the law of gifts, he explained that under certain circumstances actual physical delivery of possession was not necessary.

For the purposes of this article, I have read several of the decisions of Sulaimān J. and gone over most of the judgments reported in the official series. While I do not wish to dilate upon the niceties of the law, I should like to say what the chief characteristics of Sulaimān's judgments were. First, he stated the facts clearly. Secondly, he formulated the questions of law and analysed them. Thirdly, he addressed himself to the task of answering them. Fourthly, he gave, a complete, precise and logical answer to every question that was raised. Fifthly, he always tried to write in a simple and lucid style, without any attempt at writing a language encumbered with unnecessary metaphors or with rhetorical flights.

In the Federal Court, his judgments are to be found in the first two volumes (1939 and 1940); in the beginning of the third volume (1941) we find tributes to his memory.

VOL. I, 1939 :

- (1) (1939) F.C.R. 18-120, 57-96 *imp* :
- (2) Do 138.
- (3) *Ibid.*, 163 (Dis.).
- (4) *Ibid.*, 201 (Dis.).

VOL. II, 1940 :

- (5) 61,
- (6) 84,
- (7) 110, 138-167.
- (8) 188 (Dis.), p. 204.

His judgments in the Federal Court are the fruits of his maturest style. Most of them deal with technical matters and I do not propose to discuss any of them, but an illustration of his independence of mind may be found at pages 205 and 206 of 1940, F.C.R. Many of his judgments in the Federal Courts were dissenting judgments, but even where he did not disagree he reserved to himself the right to express his own views in his own language, and his reasons given in that case were difficult to answer. He often dissented, but some of his dissents, like those of Mr. Justice Holmes, have become classical, and with the greatest respect to the other members of the Court, it is possible to assert that in some of his dissenting judgments will be found the seeds of future law. To one of his judgments in the Federal Court, (1939) F.C.R. 18, 57-96, a remarkable tribute has been paid by Mr. J. H. Morgan (*Great Men of India*, p. 624).

"Now I have just been reading the judgments of the Federal Court at Delhi in that important case. One of those judgments stands out conspicuous and pre-eminent and may well prove to be the *locus classicus* of the law on the subject. It is a judgment worthy of the highest traditions of the House of Lords as an Appellate Tribunal and of the Privy Council itself. I refer to the brilliant judgment of Mr. Justice Sulaiman. In depth of thought, in breadth of view, in its powers alike

of analysis and synthesis, in grace of style and felicity of expression it is one of the most masterly judgments that I have ever had the good fortune to read. Everyone in India interested in the future development of the Constitution should study it."

It is now necessary to say a few words about his work in other fields, namely, literature and science. In the field of Urdu literature, he edited the *Diwān* of Zauq and the *Diwān* of Mir. (Dr. S. N. A. Ja'frī in *Onward* dated 28th March 1943). His introductions to these are brief but are good illustrations of his critical style. He was a voracious reader of Urdu literature and had a wide acquaintance with both modern and ancient authors.

In the year 1938, when I was on a short visit to Delhi, he told me himself that he was working on the poetry of Anīs and was intending to write a book showing that Anīs was the greatest of the Urdu poets. I greatly treasure the memory of this remark, because that was the first and only occasion I was sustained to meet him. This opinion produced a profound impression upon me and since then many literary men have confessed that there is a great deal of force in the judgment which Sulaimān had pronounced.

Lastly, we come to his scientific activities. I should like to say at the outset that I am not competent to judge the work of Sulaimān in the field of physics or mathematics. When a man becomes great in one sphere, when his intellectual vigour runs in different streams, and when he is gifted with a modest and courteous personality, his work in other fields is almost always liable to be praised unduly. The scientists that I have consulted tell me that Sulaimān's work in physics and mathematics is not of an exceptional quality. It is to be judged on its own merits, as the hobby of a great jurist and no more. I think it would be an injustice to his memory to repeat parrot-like that he was a great mathematician and scientist. I feel certain that he himself would never have made that claim. In his busy life as a practitioner and a judge, he never lost touch with mathematics and as in the case of many a jurist, it was one of the evidences of the versatility of his mind that he was wont to turn from the subtleties of the law to the intricacies of mathematics. It is well known that such intellectual exercise is always refreshing to an energetic mind, and the hobbies of great men must never be confused with their main work in life.

I shall now mention one or two incidents of his life which give us an insight into his character. The late Mr. M. K. Āzād, Bar-at-Law, used to relate a very interesting story about him. It appears that Āzād and Sulaimān were students together at Aligarh. After Sulaimān became the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, he happened to visit Bombay and did not inform Āzād, with whom he wanted to renew his acquaintance. He called at Āzād's house early in the morning without any intimation. It was about 8 A.M. in the morning and Mr. Āzād was having his bath. The servant did not inform him that one Shāh Muḥammad Sulaimān

was waiting outside his door. Sulaimān, being dressed very simply, was not admitted into the house. He sat outside on a wooden bench and entered into an animated conversation with a milkman and one or two other clients. After about half an hour, when Āzād was informed that his old friend was waiting outside, he was filled with confusion and rushed out to meet the great man. Sulaimān, however, was perfectly at home. He had introduced himself as a Vakil from Allahabad and was having a discussion with the others. The discussion probably centred on the price of milk or the rapacity of lawyers. The late Mr. Āzād spoke of this incident and always described it as characteristic of the man.

It is said that he came from a very small village and that it was his habit, even when he had reached the highest station in life, to call personally on all the villagers of his acquaintance and to pay great respect to his poor relations who were older than he.

After his death, Mr. Rashdi in an article related that he was an exquisite host and gives an account of a dinner at which he was the life and soul of the party. An interesting opinion is expressed by Mr. Rashdi that apparently Sulaimān was in favour of the new ideal of the Mussalmans, viz., Pakistan (A. M. Rashdi, *Moslem Voice*, Mar. 22, 1941).

I should now like to give a brief account of the one and only interview I had with him. It was Monday, the 21st February 1938, when I happened to be in Delhi for a cricket meeting. Having a morning free, I decided to call on certain friends in New Delhi and I found myself accidentally opposite the house in which Sir Shāh Muhammad Sulaimān was staying. I had no appointment with him. I did not know him, and had no business with him, and therefore hesitated to waste his time, but thinking that such an opportunity might not easily recur, I went in and saw his secretary. I told him that I was a barrister from Bombay, that I had no work with Sir Shāh Muhammad Sulaimān and that I had no desire to waste his time, but it would be a great pleasure and an honour just to meet him for a short while. The secretary asked me to sit down and went in. Apparently the Judge was working. He laid aside his work for a few minutes and immediately called me in. I met him in his drawing-room and I remember clearly his features and the extraordinary courtesy of the man. He was dressed in a navy blue suit with white stripes. His hair was grizzly and he wore a dress collar. A man of short stature, I should think about 5 feet 5 inches, he was alert, quick and active. He was very fair for an Indian, although not quite so fair as some Kashmīris I have seen, but the most remarkable feature of the man was his eyes. They were restless and piercing. When he looked at you, he seemed to penetrate into the inmost processes of your mind, and after a short spell of restlessness he would gaze into the distance as if he was a scientist visualising a distant goal. They were the eyes of a scientist, not those of a dreamer or a poet or an artist. It is at this meeting that he gave his opinion that Anīs was the greatest of the Urdu poets.

The two best tributes that were paid to him after his death were by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and by Sir Maurice Gwyer. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said (*All. Law Journal*, 1941, Vol. 39, pp. 34-35):

“The year 1941 will pass down as a year of great misfortunes in the history of this court. As your Lordship the Acting Chief Justice was pleased to observe, we met in this court-room only three weeks ago in very sorrowful circumstances. Little did we realize at that time that within three weeks we should be called upon to assemble again to give expression to our feeling of grief and sorrow over the death of Sir John Thom's predecessor in this high and distinguished office. Your Lordship has paid a very rich tribute this morning to Sir Shāh Sulaimān, but it was by no means richer than he deserved. I very well remember the year 1912 when he migrated from Jaunpur to Allahabad, an unknown and obscure practitioner, but it did not take him more than a few months to produce an impression, which as years went on became deeper and deeper and more clear. We all felt that time that a great destiny lay before him. In a few years' time he made his mark so much at the bar that his services were requisitioned not only in some of the big first appeals in this court but in some of the original trials in these provinces.

Nature had endowed him with gifts of an extraordinary character. Possessed of a penetrative intellect, a mind which could dissect and analyse things as very few other minds could, a power of expression and exposition he did not take much time on the bench before he made everyone feel that we had got a judge of unusual ability and unusual gifts. His career on the bench in this court was as brilliant as his career at the bar, and if your Lordships who were his colleagues on the bench are proud that you were associated with him, may not we, who had the honour of practising before your Lordships, think that it was also our privilege at one time to have practised with him in this court? His career, therefore, may truly be said to have been one of uniform brilliance. He earned the respect of everyone for his depth of learning, for his sweep of mind and for the promptness of his decisions.”

In the Federal Court, Sir Maurice Gwyer in the course of a reference on the 15th April 1944 spoke as follows (1941) *F.C.R.* 1-2 :

- “Sir Shah Sulaiman had taken part in every case which has come before this Court, and his judgments are remarkable examples of his power of analysis and of his immense knowledge of case law. He maintained tenaciously his own view of the law and the facts which the Court was considering and was never prepared to acquiesce in a contrary opinion, merely because it happened to be that of the majority of the Court. His agile and fertile mind led him at time to attempt to convince counsel that the arguments for which they were contending before the Court were unsound, forgetting, it may be, that it is not the business of counsel to be thus convinced but this was itself a manifestation of his

keen desire to arrive at the truth and of his instinct to reject any argument which seemed to him irrelevant or unsound. But he was always the soul of courtesy and patience in his relations with the Bar, as in his relations with his own colleagues. He listened patiently to every argument and he never attempted to cut it short, no matter how fallacious he might think it to be."

Another remarkable tribute that was paid to him was by Sir Douglas Young, first a judge of the Allahabad High Court and later the Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court. He is reported to have said that Sulaimān's mind moved quicker than any other person's that he had ever known (*Deccan Times*, 23rd March 1941). It reminds one of the tribute that C.B. Fry paid to Ranjitsinhji, that he was appreciably quicker than any English cricketer that he had known. In our case the Englishman paid a tribute to the quick mind of an Indian legal genius.

Having studied the life and career of Sir Shāh Muḥammad Sulaimān I tried to think of another judge with whom he could fairly be compared. One thinks of Haldane and Sumner, Cardozo and Holmes. Sir Iqbal Aḥmad, Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, considered him easily one of the greatest judges of the country, fit to be classed with Sir Barnes Peacock, Sir Richards Couch, Sir Comer Petheran, Sir Michael Westropp and Sir Raymond West among Europeans, and Mr. Justice Mahmood, Sir Pramoda and Sir Muthusami Iyer, Sir Bhashyam Iyengar, Sir Pramoda Charan Banerjee, Mr. Justice Dawarka Nath Mitter and Mr. Justice Ranade among Indians (*A.L.J.*, 1941, 32). To me it seems, however, that it is impossible to compare him with anyone else with any degree of usefulness. His real importance is not so much that he was great jurist or a great judge or a great scientist or a great literary man, but that he achieved the combination which we call the man of culture, who uses his intellect as an instrument for the perception of truth, legal or scientific, whose æsthetic judgments are based upon sound principles and a historical perspective, and whose ethical conduct is guided by those principles which produce kindness, courtesy, refinement, and modesty. His mind was free from prejudice and he was thus the embodiment of justice. In the words of Mr. Justice Holmes, "he touched the superlative" in the sphere that he had chosen for himself, and that is the greatest tribute that we can pay to his memory.¹

A.A.A. FYZEE.

1. I should like to express my gratitude to my friend and pupil, Mr. Syed Sharifuddin, LL.B., who was good enough to lend me *Great Men of India* by Rushbrook Williams which contains a very enlightening article by Mr. M.B. Aḥmad, M.A., I.C.S., and a number of cuttings.

AN INTERESTING 'ADILSHAHI FARMAN

I WISH to publish here a very interesting 'Ādilshāhī Farmān which was kindly lent to me for deciphering and publication by my friend Mr. S. V. Avalaskar of Alibagh (Kolaba). He owed it to an old hereditary Adhikārī (a type of government servant) family of Cheūl, a village not far away from Alibagh. As is evident from the seal¹ at the top and the date at the end, it was issued by Muḥammad 'Ādilshāh on 3rd of Jumāda I of 1051 A.H., corresponding to 1-8-1641 A.D., and was addressed to Mīrzā Muḥammad Ridā, the 'Ādilshāhī commander (Hawālah-dār) of the Goa division (Mu'āmilah). According to the rules of 'Ādilshāhī administration it must have been first sent to the said commander of Goa who, after taking a copy of it there for his information, must have sent the original to Cheūl for preservation, as it refers to matters about Cheūl. It contains instructions to the commander on four points of contention between Muḥammad 'Ādilshāh on one side and the Portuguese captain of Cheūl on the other. I could not with any definiteness trace the name of the Portuguese captain who was in charge of the port of Cheūl, or Regdandā as it is called here, on the date of the Farmān. But it is possible that Don Gilianes Noronha, who was the captain of the port of Cheūl in 1640, continued in the same office till the date of this Farmān.² The four points discussed in the text of the Farmān are the following : (1) Randaulah-Khān, an 'Ādilshāhī general, has built a ship for his master at Cheūl which he wishes to sail to several ports. But the captain of Regdandā (Revdandā) putting forward some excuses, wishes not only to violate the terms of agreement between the two powers, but to create trouble. As, however, the viceroy of Goa wishes to continue mutual friendship and trust, the commander should correspond with him and make him realise that if the least hindrance is placed in the way of the general's ship, Goa will undoubtedly be ravaged at once ; for the armies are ready and his devoted service to the kingdom being quite appreciated his cause ought to be

1. For the legend, etc., of the seal vide *Persian Sources of Indian History*, Vol. III, p. 131.

2. *History and Antiquities of Cheul JBBRAS*, Vol. XII, No. 33, plate I against p. 151.

supported. The viceroy should, therefore, be warned that the captain may be instructed not to hinder the sailing of the ship but to help the general in the same without losing time. His thanks for the help or his complaints will have equal effect. (2) Secondly, the violence in the matter of collecting customs duty on six horses which the said Khān has brought for the Government. Formerly he was asked to subtract the six horses from the quota of 25 horses which the 'Ādilshāhī government was allowed to bring free of any duties, and commit no violence. But the captain puts forward the excuse that had they been unloaded at Dābhol it would have been all right; otherwise it is not unlawful to demand the duty. What does he mean by that? Whether at the port of Dābhol or of Rājāpūr or of Goa, wherever the government may choose to buy horses, the purchase is exempted from duty. But the captain by putting forward the excuse wishes to foment trouble. It will bring ruin to his own family in this matter. He, the commander, will therefore correspond with the viceroy in this respect and advise him to warn the captain not to make any unlawful demand. (3) The captain commits violence with respect to the demand of 28,000 Larins. Formerly the port was owned by others; but now it is under this government. How can he demand that sum now? Let the commander correspond with the viceroy in this matter also and make him send a written warning to the captain that he may not demand any money hereafter. (4) Fourthly, one Larin per cent. was collected as customs duty from dealers (in horses, etc.) of Cheūl; but now 10 Larins per cent. are demanded, which is the cause of ruin of the port. Let him, therefore, have correspondence with the viceroy in this respect also, and let only that amount which used to be collected before, be realised hereafter and not anything more.

This Farmān requires some explanation by way of elucidation. Cheūl was originally divided into two parts, *viz.*, upper Cheūl owned by the Nizāmshāhī Sultāns of Aḥmadnagar, and lower Cheūl or Regdandā, as it is specified here, owned by the Portuguese. Nizāmshāhī Sultāns had entered into some agreements with the Portuguese from time to time;¹ but owing to the decline in the power of the Nizāmshāhī Sultāns the Portuguese had exacted certain prerogatives for themselves. After the complete fall of the Nizāmshāhī kingdom in 1636 A.D., a treaty was concluded between the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān and the 'Ādilshāhī Sultān Muḥammad by which all the part of the Konkan that once belonged to the Nizāmshāhī kingdom came under the sway of Muḥammad 'Ādilshāh.² He was not of course bound to abide by the terms of agreement which were in force between the Portuguese and the Nizāmshāhī Sultāns. Hence quarrels often arose between the Portuguese and the 'Ādilshāhī officers.

1. One such agreement or treaty in which reference is made to some other previous agreements has already been published; vide: *Sivacaritrasāhitya*, Vol. IV, No. 689.

2. *Bādshāh Nāma* by 'Abdul-Hamīd Lahorī, Vol. I, part 2, p. 169; for a later source vide: *'Ālamgīr Nāma* by Mīrza Muḥammad Qāyim, pp. 574, 575.

Four such points of dispute are referred to in this Farmān. But until and unless we know the details of the older engagements between the Portuguese and the Nizāmshāhī Sultāns, it will not be possible to grasp the bearing of the four points referred to in this Farmān in a satisfactory way.

TEXT OF THE FARMĀN

هو الخلیل

الملك لله

[Round seal of Muḥammad 'Ādilshāh]¹

فرمان هایون شرف صدور یافت بجانب عزت و رفعت دستگاه هدایت و نجات انتباه دولت خواه
بے ہمتا میرزا محمود رضا حوالہ دار معاملہ گووہ از شہور سنہ احدی اربعین الف (۹) در ینولا بمرض مقدس
رسید کہ جہازی کہ در بندر چبول بجهة سرکار عمدہ وزرای عظام زہدہ امرای کرام سلالہ خواتین
رفیع مقام موفور القدر و الاحتشام فارس مضار شجاعت مبارز میدان شہامت شایستہ ہزاران مرحمت و
عاطفت سزاوار فراوان رفت و مکرمت خان عالی شان سعادت نشان رفیع القدر و المکان رستم زمان ماحی
آثار سام نریمان سپہ سالار دوران عضد الخلاقۃ العلیہ مؤسس السلطنۃ البہیہ المکسا² رندولہ خان
طیار کردہ می خواہند روانہ بنادر نمایند غالباً کپتان³ ریگدندہ عذر پیش آورده می خواہد کہ خلاف عہود
و موافق نماید بلکہ در پی آسیب رسانیدن است چون اسد الخیر و یزرری جزیرہ گروہ دم از دوستی و اخلاص
میزند در ینصورت این مقدمہ باسد الخیر آن دولت خواہ پیغام نماید و بفہماید کہ عیاذاً باللہ اگر یک ذرہ
مزاحمتی بجہاز خان معزالیہ برسد یقین کہ در ساعت گووہ برباد خواہد رفت چہ لشکر ہا ہمہ مستعد
و آمادہ اند و چنانچہ دولت خواہی نواب⁴ ما منظور است باس خاطر رستم الزمانی نیز باید نمود بجملہ آن
دولت خواہ تاکید نماید کہ بزودی نوشتہ بنام کپتان مذکور بفرستد کہ ذرہ بھیج وجہ مزاحمتی در روانہ
نمودن جہاز خان معزالیہ نرساند و در امداد دقیقہ نامرعی نگذارد و شکر و شکایت را عظیم موثر داند
دیگر در باب شش راس اسپ کہ بجهة سرکار خان معزالیہ آورده اند و کپتان مذکور بجهة زکوۃ
شدت میناید قبل ازین حکم فرمودہ بودیم کہ منجملہ بیست و پنج راس (اسپ) معافی سرکار اشرف
وضع نمودہ بنویسد کہ شدت نکند اما عذر پیش آورده کہ اگر بدابل بیانرو ہجراست و الافلا ابن چہ
معنی دارد خواہ در بندر دابل خواہ در بندر راجا پور یا در گووہ ہم کہ بخرند بجهة سرکار اشرف زکوۃ
معافست با این حال کپتان مذکور عذر ہا می بیجا کردہ می خواہد کہ فساد ی بہم رساند و یقین کہ خرابی

۱. پروانگی حضور اشرف اقدس هایون اعلیٰ

۲. I am rather diffident about the decipherment of this word.

۳. In this word Rēg the Persian synonym has been substituted for the original Reva meaning sand.

۴. One word obscure after this word.

خانه ایشان متضمن این فساد است باید که درین باب نیز آن دولت خواه پیغام کرده بگوید که تاکید بلیغ بنویسد که من بعد مطالبه بیجا نکند دیگر کپتان مذکور بیست صد و هشت هزار لاری قاعده که در زمان سابق بوده تشدد مینماید اول بندر مذکور از دیگری بود الحال بسرکار مامستقل شده پس چگونه طلب مینماید درین باب نیز باسدالخیر پیغام نموده تاکید به کپتان مذکور نوشته بفرستد که من بعد بهیچ وجه طلبی نکند دیگر قبل ازین در صدی یک لاری لوازمه زکوة خود از سوداگران میگرفتند الحال در صدی ده لاری از آنها میخواهند و این معنی باعث خرابی بندر است درین باب نیز پیغام کند که چنانچه همیشه جاری بوده روان دارند و زیاده طلبی ننمایند و تاکید بلیغ بلیغ شناسند تا داند. تحریراً فی ۳ شهر جادی الاول سنه ۱۰۵۱ -

G. H. KHARE.

'ALAHWAR, LOHKOT AND LAHĀWUR

IN the course of my researches on the life of al-Muhallab b. 'Abī Ṣufra (published in summary form in *Islamic Culture*, April, 1944) I fell in with the common view of my predecessors on the point of the identification of 'Alāhwār (mentioned by al-Balādhurī—*Futūḥ*, 432—as a place visited by al-Muhallab in the course of his expedition into the north-western border of India in 44 A.H./664 A.D.) with Lahore, the capital town of the Punjab. Of late, however, my friend, Mr. Nabī Bakhsh Balōch, who in the course of his researches on the history of Sind under the Arabs has had occasion to study the question in some detail, suggested to me the improbability of identifying the 'Alāhwār of al-Balādhurī with the capital town of the Punjab and at the same time drew my attention to the existence of two other places bearing a similar name, the one near Waihind pointed out by Cunningham and the other on the south-western border of Kashmir also called Lōhkōt or Lōharkōt (mod. Lohārin). This provided me with an opportunity to study the question afresh and to revise my view as follows :

The most remarkable thing about the reference in al-Balādhurī cited above is that the form “الاهوار” is not to be found anywhere else. It occurs in the annals only once, viz. in connection with the campaign of al-Muhallab. The “ا” at the beginning is significant and militates against the form being regarded, in the absence of any definite corroborative evidence, as a mere variant of Lahore. Further, there is no reason why the “ال” should be treated as the Arabic definite article; hence the transcription of it as “al-Ahwār” is rather arbitrary. Obviously the entire form must represent a close reproduction of the original name according to the way of the Arabs. Now the whole mystery is solved by the following remarks of Cunningham which, to my minds, leave little doubt about the identification of 'Alāhwār with the birthplace of Pānini :

“Hwen Thsang next visited So-lo-tu-lo or Salatūra, the birthplace of the celebrated grammarian, Pānini, which he says was 3 miles to the north-west of Ohind. In January, 1848 during a day's halt at the village of Lahor, which is exactly four miles to the north-east of Ohind, I procured several Greek and Indo-Scythian coins from which it may be inferred with some certainty that the place is as old as the time of Pānini himself,

or about B.C. 350. I have therefore no hesitation in identifying Salatura with Lahor. The loss of the first syllable of the name is satisfactorily accounted for by the change of the palatal sibilant to the aspirate, according to the well-known usage of the people of western India, by whom the Sindhu river was called Hendu or Indus, and the people on its banks Hindus or Indians; Salatura would therefore have become Halatura and Alatur, which might easily have been corrupted to Lahor; or as the general court writes the name, to Lavor."¹

Thus we see that here we have another instance of the extraordinary care and precision with which the Arabs recorded their annals. The first syllable "Ala" is only a variation, through common usage, of the original "Sala" whereas the ending "وار" is also proved, besides the practice of the general court, by al-Maqdisi ('*Aḥsan-u't-Taqāsīm*, 477) who mentions "لوار" as one of the places within the district of Waihind.

This identification of 'Alāhwār also fits in squarely with the context of the tradition and the probable natural course of al-Muhallab's campaign within the limitations of the situation. It will be remembered that al-Muhallab started from Kābul without any elaborate preparation for deep penetration into a hostile country. His adventure can at best be described as a reconnaissance raid which in its very nature must be confined to the borderland. It is therefore quite a fair assumption that al-Muhallab proceeded along the natural highway of the Kābul valley up to the fortified strategic outpost of Waihind and then turned round for a dash along the mountainous region which forms the natural barrier guarding against an entry into India from the north-west. Viewed in this light al-Balādhuri's description of 'Alāhwār and Bannah (i.e. Bannū, including the Tochi and the Kurram valleys) as "lying between Kābul and Multān" appears quite appropriate in as much as the natural route linking the two cities passed either through the Gomāl valley or through the Pishin valley, the latter being the more usual one, (Cunningham, p. 100). Obviously it would be impossible to make the situation of Lahore answer the above description by any stretch of the words. Moreover it is somewhat doubtful whether the town of Lahore, at least with its current name, even existed at that time. Hwen Thsang, according to the investigation of Mr. Muḥammad Bāqir (*Islamic Culture*, Vol. XVIII, p. 34-5), makes no mention of it.

Another place called al-Qīqān mentioned in the same tradition of al-Balādhuri as the scene of al-Muhallab's encounter with the "Turks" must also be located on the same route. It can be gleaned from al-Balādhuri itself (*vide* pp. 433-4) that al-Qīqān "formed part of as-Sind in the direction of Khurāsān,"² was circumjacent to al-Būqān (also called

1. *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 66-7.

2. It must be remembered that in early days the name "*Khurāsān*" was applicable to all the land east of the Iranian Desert right up to the borders of India, and the boundaries of as-Sind extended so far as to include Baluchistan and part of the modern State of Qalāt.

al-Budh and identified with the modern Kachhi), had very close connection with Quṣḍār, and was noted for its horses. Hwen Thsang mentions it as being on the western frontiers of Falana (Bannū). Thus in general the district intended must be somewhere in the vicinity of Pishin and Quetta, comprising the Sulaimani range as well as the limits of Sahārāwān and Mushkī in the west where horses are still in great demand, (*vide* Elliot I, 381 *seq.* and Cunningham, p. 99). It is also helpful to note in this connection that in the words of adh-Dhahabī (*Duval-ul-Islām*, p. 22) the scene of the encounter with the Turks lay in the neighbourhood of Qandābīl, which place according to Taghribirdī (*an-Nujūmū'z-Zāhira*, I, 125) formed the limit of al-Muhallab's advance.

We now have a fair estimate of the importance of al-Muhallab's expedition which resulted in the reconnaissance of two of the three possible land routes into the north-west and west of India, *viz.*, the Kābul valley and the Bolān Pass. The former route was never seriously attempted by the early Arab armies. The second one had indeed been already attempted before al-Muhallab, and continued to be the scene of many a dogged but ineffective attempt thereafter, until it was given up for the third route along the coast of Mukrān.

Incidentally it must also be remarked that the presence of the "Turks" in the region referred to above, is also proved by the fact that the successive waves of nomadic tribes that migrated from Central Asia into Transoxiana also infiltrated into the tract lying south of the Hindukush. In the fifth century A.D. the Ephthalites completely inundated the land, even submerging the Sahi princes long established there. The Ephthalites were displaced in the following century by a new body of nomads usually designated as "Turks" (Chinese: (T'u-Chuch). Hwen Thsang found the whole region from Turfan to Merv and Lake Issykkul to the Hindukush under the control of the Khāqān of the western branch of this Turkish horde. At this time (630 A.D.) the kingdom of Kapisa, whose ruler, though described as a Khattri, may, according to modern research, well have been of the same Turkish nomadic origin, extended down to the borders of Falana on the Gomāl river and was divided into numerous tributary States. One of these States, Kābul, also had a Turkish king.¹

LUHŪR AND LAHĀWUR

HAVING established the identity of 'Alāhwār we now proceed to examine closely the references to Luhūr, Lahāwūr, and their variants in al-Bīrūnī and Gardizī. It is remarkable that al-Bīrūnī refers to Lahāwūr only as a province and not as a city or town. The province as defined by him extended between the Ravi and the Beas (129, 6), was adjacent to Takeshar, the land of the Takkas (102, 2 ; 206, 15), and had as its capital

1. See H.C. Ray : *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1931, Chap. II.

Mandahūkūr—Lat. $31^{\circ}50'$, Long. $99^{\circ}20'$ —on the eastern bank of the Ravi (101,3). Further al-Bīrūnī refers to Luhūr and Lōhūr as a strong fortress west of the mountain Kulārjak, which stood south at a distance of two Farsakhs from the plain of Kashmir (102,3). The distance between Luhūr—Lat. $33^{\circ}40'$, Long. $98^{\circ}20'$ —and the capital of Kashmir was 56 miles (163,3). Gardīzī's references to this fortress are also quite precise. He calls it Lāhōrkōt (p. 79) and Lōhkōt (p. 72) "the steel fortress," and describes it in terms very similar to those used by al-Bīrūnī. He also refers to the province of Lōhūr (also Lāhūr, p. 104) together with its concomitant Takīshar just in the same way as in al-Bīrūnī. Thus the fortress of Lōhārin called Lūhūr by al-Bīrūnī, and the province of Lahāwur or Lūhūr must be clearly distinguished from each other.

To sum up: (1) al-Balādhurī makes no mention of Lahore, 'Alāhwār being located near Waihind, (2) al-Bīrūnī refers only to the province, and not the town, of Lahore with its capital at Mandahūkūr. Gardīzī also makes no precise reference to the town of Lahore. (3) Al-Bīrūnī applies the name Lūhūr to the fortress of Lōhārin, called Lōhkōt and Lōharkōt by Gardīzī, on the south-western border of Kashmir. This fortress and the Kulārjak mountain, which, in the words of al-Bīrūnī, was seen in the form of a cupola from the boundaries of Lahāwur and Takīshar, must be located somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Tosa-maidan Pass, in the light of the detailed description given by al-Bīrūnī and confirmed by Gardīzī.

Thus we see that Mr. Muḥammad Bāqir, author of an article on Lahore referred to above, is mistaken in identifying every reference to Lūhūr or any of its variants with the present capital of the Punjab. There should be no confusion so far as 'Alāhwār is concerned. As for the rest of the variants we have to seek the aid of the context to identify the place with either Loharin or the province or town of Lahore.

S.M. YUSUF.

WAS BAIRAM KHAN A REBEL?¹

THE tentative period of the Mughal rule in India was also its most glorious period, the period of steady and real establishment of power. Political events which make and unmake nations followed with logical coherence in this period—the period of Akbar's reign. The circumstances always favoured 'the man of destiny' in bringing about the desired situations. The death of Humāyūn, emergence of Hēmū, murder of Tardī Bēg, the battle of Pānīpat, the rise of Bairam Khān, the bustling activity of the Chaghatā'ī stalwarts, all these events conspired to produce another important event, the fall of Bairam Khān.

The fall of Bairam Khān is an interesting and significant episode of Akbar's reign. It occurred just when it ought to have occurred. His fall was the fall of an institution. The loyal veteran of Humāyūn's time was driven from pillar to post, till finally he had to eat humble pie and to undertake a pilgrimage to Mecca which fortune never allowed him to fulfil.

But was it a historical catastrophe? Can practised loyalty turn into treachery? These are the questions with which we are faced. Human reason is perplexed to see the extremely loyal career of Bairam Khān turn in the evening of his life into a disastrous hostility, as Abu'l-Faḍl would like us to believe.² He had been loyal to his master through thick and thin. He befriended him when fortune had deserted him. At Amarkot when the Rānā had grown cold and even men like Mun'im Khān had deserted him, Bairam rushed from Gujerāt to reach His Majesty, says Gulbadan Bēgum.³ He was exhausted, he was attacked and was moving in an utterly hostile country in the clutches of death. But his loyalty goaded him on. It was he who advised the perplexed emperor to proceed to Qandhār when he did not know where to go. It was this journey which brought him in contact with, and secured the help of, the Shāh

1. Paper read before the Post-Graduates History Study Circle of the Allahabad University.

2. Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbar Nāma*, by Henry Beveridge, Vol. II, p. 147.

3. Gulbadan, *Humayūn-Nāmā*, tr. by A. S. Beveridge, p. 48.

of Persia. Again when Humāyūn was returning to India, he begged to accompany him.¹ After the emperor's death it was he who secured the empire of India for Akbar. A man of such a loyal career is condemned by the Historian Royal Abu'l Faḍl, who says :

“ He could never believe that India could be administered without him, consequently it seemed better that he should act hostility under the guise of friendship so that the writing of eternal infamy should not be inscribed in his record² He spoke of pilgrimage but inwardly he thought of crookedness.”³

The charges are explicit and imply not only rebellion but treachery and hypocrisy. The statements are categorical and leave no scope for doubt. But the difficulty arises because “ the Persian historians narrate the circumstances of Bairam Khān's fall at immense length and from different points of view,” as Dr. V.A. Smith⁴ rightly observes. Abu'l-Faḍl's account, when properly examined, clearly shows that the author was hostile to Bairam Khān. The reasons are not far to seek. Firstly, Abu'l-Faḍl wrote long after the event which had proved disastrous in its consequences. Naturally, like all the medieval chroniclers, he viewed the whole situation in the perspective of failure. And secondly, he is in the habit of discrediting the king's opponents in order to extol the virtues and gloss over the crimes of his master. According to him Bairam was Akbar's opponent, and therefore Abu'l-Faḍl is not to be absolutely trusted here. Besides, we are told that Akbar used to hear his accounts personally. The result is that the accounts are generally irritatingly courtly. At times he has to be studiously ambiguous, at times explicitly dishonest.

The other great historian who attracts our attention is Nizām ad-Dīn Bakhshī, the celebrated author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. His veracity and simplicity have impressed every student of Indo-Muslim history. He is more reliable than Abu'l-Faḍl for two reasons ; first the *Ṭabaqāt* was not an official history which was meant to be read before the emperor, and hence the author was at liberty to form his independent judgments : secondly he could not expect any favour from Bairam, who had disappeared from the scene. His veracity is universally accepted, but still his accounts need thorough sifting. The fact is that we find two groups of historians, those who sympathised with Bairam Khān and those who were opposed to him. Abu'l-Faḍl obviously belongs to the latter group, Nizām-ad-Dīn to the former. Others, viz., Badāyūnī, Nūr-al-Ḥaq, Shaikh Allāh-dād Sirhindī, Mulla Abu'l-Bāqī, Mu'tamad Khān, Farishta, 'Ārif Muḥammad Qandhārī, etc. follow either Abu'l-Faḍl or Nizām ad-Dīn

1. Gulbadan Bégam, p. 59.

2. A.S. Bev., II, p. 147.

3. Ibid., p. 156.

4. V. A. Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, p. 43.

Aḥmad. What we propose to do is to bring out the kernel of truth from the husk of legend and controversy by making a thorough study of the circumstantial evidence.

It goes without saying that Bairam Khān was a veteran, well-versed in the art of warfare, brave, a patron of literature, grandiloquent and conspicuously loyal. Gulbadan describes him as extremely affectionate and keenly emotional. Even Abu'l-Faḍl has to accept that in reality he was a good man of excellent qualities.¹ And really it was his affectionate disposition, his unfailing loyalty, his pronounced courage which led Humāyūn to appoint him as regent for his young son. But with all these qualities were mingled opposite traits of character which played a decisive role in bringing about his fall. Most of these unredeeming features were innate in him, but many he added after he came to power, rightly observes Dr. Ibn Ḥasan.² Bairam Khān had womanish jealousy and he could not tolerate anybody else's rise. Why were the Atkāṣ opposed to him? Obviously because of Bairam's jealous temperament. Furthermore, he had an exalted and exaggerated notion of his ability. Abu'l-Faḍl emphasises this point off and on. He says :

"From amongst them, Bairam Khān (who considered himself to be an adept of the time in bravery, statesmanship, fidelity and sincerity). He was of the belief that without him the management of India could not be carried on."³

This habit in him naturally encouraged flattery, and it was a habit highly detrimental to a statesman. Abu'l-Faḍl's emphasis on this point is undoubtedly justified. Others too condemn it, including Qandhārī, who emphatically says, "The friends of the Sa'id Khān were only outwardly friendly, they were the enemies of the State."⁴ Bairam Khān, secure in his vanity, could never realise that they were actually sealing his doom. As a matter of fact, it was these self-seekers, who surrounded him all the time, that made him all the more vain and haughty so that he gradually lost his power of judicious judgment. With such an abnormal disposition, as he had latterly developed he committed a series of blunders, or more rightly every possible blunder.

A brief survey of the events and also of his character reveals the pitfalls. History cannot forgive him for his Shī'ah partiality. Perhaps he wanted to champion the cause of the Shī'ahs in a country predominantly

1. A.S. Beveridge, II, p. 175.

2. Ibn-Ḥasan : *Central Structure of Mug. Emp.*, p. 123.

3. Ak., Bib. Ind., p. 86. از آنجمله بیرام خان (که خود را در مردانگی و معامله دانی و عقیدت و اخلاص یگانه روزگاری دانست :) اورا بخود عقیده بود که بے وجود او انتظام مہبات ہندوستان صورت ندارد

(I have freely rendered it into English).

4. 'Arif Qandhārī : *Tārīkh-i-Akbar Shāhī*, MS. in possession of Prof. R. P. Tripathi of Allahabad University, p. 87 : موافقان ظاہر نامے خان ، اشار الہ کہ مخالفان دولت بود ند

Sunnī and when the Emperor himself was a Sunnī. In State-craft he was only mediocre. He lacked quick decision and perpetually committed political blunders, rightly observes Abu'l-Faḍl.¹ Dr. Ibn Ḥasan's correct estimate deserves to be quoted. He says that Bairam Khān, having got power, "failed to rise above the level of the ordinary administrator, and some of his actions were beyond doubt based on personal considerations, apart from political exigencies of the needs of the State."² His perpetual attempts to destroy his so-called enemies and to keep a vigilant eye on the Atkāṣ ultimately created a crisis of the first magnitude for him. Their jealousy led to ill-conceived actions, but in discharging purely State duties he was honest and loyal to the core. Abu'l-Faḍl has to accept that Bairam Khān-i-Khānān '*Izzat-ad-Daulat-al-Qāhrah* became the Vakīl, and the "binding and loosing of the affairs of the caliphate, the gathering and despatching of the armies of victory were committed to his plenteous science and the strong hand of his fidelity."³ The fidel Bairam remained faithful all through and never turned into a rebel against the State, as Abu'l-Faḍl says as we shall see presently. It was because of the lack of tact in him that he failed to retain the emperor's confidence, and not because of disloyalty.

Now let us briefly analyse a few events of Akbar's reign which like a Greek tragedy quickened Bairam's catastrophe. Power made him proud and pride led to his ruin.

(1) The first striking event is the execution of Tardī Bēg at his instigation in 1556. Bairam Khān, who was over-jealous from the very beginning, thought, though wrongly, that it was well-nigh impossible for him to carry on with the old nobility. This estimate of his was entirely faulty, statesmanship required a policy of conciliation. Tardī Bēg was treacherously murdered after he had run away from Delhi while fighting against Hēmū. Akbar graciously accepted the excuse out of political necessity, says Abu'l-Faḍl.⁴ Abu'l-Faḍl and Farishta justify this action, saying that had Bairam not done so, "the old scene of Shēr Shāh would have been acted over again."⁵ Nizām-ad-Dīn too agrees with Abu'l-Faḍl. But the justification is a forced justification. Badāyūnī gives an even more unsatisfactory account. He says that Bairam 'obtained a sort of permission' to do so.⁶ The reason of the execution, far from being political was entirely personal. The fact is that it was the feeling of rivalry which incited Bairam. The instantaneous effect of this unjust execution was forgotten but afterwards it was completely revived. The king was reminded of this high-handedness later on. The murder of Tardī Bēg was no less than a bomb-shell, but it was a time-bomb which exploded later on. Von

1. A.S. Bev. II, p. 149.

2. Ibn Ḥasan, p. 123.

3. A.S. Bev., Vol. 2, p. 9.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-53.

5. Farishta: Briggs, Vol. 2, p. 186.

6. Badāyūnī: Lowe & Cowell, Vol. 2, p. 7.

Noer very ably remarks that "the death of Tardī Beg showed her (Māham Angā) with what unconcerned barbarity the Regent could remove any person whom he believed likely to endanger his own position."¹ But one thing is obvious, this execution, though a blunder on the part of Bairam Khān was not itself motivated by treachery and disloyalty towards the emperor, who for Bairam was identical with the State. The reasons are much too clear: firstly, had it been due to disloyalty towards Akbar, why should he have opposed the fatal proposal of returning to Kabul? This opposition was the crucial instance which gave Akbar the empire of India. Secondly, he thought that Tardī Bēg would be an obstruction and therefore for the unobstructed execution of the State business, he had him murdered. Over and above all, Hēmū's defeat was the direct result of Bairam's loyalty. "It was only the personality of Bairam Khān which established peace in the country and saved the dynasty."² Bairam Khān was the Vakīl-i-Mutlaq and acted as the Atāliq of the emperor. "The king was behind the veil and the rule was that of the Vakils."³ There is no doubt that his powers were unlimited, but the assumption of power was not due to any ill-intention towards the king. Abu'l-Faḍl wrongly imputes it to ill-intention. He asserts that "he exceeded the limits and bringing hidden thoughts to his contemplation, he began to perfect his schemes."⁴ This assertion of the royal historian, we believe, does not fully stand the test of reason. Bairam Khān had no evil intentions towards the State. The assumption of power was a political necessity, it was certainly not a preparation for establishing his own empire. Had he so desired, why should he have so substantially contributed to the establishment of the defunct Mughal empire? In the appropriation of too much power, Bairam acted with the best intentions towards the State. He thought himself to be justified in doing so. The king was a minor and therefore he thought that he should exercise unlimited authority, because the Grand Vazīr according to al-Māwardī's conception, was "the major-domo and alter ego of the Caliph."⁵ His intentions were beyond doubt honest, but a different issue, more important than his intention, merges. Could he ably exercise that unlimited power for the good of the State? No, he could not. The way he chose to stabilise the government, by perpetuating his personal power, was undoubtedly disastrously mistaken. He ought to have held the power like a great official of the State and not like an autocratic grandee gratifying his own whims and idiosyncracies, as he did. Though a calculating statesman with "wisdom and discernment,"⁶ yet he was "coldly calculating," rightly opines Von Noer.⁷ His calculations were to perpetuate

1. Von Noer, *Akbar*, tr. from German, Vol. I, p. 79.

2. Ibn Ḥasan, p. 121.

3. *Ibid.*

4. A.N., Bib. Ind., p. 87. انکہ کار از اندازہ بیرون بردہ، اندیشہاے نہان بخاطر آوردہ خیالات خام بختن گرفت

5. Al-Māwardī, Tr. of *Veziyat de delegation et veziyat d'execution*, p. 197.

6. A.S., Bev, II, p. 145.

7. Von Noer, I, p. 74.

his personal authority as against the so-called clique of the old Mughal nobility, though certainly for the welfare of the State. It was his misfortune that he was highly prejudiced against the old nobility. But he could not help it because he was temperamentally jealous. Naturally therefore all his subsequent calculations became wrong. His original calculation was wrong because :

(a) He completely failed to understand the personality of his young ward, i.e., the emperor, who according to Bairam was only a game-loving lad. This wrong estimate never allowed him to understand any subsequent problem correctly. Akbar, though apparently quiet and given to hunting, was a keenly sensitive boy, and was conscious of the responsibilities of State though he had not yet displayed any interest in them. Abu'l-Faḍl says, "in coursing his dogs, he was initiating his companions in matters of government."¹ This is undoubtedly an exaggeration, but the exaggeration of a truth. It was the king himself of all person who was interested in Bairam's fall, Prof. R. P. Tripathī rightly thinks.²

(b) Assumption of too much power in a wrong way, as is shown above, brought into existence an organised party against him. Prof. Tripathī deserves to be quoted again. He says on Bairam's assumption of power that "this discontent led to a conspiracy against the all-powerful Bairam Khān."³

(c) Power made him haughty and egotistical. He collected an unhealthy entourage. Every historian makes mention of it, Abu'l-Faḍl mentions it over and over again and rightly too. He observes, "During these days, evil empowered him, so much so, that with the agency of the sedition-mongers who were short-sighted and envious of the fortunate ones, (his disposition changed)."⁴ This entourage consisted of men like Walī Bēg, Muḥammad Ṭahir, Lang Sarbān, Shaikh Gadā'i Kambū who were the real leaders of disloyalty, as Abu'l-Faḍl says. It may be conceded that these flatterers were very harmful to Bairam Khān himself, as we shall see below. But it is difficult to agree with Abu'l-Faḍl that he acted entirely on their advice. Later on when Akbar refused to see Bairam Khān, Gadā'i and Walī Bēg insisted that he should rebel but he refused to do so. This is accepted by Abu'l-Faḍl also.⁵ On no other occasion did he follow their suggestion but their presence was harmful in another respect. They were harmful, not for the State but for Bairam Khān himself. Since an anti-Bairam party had come into existence after he assumed power, Bairam Khān organised this party

1. A.S. Bev., I, p. 589.

2. J. I. Hist. 1922, R. P. Tripathī, p. 329.

3. *Ibid.*,

4. A.N., Bib. Ind. p. 85. درین هنگام فتورے درخوے اورفت نا آنکہ بوسیلہ فتنہ اندوزان ناتوان بین
(This portion has been translated by me). . . . [خاطر یرم متغیر شد]

5. A.S. Beveridge, II, p. 147.

of flatterers to counter-act the influence of his so-called opponents. Originally the members of the old nobility were not his enemies, but Bairam's attitude gradually made them so. Bairam organised his party, not against the king, but against his ill-wishers. This was a wrong course indeed. It gave an opportunity to his opponents, who pointed out to the king that Bairam had evil intentions. The error of assuming power, as he did, is now manifest. It was his great blunder, his pride and prejudice worsened the situation. Under the influence of flatterers, he developed a complex entirely harmful to himself. Abu'l-Faḍl rightly says :

“ In short Bairam Khān struck axe on the leg of his fortune . . . and succumbing to pride (which is an old source of the downfall of the great ones), he produced the conditions of his and his partner's fall and soon its effect became manifest.”¹

With the emergence of the opposite party, headed at first by Shams-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Atkā and latterly by Māham Angā, Bairam lost his mental equanimity and he took a series of unwise steps simply for the gratification of his false sense of prestige. They really quickened his fall, as Von Noer rightly thinks.² To take a few more events :

(2) The incident of the approach of an elephant towards his camp when he was indisposed during the investment of Mankut in July 1557. He suspected foolishly that Atkā did it deliberately. He persisted in his suspicion. True, there was no tinge of disloyalty in this suspicion, but it created two unfavourable impressions – firstly, his obstinacy and rude behaviour became manifest, and secondly the display of enmity towards Atkā now openly brought the latter into the opposite camp.

(3) The boat incident and the killing of the Royal Mahaut in spite of the king's recommendation.³ It was again not an act of disloyalty but it produced three results, absolutely unfavourable to himself. Firstly, the ignoring of the royal recommendation must have made Akbar conscious of the regent's too great assumption of power ; secondly, it created a sense of insecurity among the servants of the State, and lastly it made him very unpopular. Although there was the element of anger in killing the Mahaut, yet he did it with best intention of keeping the imperial elephant under the proper vigilance of a better Mahaut, rightly observes Abu'l-Bāqī.⁴ But the clique against him was bound to misinterpret the action, as Bāqī says, “ Khān-i-Khānān separated these royal faithful elephant-drivers from the emperor and he is intriguing, and this false-

1. A.N., Bib., Ind., p. 86. القصة بیرام خان تیشه بر پائے اقبال خود زد . . . و تکبر (که بنیاد افکن قدیم دولتان است) پیش گرفته اسباب نکال خود و مرئی خود سرانجام می نمود و باندک فرصتی آثار آن بظاهر آمد

2. Von Noer, p. 74.

3. Nizām ad-Dīn, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, E. & D., Vol. 5, p. 256.

4. Abu'l-Bāqī: *Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmī*, Bib. Ind., p. 657.

hood, which appeared to be a truth, became current among the people."¹

(4) Muṣāhib Khān son of Khwāja Kalān Bēg one of the principal nobles of the late Majesty, was put to death by Bairam's order because he was malicious.² Why did he do so ? Could he give capital punishment without the king's permission ? No, he could not.

(5) The dismissal of Pīr Muḥammad Shēr-wānī was his greatest blunder. Every historian including 'Ārif Qandhārī condemns it. Pīr Muḥammad was Bairam's right-hand man and helped him in killing Tardī Bēg. He also had a hand in Muṣāhib Khān's execution. Dr. Smith's contention that Pīr Muḥammad was base is wrong, and it is not borne out by the facts given by the contemporary historians.³ Bairam acted only to gratify his false sense of vanity. He foolishly thought that he was insulted when he went to see Pīr Muḥammad although the poor Pīr Muḥammad ran post-haste to see him when he heard of his arrival. This produced three-fold consequences—firstly Pīr Muḥammad turned into an enemy and his enmity was disastrous because he knew all the secrets of the Khān, secondly, this action considerably angered the king and lastly it strengthened the opposition.

(6) He showed extreme thick-headedness in making various appointments and in giving ranks. There was no other motive in it except his favouritism towards Shī'as and his protégés. Haji Muḥammad Sīstānī, absolutely an unknown man, was made Vakil instead of Pīr Muḥammad. Shaikh Gadā'ī Kambū, whom Abu'l-Faḍl calls a 'Shor-bakht,'⁴ was appointed as Ṣadr aṣ-Ṣudūr in 1558. Gadā'ī was a Shī'a. Could the Sunnīs tolerate it ? It very clearly shows his intellectual bankruptcy in practical politics. Then he ignored 'Abd-ul-Ghauth, a Muslim divine, only to gratify Gadā'ī. It made him extremely unpopular, Abu'l-Faḍl smells in this, as in every other action, treachery. But this is only a wrong charge because his Shī'a partiality made him unpopular enough but it was not going to help him in any way in maturing his schemes. It was all politically unsound. Then he bestowed the ranks of 5,000 on no less than 25 of his servants, ignoring those of the king completely.⁵

These appointments and the other injudicious actions mentioned above reveal the main features of his character. We have analysed a few events. What we find in them, is not disloyalty or treachery, but the lack of far-sightedness. He took wrong steps to gratify his so-called friends, who in fact were self-seekers, and to shock the clique against him. The stability of the State was not involved but he was entirely mistaken. He

1. Abdu'l-Bāqī, M.R.Bib. *Ibid.*, Ind. (the English rendering is my own) : خانخانان این روشن فیلان
خاصه را از شاهنشاهی جدا ساخت و فکری دارد و این دروغ راست نما در میان مردم نیز شهرت دادند

2. *Ṭabaqāt* E. & D., V, p. 257.

3. Smith, p. 47.

4. A.N., Bib., Ind. p. 86.

5. Nizām ad-Dīn, Blochmann, p. 316.

could have served his purpose better had he followed a policy of conciliation and had he appointed a variety of people. He became very unpopular. Now the conclusion is irresistible that he lacked political insight. Abul Faḍl corroborates it, but then heaping contempt upon him, imputes it to treachery (خباثت خیال).¹ But he fails to give any substantial argument for the charge, as the analysis has very clearly revealed.

Now it is obvious that his actions were not motivated by treachery, but it cannot be denied that they were highly impolitic, conspicuously ill-advised and severely unjust. The reaction was bound to come and it did come. The king was now tired of the complaints against Bairam. Akbar now wanted to take power, but that required some reasonable excuse because he could not remove the loyal Bairam without any reason. But the reasons could easily be invented.

Long before going to Delhi, we are told by a person no less than Abu'l-Faḍl himself, the Emperor was keen to shake off the Regent's power after Pīr Muḥammad's dismissal. The plan of subverting his authority was discussed and formed at Bayana. Those who participated in the conference, besides the Emperor, were Māham Angā, Adham Khān, and Mīrzā Sharf-ad-Dīn. Abu'l-Bāqī corroborates it :

"At last the mischief-mongers represented that the king declared that he wanted to chastise the Khān-i-Khānān and his flatterers."²

Now there is no reason to doubt it, rightly observes Prof. R. P. Tripathi.³ There was a plan to oust the Atāliq to which the emperor himself was a party. In these circumstances the Khān was bound, in spite of all his loyalty, to fall indeed and his fall was precipitated by his ill-advised actions.

The plan was only in the air. The opposite group now consisted of Māham Angā, her son, Shams ad-Dīn Atkā, 'Alī Qulī Khān-i-Zamān who turned against Bairam after Burj 'Alī's death. They began to incite the king against Bairam because the king himself was interested in the affair. Nizām-ad-Dīn's observation is conclusive on this point. He writes, "The general management of Imperial affairs was under the direction of Bairam Khān, but there were malignant and envious men who were striving to ingratiate themselves in His Majesty's favour who lost no opportunity of speaking an ill word to pervert the mind of the Emperor. . . ."⁴ Māham Angā and Adham were prominent at this time and they showed malice towards Bairam, but the king disapproved any action against the

1. A.N., Bib. Ind., p. 85.

2. Bāqī, M. R., Bib. Ind., p. 667. آخر الامراهل فساد جهان نمودند که بادشاه بامام انگه و شرف الدین حسین مرزا و ادھم خان در میان آور دند که می خواهم که خاندانان و خوشامد گوین ایشان را . . . سزای می دهم (The English rendering is my own).

3. J. I. Hist., 1922, Tripathi, p. 330.

4. Nizām ad-Dīn, E. & .D., op. cit., V, p. 260.

Khân because as yet the king could not say anything against him. But the disapproval was not real, it was only affected. The malicious people were bent upon ousting him. There was a constant intrigue going on against him. Abu'l-Faḍl tells us that after the Bayana Conference, Māham Angā, upon whom he also showers praises, though quite wrongly, communicated the report of the conference to Shihāb-ad-Dīn at Delhi and made him her tool.¹ Māham was the centre of intrigue. Actually, Dr. Smith is right in thinking² that it was this party which forced Bairam Khân to rebel. Bairam himself never wanted to do so, as will be seen below.

As regards Akbar, he was independent by nature, and we are not for a moment prepared to assume that others guided his activities. But it cannot be denied that the anti-Bairam party constantly filled his ears against Bairam. Akbar could not naturally be indifferent to it. But the fact is that he received these suggestions because he himself wanted them.

Akbar now took definite steps to bring about the breach. Abu'l-Faḍl and Abu'l-Bāqī both tell us that Akbar, on the pretext of hunting left Agra on the 19th March, 1560. of the Christian era,³ reached Kol, crossed the Jamuna and that night stayed with Ḥakīm Zambīl, and since Bairam Khân was constantly favouring Abu'l-Qāsim, son of Kimrān Mīrzā, he took him also with him. Abu'l-Faḍl says:

“ Since Bairam Khân always showed cordial relations and real attachment to Mīrzā Abu'l-Qāsim, son of Kimrān Mīrzā, and always the evil-wishers of the king had an eye on him. . . . ”⁴

Abu'l-Faḍl's enunciation of this fact seems to be wrong. Nizām-ad-Dīn did not make any mention of it. Abu'l-Bāqī calls it only malicious propaganda. Abu'l-Faḍl mentions it with so much certainty because it was a secret and a baseless fabrication of the anti-Bairam party, known to Abu'l-Faḍl also because he had the advantage of knowing all the secrets. Not a single action of Bairam Khân can show that he wanted to give kingship to Qāsim. Had it been so, why did Bairam help Akbar when he had no power? Moreover it was Abu'l-Qāsim who fought against Bairam along with Atkā. The charge, therefore, is baseless.

His Majesty reached Jalesar and then Sikandra, where, according to Abu'l-Faḍl, Māham divulged the secret of the plan to Bāqī Baqlānī. As his mother was ill, Akbar made this his motive and went to Delhi, says Ab'ul Faḍl. Did Akbar know the plan? From Abu'l-Faḍl's as well as Abu'l-Bāqī's statements it is clear that Akbar knew the plan, because he started

1. A.S. Bev., II, p. 150, also *Bib. Ind.*, p. 88 (my rendering). ماهم انكه اين راز سر بسته را بشهاب الدين خان
درميان آورد

2. Smith, p. 47.

3. A.N., *Bib. Ind.*, p. 88 & Bāqī, *Bib. Ind.*, p. 665.

4. A.N., *Ibid.*, p. 90 (my rendering). چون يوسته بيرام خان اظهار تعلق خاطر ي و توجه باطنى به
مرزا ابوالقاسم پسر مرزا كامرانى نمود و همواره بداندیشان آن مجلس را در پيش نظر مى داشته

on the 'pretext,' as Abu'l-Faḍl says. Did Māham tell him about his mother's illness? Abu'l-Faḍl and Bāqī do not mention but Nizām ad-Dīn clearly says that Māham told Akbar that Maryam-i-Zamānī wanted to see him. She did so because she wanted the execution of the plan. Nizām ad-Dīn is correct. Māham must have told Akbar. Abu'l-Faḍl tells us that after the Bayana Conference, she communicated the news to Shihāb ad-Dīn. Now when Akbar was near, she had the best opportunity. In fact everything was settled beforehand, otherwise what was the sense in taking Abu'l-Qāsim whom Akbar considered to be the source of danger? It was not accidental, says Prof. Tripathī.¹ Furthermore he says, "The flawless execution of the plan seems to indicate that every detail was well-conceived and that the Emperor himself readily and consciously allowed himself to fall in with every purpose."²

This leads us to conclude that there was a complete plan to oust Bairam Khān at any cost. Now let us examine his sincerity, which Abu'l-Faḍl doubts entirely. First when Bāqī Baqlānī divulged Māham's secrets to Bairam Khān the latter failed to believe him. Why? Only because of his sincerity and innocence. Had he done any treachery against the king, he would have rushed to counteract the plan like a guilty man. Despite this, on the 27th March 1506, a Farmān was issued showing that Bairam Khān had deviated from the right path."³ Atkā got Bairam Khan's insignia, Shihāb ad-Dīn was appointed Finance Minister, etc., but Bairam Khān, "in spite of all his wisdom and discernment,"⁴ says Abu'l-Faḍl sarcastically, remained normal. He simply failed to believe it. When he became conscious of his dismissal, he was shocked. Abu'l-Faḍl wrongly says that he called for Abu'l-Qāsim. Bairam Khān must have known that he was with Akbar, and moreover could any person further his cause when all the grandees were at Delhi? What actually was his feelings is described by Abu'l-Bāqī in these words: "[When the tidings reached him], he spoke to the servants and other people 'Now leave it, I do not aspire to the throne, greatness or high position. My aim was the conquest of Hindustan. . . . now I want the king's pleasure.'"⁵ Bairam loyally and immediately sent Khwāja Aḥmad ad-Dīn, Tarsūn Bēg, Hājī Muḥammad Khān, etc. to the king because he did not want to injure the king's feelings.⁶ It was certainly not out of deceit as Abu'l-Faḍl says.

On the other hand, Māham Angā was perpetually speaking ill of Bairam and was forcing the king to take some action lest she should have to go to Mecca for fear of Bairam. Nizām ad-Dīn tells us that Shihāb ad-Dīn began

1. *J. I. Hist.*, 1922, Tripathi, p. 332.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *A.N.*, p. 143, Vol. 2.

4. *A.N.*, Bev. II, p. 147.

5. Bāqī, *Bib. Ind.*, p. 667. چوں خبر رسید [از ملازمان و دیگر مردم را گفت ازین جدا شوید، مرا مطلب

سلطنت و بزرگی و حشمت نیست، مطلب فتح هندوستان بود، الحال مطلب رضائی شاهنشاه است

6. *A.N.*, Bev., II, p. 147.

preparations for war.¹ Was there any occasion for war ? It is now crystal clear that they wanted to force war upon the poor Bairam. Incessant intrigues led Bairam Khān's embassy to failure but not with any sufficient reason, because Akbar could not yet level any substantial charge against Bairam. It was later on that he could do so, and that too, not very fairly. People with vested interests, rightly says Nizām ad-Dīn, did not allow the young emperor to grant any interview to Bairam lest he might clear his position.² The message of Bairam Khān was full of supplication and sincerity. Nizām ad-Dīn and Abu'l-Bāqī both agree. Bairam wanted to clarify his position because he felt that his enemies had kidnapped the boy-king. His message reads as follows : " The devotion and loyalty of your servant would never allow him to do anything to any servant of the State against His Majesty's wishes, for naught but kindness and favour is due to all who faithfully discharge their duties."³ Why should his sincerity be doubted when there is no substantial reason to do so ?

The embassy was rejected but Akbar sent such a reply as confirmed Bairam Khān's belief that the king has no grievance against him, it was all the work of his enemies. This message sent by Akbar, undoubtedly based on hypocrisy, reverberated in his mind till finally he decided to fight against his enemies. The message was :

" As you are like my father, I also hold a kindred relationship with you and in spite of this misunderstanding and ill-advised actions, I still hold you dear."⁴

This letter clearly shows that Akbar simply failed to make any definite charge against him. The ill-advised actions are not mentioned by name. This letter, which created a false impression upon Bairam because of his sincerity towards the king, considerably determined his decision to fight against Atkā.

Bairam's loyalty became more pronounced when he outright rejected the advice of rebellion given by Gadā'ī and Walī Bēg, accepted by Abu'l-Faḍl also.⁵ In spite of all his disfavour to Bairam Khān, Abu'l-Faḍl had to accept that "yet from the regard which he had for righteousness he could not decide upon levying war. . . ."⁶ But in the same breath he says that Bairam Khān felt that India could not be administered without him, and "consequently it seemed better that he should act hostility under the guise of friendship."⁷ How contradictory is Abu'l-Faḍl is too obvious.

1. Nizām ad-Dīn, E. & D., V, p. 263.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. 'Ārif, MS. of Prof. Tripathi of A.U., p. 90. چون شما خان بابائی ما هستید، همین نسبت مرعی است و با وجود این رنجش و از امور نامناسب و ناهموار هنوز خاطر من شما را عزیز می دانم

5. A.N., Bev. II, p. 150.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

7. *Ibid.*

How could the 'righteous man' become so unscrupulous simultaneously? Such contradictions are bound to occur because the author aimed at showing, at any cost, that Bairam Khān was a rebel against the State. The fact is that by this time Bairam had decided to go to Mecca as is evidenced by the *Ṭabaqāt* and the *Ma'āthir-i-Raḥimīa*.¹ What he wanted was simply to clear his position before the king before his departure. Even Abu'l-Faḍl says that "he decided to go weeping and wailing and burning and melting."² But no interview could be granted because the anti-Bairam party made representations against him. Bāqī rightly says that "those who were at the helm of affairs, opined that the coming of the Khān-i-Khānān was improper."³ Now what could Bairam Khān do? People were not inclined to make his way easy.⁴

Another important point, to refute the charge of rebellion, is stated by Abu'l-Faḍl himself. He says that the people who were about Akbar pointed out Bairam's treachery. They requested the king not to grant him an interview, and on mere suspicion they began to mature the plans for his destruction. After much discussion, or rather persuasion, Akbar decided upon war and retired to Lahore.⁵ The analysis of this passage reveals the whole truth. Bairam Khān was at Agra and was almost in a fix because he had yet done nothing against the king. In the meantime some new charges had to be framed. Abu'l-Faḍl mentions the charges. Their very analysis refutes them. Abu'l-Faḍl says that he was divided in his mind and wanted an ally to excite rebellion. He wanted to go to Malwa to join Bahādur Khān. This is only an imaginary charge. Had he so desired, it was absolutely foolish on his part, because as soon as he relieved Bahādur Khān, he was the first person to join the king, and this Abu'l-Faḍl accepts also.⁶ Could Bairam rely on such a person? Then, another charge that in relieving people Bairam thought that he would harm the king in disguise, is again baseless. Bairam Khān did so, first because he was no more the Vakīl, secondly because he was going to Mecca as Mullā Bāqī says,⁷ and lastly because he no more required their services. Had he had any idea of rebellion he ought to have collected men rather than dismiss them. Bahādur Khān, though a great friend of his, joined the king and was posted at Kabul to oppose him. Further, Abu'l-Faḍl says that he wanted to go to 'Alī Qulī Khān-i-Zamān.⁸ This is a gross misrepresentation of facts. After the execution of Burj 'Alī, a trusted servant of 'Alī Qulī, by the order of Pīr Muḥammad Shērwanī, the entire Uzbek party was opposed

1. Nizām ad-Dīn, E. & D., V, p. 264.

2. A.N., Bev. II, p. 146.

3. Bāqī, Bib. Ind., p. 668. این که ماده معامله بودند عرض نمودند که آمدن خانخان مصاحت نیست

4. Smith, p. 48.

5. A.N., Bev. II, p. 147.

6. Ibid.

7. Bāqī, Bib. Ind., p. 668.

8. A.N., Bev. II, p. 149.

to Bairam Khān. Under these circumstances, he would never have thought of going to him. Last but not least, Abu'l-Faḍl says that outwardly he talked of pilgrimage, inwardly he thought of crookedness.¹ In the present circumstances, was there any chance of crookedness? He says that he sent letters to Sikandar, Afghān's son. This accepted, we do not hear of this man's rebellion. Moreover, no other historian mentions it. Then he says that Bairam wrote letters to various quarters and proceeded to Alwar in order to reach the Punjāb.² This information is highly doubtful. Though he mentions the names of the addressees, he fails to give the contents of the letters. Moreover, reason fails to accept it. Was Bairam Khān so foolish as to depend upon their help when his trusted friends like Bahādur Khān hoodwinked him? Having framed the charges, which were mostly invented, His Majesty sent a Farmān :

“ Though we are certain that, inasmuch as you are perfectly loyal, you never of your own accord assented to any of these acts, nor were the authors of them and that a faction has been the cause of these errors. . . . ”³

Then His Majesty mentions the charges which have been refuted above. The charge of Bairam's partiality is beyond doubt true, but we have seen above that his favouritism was not due to disloyalty, but was caused by his temperament and also by the circumstances. In the end His Majesty added, which is reproduced by Abu'l-Bāqī :

“ How is it that after forty-five years' service and numerous generousities and after reaching the climax of power and honour, you are destroying this reputation in the evening of your life by rebellion, which name you had earned by the generosity of this exalted dynasty with extreme devotion and sincerity. ”⁴

Cannot we ascertain the psychological effect of this letter upon Bairam Khān? He has yet done nothing against the king but was getting perpetual rebuffs, and still he kept quiet. Moreover, “ this letter offers no term of reasonable reconciliation. It was diplomatic and wanted his complete separation. ” This is a convincing observation of Prof. Tripathi.⁵ From the very beginning of his reign, Akbar resented the excessive control of Bairam Khān and on several occasions he gave expression to his feelings.

Bairam was extremely miserable. When he reached Alwar, 'Ārif says, and correctly, that the eyes of the noble Khān shed stream of tears like the afflicted ones.⁶ He went to Bayāna and set at liberty Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī

1. A.N., Bev. II, p. 156

2. Ibid., p. 152.

3. Ibid.

4. Bāqī, Bib. Ind., p. 670. این چه صورت دار دکه بعد از چهل و پنج سال خدمت، و ارادت و انواع عنایت و رسیدن به منتائی دولت و عزت نامیرا که بواسطه کرم و احسان این دودمان عالی شان در اکثر مأموره عالم بکمال صدق و اخلاص انتشار و اشتہار یافته باشند و این اخیر عمر به بغی و طغیان برارید، از خدا شرم ندارید

5. J. I. Hist., 1922, Tripathi, p. 335.

6. 'Ārif, MS. p. 92. چشم خان سعید مانند غمزدگان اشک فراوان می بارید

and Muḥammad Amīn Dīwān. Why did he do so ? Only because he had imprisoned them and since he was going to Mecca, he set them at liberty.¹ There can have been no other intention because Abu'l-Ma'ālī had once been his rival and nothing could be expected from him. Abu'l-Faḍl's contention is that Bairam liberated him so that he might act seditiously. If it were so, why did Ma'ālī continue to create trouble till finally he was killed in 1572 A.D. ? In fact he wanted to go to Mecca *via* the Punjab. It was again told to His Majesty by the mischief-mongers that he wanted strife and hence Akbar ordered a force to proceed to Nagor. Moreover Akbar sent 'Abd-ul-Laṭīf Qizwīnī to Bairam. This was Akbar's master-stroke. It was meant to establish that Akbar never wanted any collision or strife, it was Bairam Khān who was enforcing it. The game of Akbar can be clearly seen through when he sent Adham Khān, Sharf ad-Dīn, Pīr Muḥammad Khān and Majnūn Khān to Nagor to oppose Bairam.² In spite of this he kept quiet because he was under the delusion that the king was not against him, only his enemies were at work. He heard about it in Mēwāt. He at once sent letters of supplication and sent the entire insignia of royalty through Qulī Bēg, says Bāqī. He also wrote to those in authority : " Now I am sick of the world and its affairs."³ It was his real feeling. Qulī Bēg affirmed it at Delhi and said, " That conqueror of the world, who is innocent, has severed his connection with the world and has devoted himself to the acquisition of the capital of eternity."⁴ It leaves no scope for doubt. He had yet no intention of rebellion. More crucial is the event of Gadā'i's leaving him and going to the court, told by Abu'l-Faḍl himself. Can there be any doubt about his intention now ? His greatest friend would have stuck to him had he matured any idea of rebelling against his enemies.

Proceeding to Bikaner, he stayed with Rai Kalyān who showed him courtesy.⁵ Abu'l-Faḍl persists in saying that " he was looking for an opportunity for raising a disturbance,"⁶ but this charge is refuted by his own statement that " he remained several days in that agreeable country."⁷ Had he had any such intention, could he have moved so slowly as he did ? He stayed in the 'agreeable country' to assuage his grief. Abu'l-Bāqī corroborates this.⁸ From Bikaner he proceeded to the Punjab. Abu'l-Faḍl mentions the letters which he is alleged to have written

1. Bāqī, *Bib. Ind.*, p. 671. سفر درین نوع در پیش بود

2. A.N., Bev., II, p. 157.

3. Bāqī, p. 647. من خود از دنیا و کار آن سرد شده ام

4. *Ibid.* آن جهانگیر بے نقصر دل از سلطنت ظاهری برداشته به تحصیل زاد سرومایه ملک جاودان مشغول می جوید

5. A.N., Bev. II, p. 149. و متوجه سفر حجاز است

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. Bāqī, *Bib. Ind.*, p. 670.

to the officers in the Punjab. He says that he went to the Punjab with "black-thoughted ones, withdrew himself from every plan and taking the veil off his face proclaimed himself a rebel."¹ He wrote to the officers that he was going to Hedjaz "but he had come to know that a faction has spoken words to pervert the noble mind (of Akbar) and had made him a vagabond. especially Anga. At present his sole desire was to come and punish those evil-doers and take leave of them and proceed to Mecca."² The assumption that he wrongly wrote to them that he was going to Mecca is baseless. When he was going to ally himself with them, there was no sense in telling a lie. Besides, his intentions are much too clear. He was a man after all, and it would have been unnatural on his part had he not decided upon war.

Since he wanted to leave India immediately, he left his luggage at Bhatinda with Shēr Muḥammad Dīwān. Before he took it back, the Dīwān sent it to the Imperial Court. Moreover the contents of the king's first letter were always in his mind and he sincerely believed that the king had been kidnapped by his enemies. He makes mention of it in the letter quoted above. These things having culminated, he decided to wage war, not against the king or the State, but against his enemies who, according to him, were the malcontents of the empire. Dr. Smith's contention that the order to despatch Pīr Muḥammad to "pack him off to Mecca" excited him to rebel is entirely wrong. It did not excite him because Pīr Muḥammad was the only person who could discharge the duty, for he knew Bairam's temperament. Moreover he was instructed not to injure the Khān's feelings. Bairam decided to wage war when Pīr Muḥammad was far off in Gujarat.³ His excitement, therefore, was not due to this, but to a series of circumstances mentioned above. The excitement was but natural.⁴ Akbar's arrival in the Punjab completed it. War was now inevitable. In the war Bairam was defeated and he had to eat humble-pie. Akbar, who was still convinced of his loyalty, forgave him. Even his last statement speaks of his good intentions :

"I am worthy of any sort of punishment and my head hangs low, and though I am satisfied with the kindness of disposition of the monarch, I am fearful of the Chaghata'i Umarā' and the courtiers of the State."⁵

Bairam Khān was certainly a man of "fascinating character whose tragic end heightened his glory."⁶

1. A.N., Bev., II, p. 159.

2. Ibid., p. 160.

3. A.N., Bev., II, p. 156.

4. Bāqī very pertinently quotes Sa'dī :—

وقت ضرورت چو نمادگریز دست بگیرد سر شمشیر تیز

Bib. Ind., p. 675.

5. Nizām ad-Dīn, E. & D., V, pp. 267-68.

6. J. I. Hist., 1922, Tripathi, p. 328.

CONCLUSION

1. Bairam Khān was not a rebel, morally or politically, either against the king or against the empire, because the king was identical with the empire. 2. He was forced into rebellion by a set of intriguers. 3. The king himself was interested in his fall. 4. Though he was always a well-wisher of the State, power made him haughty and rude, as a result of which he became unpopular. 5. He was lacking in practical politics and choose a wrong way of counter-acting his enemies. 6. His temperament precipitated his fall. 7. By singular lack of insight he lost the king's confidence. 8. His fall was due not to disloyalty but to the assumption of too much power, during which he committed every possible blunder. 9. Over and above all, his fall was only a question of time. It would have come even if he had conciliated the nobles. His ill-advised actions simply quickened his fall.

QAZI MUKHTAR AHMAD.

DEVIL'S DELUSION

TALBĪS-IBLĪS OF ABU'L FARAJ IBN AL-JAWZĪ

(Continued from p. 422 of the October 1946 Issue)

ACCOUNT OF THE WAY WHEREIN THE DEVIL DELUDES THE ŠŪFĪS WHEN THEY RETURN FROM A JOURNEY¹

I WOULD observe : It is part of these people's system that a returning traveller who enters a monastery in which there are several persons should not salute them till after he enters the lavatory ; when he has washed he comes and says a prayer of two inclinations, then salutes the Šhaikh, and then the company. This is an innovation of the later Šūfīs which violates the Code, since the Islamic jurists are agreed that, according to the Sunnah, one who arrives among people should salute them, whether he be in a state of legal purity or not : unless indeed they have taken over the practice from children, who when asked why they do not salute, say they have not washed their faces ; or possibly children have taught these innovators the practice. We have been told by Ibn al-Ḥussain a tradition going back to Abū Hurairah according to which the latter said : The Prophet said : Let the younger salute the older, him who walks him who sits, the small company the large ; this is cited in both *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

Another of their practices is to massage one who arrives from a journey in the evening. We have been informed by Abū Zur'ah Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad after his father that the latter said : (*Section² dealing with the Sunnah concerning the massaging of one who arrives from a journey on the first night owing to his fatigue*), alleging the tradition of 'Umar, who said : I went to see the Prophet and found an Abyssinian slave massaging his back. I said : What is the matter with thee, O Prophet of God ?—He replied : My camel flung me on some rough ground.³

I would observe : Consider, my brethren, the legal acumen of the person who adduces this argument. He should have said : (*Section dealing with the Sunnah concerning the massaging of one who has been thrown by a camel*) then the Sunnah should be massaging of the back, not of the foot ; and how could he know that the Prophet had been on a journey and that he was massaged on the first night ? Further he makes a Sunnah of the fact that the

1. Continued from page 339 of the Arabic text.

2. Evidently a quotation from a book.

3. Ibn al-Athīr's rendering of the words in the tradition.

Prophet casually had his back massaged on account of a pain in it. Surely it would have been better to suppress this subtle attempt at a juristic inference than to record it.

Another practice of theirs is arranging a party for one who arrives, as Ibn Tāhir says : *Section dealing with their employing the guitar¹ for an arrival*, alleging the tradition of 'Ā'ishah according to which once, when the Prophet went on a journey, a Qurashite damsel vowed that if God brought him back she would play a tambour in 'Ā'ishah's house. When the Prophet returned, he said to her, If you have vowed, then play the tambour.

I would observe that we have already shown that the tambour is allowed. Since the woman vowed the performance of a legal act, the Prophet bade her perform it. How can this be alleged in defence of singing and dancing when a traveller arrives ?

ACCOUNT OF THE MODE WHEREIN THE DEVIL DELUDES THEM WHEN A DEATH OCCURS

In this matter he practises two forms of delusion. The first is that they say there must be no weeping over one who perishes, and one who does so strays from the path of the people of knowledge. Ibn 'Uqail says : This is a pretence which goes beyond the code, is foolish talk, and alien to custom and nature. Indeed it is an interference with the proper proportion of the humours, and should be treated with those drugs which restore the true proportion. God narrates of a holy prophet (XII, 84) : *And his eyes were whitened with the sorrow that he was suppressing and Ah, woe is me for Joseph.*² The Prophet Muḥammad also wept over the death of his son, saying, "The eye weeps,"³ and "Oh, what grief !" Fāṭimah said : "Oh what grief to my father," and he found no fault with her. 'Umar heard Mutammim⁴ bewailing his brother and repeating :

Jadhimah's two companions we two seemed !⁵

Those twain will never part—so people deemed.

'Umar said : Would that I were a poet, so that I could bewail my brother Zaid.—Mutammim said : If my brother had died like yours, I should not

1. The text has been amended conjecturally. The word in the text means the slaughtering of a sheep, a practice abolished by Islam. Had the Ṣūfīs reintroduced it, our author would certainly have attacked them vehemently for doing so. As his criticism is confined to music and dancing, the text must have had some word connected with this, and that which has been provisionally restored is suitable.

2. Jacob is the speaker.

3. This is given by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (III, 194), Ibn Mājah, and Ibn Sa'd.

4. Mutammim b. Nuwairah, whose brother Mālik was slain by Khālid b. al-Walid. In the *Aghānī* first ed.), XIV 66 foll. his story is told mainly from Ṭabari. Several verses of the ode to which the verse here cited belongs are given there.

5. The reference is said to be to Mālik and 'Aqil, companions of the king of Ḥirah, Jadhirnah al-Abrash. The story is told in *Aghānī*, XIV, 73.

lament him. Mālik (Mutammim's brother) had died in unbelief, whereas Zaid had died a martyr's death. 'Umar said: No one has ever consoled me for my brother's death as you have done.—Further, camels for all the coarseness of their livers, yearn after their familiar drinking-places and persons and pigeons desire their "home." Anyone, whom affliction befalls must of necessity supplicate, and one who is unmoved by joys and delights, and unaffected by disgrace is nearer a lifeless object than a human being. The Prophet made it clear that it was a defect to diverge from the path of nature: to one who said to him, "I have not kissed one of my children" (he had ten) the Prophet replied: Is it under my control that God has taken affection out of your heart?—When he departed from Mecca he kept turning towards it. One who demands what is not ordained and what is unnatural is ignorant and makes an ignorant demand. The Code is satisfied with our refraining from beating our cheeks and rending our garments; it finds no fault with flowing tears or grieving hearts.

The second delusion is their making a party, which they call a bridal feast, when anyone dies; at this they sing, dance, and play saying: Let us rejoice for the dead man's entry unto his Lord. This is a delusion from three aspects. One is that there is indeed an ordinance that food should be got for the dead man's family, since they are too much occupied with their trouble to prepare it for themselves; there is no Sunnah to the effect that the dead man's family should provide it and entertain other people therewith. The basis for the practice of getting food for a dead man's sake is a tradition told us by Abu'l-Faṭḥ al-Karukhī¹ and going back to 'Abdullāh b. Ja'far,² who said: When the news of Ja'fars death arrived, the Prophet said: Prepare food for the family of Ja'far, for there has come to them what will distract them. At-Tirmidhī calls this a good, sound tradition.

The second is that they rejoice for the dead man, saying that he has entered unto his Lord. Now there is no ground for such rejoicing, since we cannot be certain that he has been pardoned, neither is there anything to assure us that we may not be rejoicing for one who is undergoing punishment.

'Umar b. Dharr³ when his son died said: Sorrowing for thee keeps me from sorrowing over thee.⁴—We have been told by 'Abd al-Awwal a tradition going back to Umm al-'Ala who said: When 'Uthmān b. Maz'ūn died, the Prophet came to visit us, I then said: May Gode preserve

1. 462-548. Karukh was ten leagues from Herāt (Yāqūt).

2. Son of Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, who was killed at the battle of Mutāh. This 'Abdallāh died 80 A.H. according to most authorities.

3. Said to have been a leader of the Murji sect; died about 153. Notice of him in the *Tahdhīb*, VII, 444.

4. The difference between the prepositions is clearer in the original. The first means sorrowing on his son's account, the second on his own.

you in Mercy, O, Abas Saib, I witness that God certainly entertained you (the dead). The Prophet, peace be on him, said to her, Who told you that God had entertained him?

The third is that they dance and play when this party is made and in this way they deviate from correct behaviour which prefers abandonment of such manners on these occasions. Again, if the dead man has been pardoned, then the dance and playing would not have been expressions of their thankfulness, and if the dead had been tortured, where would be the effect of mourning?

ACCOUNT OF THE WAY WHEREIN THE DEVIL DELUDES THE PEOPLE IN THE MATTER OF BURYING BOOKS AND THROWING THEM INTO THE WATER

I would observe: Some of them had indulged in compiling books. The devil deluded them and said that the aim of life is nothing but work, so they buried their books. It is stated that Aḥmed ibn 'Alī al-Ḥawārī threw his books into the sea and said, The best of guides am I; and after reaching (one's destination) to engage guides is impossible. And Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Ḥawārī continued the search of the Ḥadīth for thirty years. When he acquired the maximum learning, he carried his books to the sea and threw them in; and he said, O, my learning, I treat you like this not because I insult you, nor do I belittle your status, but because I sought you to lead me to God, and when I have been led to God I am no more in need of you.

We have been informed by Abū Bakr ibn Ḥabīb in a tradition going back to ibn Bakawayh that he heard Abu'l-Ḥasan, the slave of Shawāna in Basrah saying that the latter heard Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Salīm say that Abū 'Abdullāh Maḥammad ibn 'Abdullāh the Ḥafīz said: Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il Abū Ḥasan al-Khallāl was a man of good understanding, patient in his search for tradition; but he also practised Ṣūfism, and would abandon tradition for a time and then resume the writing of it. I have been told that he flung into the Tigris a quantity of his original dictation.¹ His first lessons were from Abu'l-'Abbās al-Aṣamm and men of his period and he wrote down a great deal.

We have been told by Zāhir b. Ṭāhir a tradition going back to Abū Ṭāhir al-Junabīdhī² according to which the latter said: Mūsa b. Hārūn³ used to read to us, and when he had finished with a volume he would fling his manuscripts⁴ into the Tigris, saying, "I have delivered it."

1. This story is told in *Kitāb Baghdad*, IV, 390.

2. Account of him in Sam'ānī, p. 135b. where his brother is said to have died in 314.

3. Probably Abū 'Imrān al-Bazzāz ibn al-Ḥammāl died 294, of whom there is an account in *Kitāb Baghdad*, XIII, 50.

4. This seems to be the sense.

ACCOUNT OF THE WAY WHEREIN THE DEVIL DELUDES THE ŠŪFĪS IN THE
MATTER OF ABANDONING THE PURSUIT OF KNOWLEDGE¹

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a tradition going back to Abū Naṣr aṭ-Ṭūsī² according to which the latter said : I heard a number of the Shaikhs of Rayy say : Abū 'Abdallāh al-Muqri, inherited from his father 50,000 dinars besides estates and furniture, but gave it all away, expending on the poor.—I (said Abū Naṣr) asked Abū 'Abdallāh about this, and his reply was : In my early youth I donned pilgrim attire and departed to Meccah alone, having left myself nothing to which I could return. The effort which it cost me to relinquish my books and the knowledge and tradition which I had amassed was more painful to me than the journey to Meccah, the vexations of travel, and relinquishing my property.

We have been told by Abū Manṣūr al-Qazzāz a tradition going back to Abu'l-'Abbās b. al-Husain al-Baghdādī, according to which the latter said : I heard ash-Shibli³ say : I know a man who did not enter this business⁴ till he had expended all his property and sunk in the Tigris seventy cases of books all written in his own script, he having memorised and read with a number of chains of authorities which he mentioned. He was referring to himself.

I would observe that it has already been stated how knowledge is light, and how the devil persuades a man to extinguish the light in order that he, the devil, may get the man into his power in the darkness, there being no darkness like ignorance. The devil, fearing that these people might go back to reading their books, whence they might obtain insight into his wiles, persuaded them to bury or destroy them. It is indeed a wicked and illicit action, involving ignorance of the purpose of books.

The explanation of this is that knowledge is the Qur'ān and the Sunnah ; the Code, being aware that memorizing these is difficult, has enjoined the writing of the Scripture and of the Tradition. With regard to the Qur'ān, when a text was revealed to the Prophet, he summoned a scribe to put it down ; it was written at that time on palm-branches,⁵ stones, and shoulder-bones. Afterwards the Qur'ān was collected into the form of a book by Abū Bakr, with the view of preserving it for his own use ; presently copies were made thence by 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, and the other Companions. All this was done to prevent anything missing from the Qur'ān. With regard to the Sunnah : at the commencement of Islam the Prophet restricted people to the Qur'ān, saying : Write nothing you hear

1. A Portion of this section comprising pp. 342-347 of the Arabic text was published in Vol. 3, July, 1937.

2. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, died 344. Account of him in Sam'ānī, p. 373a.

3. Famous ascetic, Dulāf b. Jahdār, died 334. Account of him in Ibn Khallikān, I, 511.

4. I.e. Šūfism.

5. The lexica render the word in the text " leafless palm-branches." Palm-leaves would seem to be a more probable writing material.

from me except the Qur'ān. Only when Traditions multiplied, and he saw people's inaccuracy, he gave permission for them to be written down. It is recorded that Abū Hurairah complained to the Prophet of the weakness of his memory, when the Prophet bade him spread out his cloak. He did so; the Prophet proceeded to talk to him, and then bade him gather the cloak to his body. "Thereafter," said Abū Hurairah, "I forgot nothing that the Prophet said to me." There is also a tradition that the Prophet said: Get your right hand to help your memory—meaning by writing. Further, 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr reported that the Prophet said: Fetter knowledge.—I (said 'Abdullāh) asked what fettering it meant. He replied: Writing it down. Rafī' b. Khudaij¹ also reported: We said: O Apostle of God, we hear things from thee, may we write them down. Write (he replied), there is no objection.

We know, too, I would observe, that the Companions registered the Prophet's utterances, movements, and actions, and that the Code was compiled from various person's records. The Prophet also said: Communicate what I say, and may God illuminate anyone who, having heard a saying of mine, memorizes it and reports it as he heard it. Now reporting a saying it is heard can scarcely be effected without writing, since the memory is deceptive. When Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal produced a tradition, he was asked to recite it to his audience; but he would say, Nay rather, from the book.—'Alī b. al-Madini² said: I was commanded by my master Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal to communicate no tradition except from a book.

When the Companions had reported the Sunnah, and the Epigoni received it from them, and the Traditionalists went on their travels, traversing East and West to procure a sentence from here and a sentence from there, ascertaining what was genuine and what was fictitious, labelling some transmitters as trustworthy and others³ as untrustworthy, revising the Sunnahs and compiling them, if the result were obliterated, all their labour would be wasted, neither would the rule of God be known when a case arose. The Code prescribes no such practice; ³ had any other before us a chain of transmitters going back to the people's Prophet? This is a privilege of this community.

We have been told that the Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, who had traversed East and West in search of tradition, once asked his son what he had written down from a certain traditionalist. His son replied that on the Feast-day the Prophet used to go out by one route and return by another. "Good gracious," exclaimed Aḥmad, "a Sunnah of the Prophet which had never reached me!"—Such then was the language of a man who had collected so much; what must be the case of one who wrote nothing down, or

1. Companion, whose death-date is variously given as 59, 73, and 74.

2. 'Alī b. 'Abdallah b. Ja'fār b. Najih al-Madini, died 234. Notice of him in *Tabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah*, p. 168 where this is recorded.

3. Tentative rendering; the text may be corrupt.

washed out anything he did write ? Tell me, pray, if writings are washed out or buried, on what will reliance be placed when judgments have to be given and emergencies arise ? On so-and-so the Ascetic or so-and-so the Şūfī, or whatever may occur to them ? We ask God's protection from error after guidance.

I would further observe : The content of the writings which they bury must be either true or false, or truth mingled with falsehood. If the content be false, they are not to be blamed for burying them. If truth is indistinguishably mingled with falsehood, destruction of such writings is excusable ; for people have written down matter dictated by the trustworthy and the mendacious ; the matter getting mixed, they have buried what they have written. This is how we are to interpret the story of Sufyān ath-Thaurī burying his books. If, however, the content be true and the Code, their destruction cannot on any ground be lawful, seeing that they register knowledge and are property. So one who proposes to destroy them should be asked what his object is. If he replies that they distract him from his devotions, three rejoinders may be given. 1. Had you understanding, you would know that being occupied with learning is the sincerest of all devotions. 2. The spiritual awakening which you have obtained does not last long and I can see that after its loss you are ashamed of what you have done : and you should know that hearts cannot retain their purity ; they are defiled and often require purgation, for instance, by reading books. Yūsuf ibn Asbāt buried his books and afterwards he could not refrain from saying Ḥadīth. Thus he mentioned apostolic Traditions on recollection and made mistakes. 3. The third is that we appreciate your spiritual awakening and accept that it will last and that you are in no more need of these books ; but why did you not give it away to those students who have not obtained your place in learning, or to those who wish to be benefited by them. However, destruction of books is not permissible. Al-Marwazi said that Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal was asked about a person who wished that his books should be buried. Ibn Ḥanbal said that no wonder if he buried his knowledge. Al-Marwazi also said that Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal used to say that 'I see no reason in burying the books.'

D.S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(To be continued)

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

A PART from the usual research work done by the professorial staff and scholars of the Osmania University in its various departments, the Nizam College (now affiliated to the State University), the Nizamiah College and the Nizamiah Observatory, we may mention among the cultural activities of Hyderabad, the useful work carried out by the Hyderabad Academy, the Hyderabad Educational Conference, the Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif and the Idāra-e-Adibiyāt-e-Urdu.

(a) The Hyderabad Academy was started in 1939 with the object of "providing the scholars of Hyderabad with a venue for discussing the subjects of their research in a scholarly but, as far as possible non-technical manner." Their Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Berar are patrons of the Academy. Its formal inauguration took place on the 6th of November 1941 by H.H. the Prince of Berar, in presence of distinguished gathering of scholars and government officials. The Academy publishes the lectures delivered by its members at its annual public meetings, to which all educated persons are freely invited. Sometimes scholars who are not members but are desirous of describing the results of their research are also invited to read their papers at the annual meetings, with the regular members. In addition to lectures, papers written on special subjects such as literature, history, philosophy, law, astronomy, geophysics, and mathematics are also published by the Academy in its annual issues, under the designation of Hyderabad Academy Studies.

Up till now eight volumes of these studies have been issued. The fourth, fifth and seventh are in Urdu, the rest in English. In view of the warm appreciation accorded to them both in India and abroad we give here a list of the papers published and the names of authors :

Studies No. I, 1939 :

- (1) *The Zodiacal Light*, by Mohd. A.R. Khan.
- (2) *Modern Tendencies in Mathematics*, by M. Raziuddin Siddiqi.

- (3) *Schopenhauer's Method of Institution*, by Mir Valiuddin.
- (4) *Immanuel Kant on the Problems of Beauty and Art*, by Syed Wahiduddin.
- (5) *Law of Bait-ul-Māl*, by 'Abdul Qadīr Ṣiddīqī and Syed 'Abdul Latīf.
- (6) *Mythology of the Arabs before Islam*, by M. 'Abdul Mu'īd Khān.
- (7) *The Tatimma-Ṣiwān'il-Ḥikmah of Baihaqi*, by Sayyid Kalimullah Husaini.
- (8) *Character and Personality of Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭub Shāh* by 'Abdul Majid Ṣiddīqī.

Studies No. II 1940 :

- (1) *Synopsis of Meteor Observations at Hyderabad, with a record of some interesting Statistics of Meteorite Falls and Finds over the Earth*, by M.A.R. Khan.
- (2) *The Zodiacal Light (Second Paper)*, Ditto.
- (3) *Place of Islam in the History of Modern International Law*, by M. Ḥamīdullāh.
- (4) *The Problem of the One and the Many in Islamic Mysticism*, by Mir Valiuddin.
- (5) *The Mighty Continuum*, by Sir Amīn Jung.
- (6) *Kant and the Problem of Design and Purpose in Nature*, by S. Wahīduddin.
- (7) *Vedic Scheme of a Life of Perfect Concord*, by G. Dhareshwar.
- (8) *The Indian Educational Policy*, by Mir Aḥmad 'Alī Khān.
- (9) *Mathematical Methods for the Unification of Physical Theories*, by M.R. Ṣiddīqī.

Studies No. III, 1941 :

- (1) *The Conception of Self-Determination in Islamic Mysticism*, by M. Valiuddin.
- (2) *An Analysis of Sir Shāh Mohd. Sulaimān's Scientific Work*, by M.R. Siddīqī.
- (3) *Synopsis of Meteor Observations at Begumpet in 1940*, by M.A.R. Khan.
- (4) *The Religious Attitude of Fichte*, by S. Wahīduddin.

- (5) *The Indian Educational Policy*, Paper II, by M. Ahmad 'Ali Khan.
- (6) *The Heart, Soul and Spirit of Hinduism*, by G. Dhareshwar.
- (7) *The Aims and Methods of Modern Education*, by K.M. Yusuf-uddin.
- (8) *Need for Better Co-operation between Oriental Scientists and Arabic Scholars*, by M.A.R. Khan.

Studies No. IV, 1942 :

- (1) *Scientific Researches of Arab and other Muslim Scholars in the Middle Ages*, by M.A.R. Khan.
- (2) *'Adam-e-Naskh-e-Qur'an*, by 'Abd'ul-Qadīr Şiddīqī.
- (3) *Hindū Mat kī Rūh*, by G. Dhareshwar.
- (4) *Tadwīn-e-Qānūn-e-Islāmī of Imām Abū Ḥanīfah*, by M. Ḥamīd-ullāh.
- (5) *Evolution of the Universe*, by M.R. Şiddīqī.
- (6) *System of Education during the Quṭb Shāhī Period*, by M. Ahmad 'Ali Khān.
- (7) *Qur'an and the Moulding of Character*, by M. Valiuddin.

Studies No. V, 1943 :

- (1) *Teaching and Learning in India, during the Islamic Period*, by Manāẓir Aḥsan Gilānī.
- (2) *Possibility of Life on Planets*, by M.A.R. Khan.
- (3) *Firoz Shah Bahmani*, by 'Abdul Majīd Şiddīqī.
- (4) *Influence of the Economic System of Arabia of the Jāhilyah Period on the Establishment of the First Islamic State*, by M. Ḥamīdullāh.
- (5) *Qur'ānic Conception of a Successful Life*, by M. Valiuddin.
- (6) *Iqbāl's Theory of Time and Space*, by M.R. Şiddīqī.
- (7) *انسانوں اور جانوروں کا اکساب* D.D. Shendarkar.

Studies No. VI, 1944 :

- (1) *State and Education in India*, by M.A. Ali Khan.
- (2) *Hegel's Philosophy of World Civilization*, by S. Wahiduddin.
- (3) *Synopsis of Meteor Observations at Begumpet in 1941*, by M.A.R. Khan.
- (4) *Ditto in 1942 : Ditto.*

- (5) *Influence of Roman Law on Muslim Law*, by M. Ḥamīdullāh.
- (6) *The Thunderstorms and Lightning Strokes of June 17, 1937 at Hyderabad*, by M.A.R. Khan.
- (7) *Iqbal's Conception of Time and Space*, by M.R. Siddiqi.

Studies No. VII, 1945 :

- (1) *The Realities of Human Life*, by M.A.R. Khan.
- (2) اداره جنگ کی معاشی توجہ M. Abdul Qadir.
- (3) *The Origin of Persian Poetry and its History*, by Qāri S. Kalim-ullāh.
- (4) *Iqbal's Theory of Intellect (عقل) and Love*, by M. Valiuddin.
- (5) *Post-War Education Scheme*, by K.M. Yusufuddin.

Studies No. VIII, 1946 :

- (1) *Synopsis of Meteor Observation in 1943 and 1944* by M.A.R. Khan.
- (2) *The Conception of فنا (Passing Away) in Islamic Mysticism*, by M. Valiuddin.
- (3) *Scientific Education and Research*, by M.R. Siddiqi.
- (4) *Contribution of Modern Hyderabad to Islamic Studies*, by M. Ḥamīdullāh.
- (5) *The Zodiacal Light (Third Paper)*, by M.A.R. Khan.

(b) The Hyderabad Educational Conference was constituted in 1931 for helping deserving students with scholarships issued as loans to be repaid on employment. The amount spent on scholarships this year is nearly seventeen hundred per mensem. It is a great satisfaction to note that scores of extremely well-to-do persons in the country, some holding important administration posts, have at one time been recipients of these scholarships. Recently the conference has been receiving grants from local industrial and trade concerns through the kind offices of Government for helping students with text-books and other necessary articles. It hopes to have soon a good library and has constituted a publication board for issuing annually an educational journal, discussing modern trends in education and post-war educational planning in various countries.

(c) The Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif is an institution of international reputation. It has published important Arabic works from rare manuscripts,

(d) The Idāra-e-Adabiyāt-e-Urdu has published a number of useful works on Urdu literature, local and general history, etc.

Nawab Aḥmad Nawaz Jung (Khan Bahadur Aḥmad Alladin) whose educational endowments are well known, has recently returned from Ḥaj. Drs. Mīr Valiuddīn and Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh have also gone to Ḥijāz with the same object. The former gentleman was elected Amīr-e-Ḥaj by the Ḥaj Committee in Bombay, and the latter was appointed Qāfila Sālār of the Ḥājīs of Hyderabad this year. Both of them are sure to bring back encouraging news concerning the cultural activities of the Arab world.

M.A.R.K.

DECCAN

Temple at Nandurbar :

MR. P. K. GODE, Curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, has very ably described the history of the Jatasamkara Temple at Nandurbar (last issue of the *Journal* of the Bombay University). He has mainly based his thesis on the discovery of verses of Hari Kavi which he found in a MS in the Bhandarkar Institute. He has also mentioned something of Hari Kavi who was a Maharashtra Brahmana. Hari Kavi describes Nandurbar as an abode of happiness, with contented people. This description of Nandurbar recorded about A.D. 1685 (during the reign of Aurangzēb) appears to be true to history. He has also traced the genealogy of Hari's family from his grandfather Shanti (c A.D. 1575 to Hari Kavi A.D. 1685). We know it for certain that Mr. Gode has never visited Nandurbar, therefore it will suffice to add here that Nandurbar was first visited by Ibn Battūṭah during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq and he stayed here for some time and speaks of it as being a town of orthodox Marathas (Arabic text, *Travels*, II, 106. He transcribes it as Nazarbat). After that this has been a very flourishing town during the regeme of Gujarat Sultanate. And even today Nandurbar is full of both Muslim and Hindu antiquities of a great historical value.

History of Divali Festival :

The last issue of the *Annals* of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona, contains an important contribution by Mr. P. K. Gode on *Studies in the History of Hindu Festivals—Some Notes on the History of Divali Festival*. Mr. Gode has really taken great pains to trace the history of the celebrations of Divali in India from the very beginning and according to his habit, we understand hardly any source would have escaped from his studies. As far as Muslim sources are concerned he has availed only three

viz., al-Bīrūnī's *Tārīkh-i-Hind*, Divali is noted as *Dibali* and its origin is given as the liberation of Bali on this day by Lakshmi, wife of Vasudeva : *Apabhramisa* by 'Abdur-Rahmān of Multan mentions *Dipavali* night with illumination of mansions by ladies alround, ladies applying the collyrium of these lamps to their eyes and resemblance of Divali lamps to the crescent moon ; Abu'l-Faḍl's *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* mentions Divali as the greatest festival of the Vaisya caste and illumination of lamps as on the Muslim festival *Shab-i-Barāt*. It seems necessary to cite here for Mr. Gode's information that when Sultān Muẓaffar II (A.D. 1517) of Gujarat was busy in his campaign at Mandu against Mednī Rai to restore Sultān Maḥmūd Khakīl of Malwa, he found there the Hindus enjoying their festival of Holi even while they were besieged. During the reign of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat (A.D. 1537) the celebration of Holi and Divali was regarded as the habit of non-Muslims. (*Arabic History of Gujarat*, 104, 333).

Architect of Jaipur :

Very recently the admirers of Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, a great Sanskrit scholar of the South, have paid him a great tribute by presenting a commemoration volume, which has been contributed by various great scholars of Sanskrit lore. Accordingly Mr. Gode has written on *Two Contemporary Tributes to Minister Vidyadhara, the Bengali Architect of Jaipur at the Courts of Sevai Jaising of Amber* (A.D. 1688-1743). He writes : " In the current description of the Jaipur City we are told that this city was founded by Raja Sevai Jaising of Amber in 1728. No reference is made in these descriptions to the architect who was responsible for the planning and laying out of the Jaipur City as we find it today. This architect was no other than Vidyadhara to whom a tribute has been paid by his contemporary at the court of Sevai Jaising (A.D. 1699-1743) in the following verses "—verses in Hindi are given in full with a translation into English. These verses were composed by one Girdhari who wrote this description in A.D. 1739, i.e., when the city was ten years old and its founder Sevai Jaising and his able architect Vidyadhara were ruling. We have nothing to say as to this account of Girdhari but it seems necessary that we should add here for further information that Abu'l-Khayr Mīrzā Khayr-Allāh, the second son of Luṭfullāh, son of Aḥmad who flourished during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, was known, for his command of mathematics and astronomy, by the title of Muhandis, which had been his father's surname. The author Bindra Ban Khushgo has mentioned in his compilation the *Safīna-i-Khushgo* : " Rajadhiraj Jai Singh Sawai, landlord of Amber (known afterwards as Jaipur) has spent about twenty millions in erecting observatories in consultation with Abu'l-Khayr Mīrzā Khayr Allāh, who was an outstanding authority on that particular branch of science." (vide *Bankipore Library Catalogue*, No. 25, p. 103.).

Tāḥa Ḥusain—Eyeless Doyen of Egyptian Literature:

The Sunday Edition of the *Bombay Chronicle*, Bombay (October 6, 1946) bears a sketch of Tāḥa Ḥusain under this heading by Paul Tabori, which we regard a best life-sketch of this great scholar of Arabic literature. He writes: "Tāḥa Ḥusain is a tall, slender man in his mid-fitness, his name stands for modern Egyptian literature as George Bernard Shaw or H. G. Wells would represent Britain, or Thomas Mann, Germany. His books are read all over the Arab world; some of them have been translated into English and French. He was one of the first Egyptians to apply scientific methods of analysis to Arabic literature, his daring innovations in the teaching and interpretation of the Arabic classics involved him in a famous and vigorous fight with the Rector of the Azhar, the greatest Muslim University of the world. He has been Dean of the Faculty of Arts at Giza and defended its academic independence against all attacks of reaction; and, as Director of Culture and acting Under-Secretary of State for Education, he was largely responsible for the creation of the new Fārūq University at Alexandria, of which he became acting Rector. This is a list of achievements and rewards which would be remarkable in any man—but in Tāḥa Ḥusain's case they border on the miraculous. For he is blind, blind since early childhood and had to overcome the greatest handicap any scholar could face in his life. He was born the son of a poor family. Blindness cut him off from his surroundings and his companions. Only gradually and with difficulty did he become aware of the world around him. But by means of imagination he more than made up for the lack of sight. He insisted that he should be sent to school; and like any other boy he took his share of work and play and success and humiliation. He learned the Qur'ān by heart prodigiously early, only to forget it again at the crucial moment when his father surprised him with a test. But in the end his ambitions were realized and at the age of thirteen he was sent up to Cairo in an elder brother's charge to study at Al-Azhar. The years he spent there and the years of his childhood are movingly and beautifully described in *An Egyptian Childhood* and the *Stream of Days* both of which were translated into English and French. A representative body of teachers chose him to study at the Sorbonne. The years he spent in France were especially happy for him: he absorbed Latin culture with avid thirst and here he found the girl he married. He calls her 'my seeing eye,' 'my walking cane.' How a blind Egyptian boy wooed and won his lovely lady makes one of the most beautiful love stories of our times—but it is one Tāḥa Ḥusain has always refused to tell. I met him in a cool, darkened room. He had none of the hesitations, the little uncertainties of the blind; he bent his head to exactly the right distance for the match which lit his cigarette; when he spoke in melodious perfectly phrased French, he kept his thin, ascetic face with the dark glasses shielding his eyes turned towards me though he could only sense where I was sitting. I asked him about the main trends of modern Egyptian

literature. 'There are really two main schools—the classic and the modernistic,' he explained in a careful, precise tone. 'The classic goes back partly to the heyday of Muslim culture and partly finds its inspiration in 19th century French and English literatures. These sub-directions are all clearly separated though sometimes they overlap. The modernistic style experiments with the use of living idiom and thought. I must confess that I belong to the classical school, I find it extremely interesting. One of our eminent scientists, for instance, has recently published a work on medicine which is entirely written in this vulgar, I might say, street corner language. The effect is startling and very salutary—for it brings abstract ideas close to the average man and helps him to understand facts which in the past were wrapped in mystical verbiage.' His own style is a model of lucidity and charm: yet it is intensely individual. It has less colour than sound in it; but there is no uncertainty about it. Sometimes he sounds a little repetitions; this is due to the rhythm of his thoughts which resemble the living, beating rhythm of the Bible or the Qur'ān. He told me how anxious Arab writers are to keep in touch with their colleagues in the West. 'I have just accepted the chairmanship of a new publishing house,' he told me, 'whose main task it will be to provide an opportunity for our younger writers and at the same time publish translations of British, American, Canadian, Australian and European works of these great literatures. We are also starting a magazine in which we will regularly publish essays and short stories of foreign authors; and it is our plan to have the articles dealing with Arab life and letters translated into English and French regularly, so that the West should have an idea of the spirit of the literary movements in our part of the world.' I asked him about his own forthcoming books. Tāḥa Ḥusain is not only a novelist, historian and essayist of great power; he is also a forceful political writer. He was the only man who dared to criticize some phases of Zagloul Pasha's political career. They were friends; yet the blind author did not shrink from speaking out when all the country was behind Zagloul. The controversy died long ago; but the memory of his courage remained. 'I have finished two books,' he told me, 'One is about social justice—I would like to explain to my countrymen its exact meaning and its imputations; its application to our own particular problems. The other is a series of stories set in times of the Khalif Ḥusain when Islamic democracy began to decline and the first autocrat arose in our history. Both should be out within a few months.'

"From his quiet study the blind man who was born in a peasant's hut guides modern Egyptian literature in which he is the most powerful figure, the dominant 'influence.'"

Illustration from the Ḥamza Nāma :

The latest issue of the Baroda State Museum Bulletin (II, pt. I) bears

an article on *An Illustration of the Hamza Nāma, the Earliest Mughal Manuscript* by H. Goetz, the curator of the Museum, which he has traced from the same museum. Dr. Goetz according to his habit has tried to trace the origin of the compilation of the *Hamza Nāma* which we regard a bit out of tune because it takes away the reader to another track instead of following the description of the painting reproduced therein, which is also not according to the text found within this miniature. Here we should add that the illustrations of the *Dāstān-i-Amīr Hamza* were not only made under the supervision of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Tabrēzī as Dr. Goetz has pointed out but Khwāja 'Abdu's-Samad Shīrīn Qalam was also responsible for the illustrations and the calligraphy of the text of the stories. They both had entered Humāyūn's service in 1549 while he was at Kābul and returning to India. Dr. Goetz has appended a useful bibliography at the end of his article. There is one publication by Stanely Clark under the name of *Indian Drawings*: Twelve Mughal Paintings of the school of Humāyūn illustrating the Romance of Amīr Hamza, London, 1921. It was necessary for Dr. Goetz to see this at least very carefully which must have given him the information that the calligraphy of these specimens of the illustrations of the *Hamza Nāma* lying in the South Kensington Museum was executed by Khwāja 'Abdu's-Samad Shīrīn Qalam, which was deciphered by the late Prof. Hāfīz Maḥmūd Khān Shairānī. *Dāstān-i-Amīr Hamza's* text has already been published in several volumes both in Iran (in Persian) and in India (in Urdu) and these stories are well known. No doubt it is still a problem, as to when actually these stories either under the title of *Dāstān-i-Amīr Hamza* or *Qiṣṣa-i-Amīr Hamza* or *Hamza Nāma* were composed. Its one manuscript is lying in the Tonk State library about which the late Prof. Shairānī after studying it, being a resident of Tonk State, used to say that this compilation was the product of the Tughluq period. Its beginning runs thus :

” بنام خداے عزوجل کہ آدمی را بہر جمیع مخلوقات شریف گردانیدہ بلکہ اکثر از ہوام
وسوام ووحوش و طیور از قدرت خود مطیع او گردانیدہ صلوات والسلام علی النبی
محمد وآلہ اجمعین اعلم الکمل اہل البزم هذا المجلس ای قصہ امیر المومنین حمزہ ابن
عبد المطلب مشتمل بر ہفتاد و سہ داستان است۔ داستان اول از پیدا شدن
بز در جمہر حکیم.....“

It is reliably brought to our notice that Prof. Na'imu'd-Dīn of the Robertson College, Jubalpoore has undertaken the critical study of the *Dāstān-i-Amīr Hamza. Tārikh-i-Firōz Shāhī* (Barni, 468) may be helpful in this respect.

History of Kangra Paintings :

Dr. Goetz writes in his bulletin (II, pt. I) : " The rise of the Kangra School of Rajput painting, for instance, is the result of the collapse of Mughal rule in the Panjab, between 1738 and 1762. Though already towards the end of Aurangzēb's reign most of the Panjab hill States had become practically independent. Finally the immigration of skilled refugees from the plains brought a lot of new inspiration reviving an artistic tradition, which since the decay of Nurpur and Basohli, the leading States under the Mughal rule, had quickly degenerated." Dr. Goetz very carefully divides the history of Kangra painting into six sub-heads, *viz* :—(1) The preparatory stage of the Guler School : It was founded by Govardhan Chand (1730-60), the peaceful ruler who gave asylum to Mughal artists who had fled from the invasion of Nādir Shāh. In his buildings at Bathu and Jawali and in the paintings of his court first Mughal elements were introduced, and even superseded the earlier 'Basohli' tradition. After 1758 the Guler School was more and more absorbed by Kangra. (2) The Mughal-Pahari School, *ca.* 1750-1760 : The repeated invasion of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī and the collapse of Mughal rule in the Panjab brought another wave of refugee artists whose building and painting activities can be traced at Kangra (Ndaun), Mandi, Chamba, Basohli and Bhandralta (Ramnagar). (3) The early Kangra School, *ca.* 1760-1775 : With the growing self-assertion of the Rajput States, especially after the death of Adina Bēg, the adopted Mughal style was increasingly reinterpreted in a Rajput spirit (musical, flat design and romantic themes). The new style was evolved especially at the court of Ghamand Chand Katoch (1751-1774) whom Ahmad Shāh had invested with the governorship over the Kangra hills, and who slowly emerged as the leading power. (4) The zenith of Kangra art, *ca.* 1775-1804, when Sansar Chand II Katoch (1775-1823) dominated all the hills between the Sutlej and Ravi. (5) The break-up of the Kangra School, 1804- *ca.* 1830-40 : The defeat of Sansar Chand, the five years' siege of Kangra fort (1804-1809) and the devastation of the Katoch Raj by the Gurkhas and their Rajput confederates dispersed the artists of the original Kangra School. Sansar Chand, finally a vassal of Ranjit Singh of Lahore (1809), like all the hill Rajas, could revive it only on a very small scale, his revenues, having declined from 35 millions rupees to 70,000. But most of the artists had found a refuge in the other Rajput States, Chamba, Mandi, Suket, Bilaspur, even Garhwal where the tradition was continued until the growing oppression of the Sikhs after the death of Ranjit Singh 1839 further undermined the remaining economic foundations of artistic life. Under these rulers the old Sansar Chand (1812-1823), Gharhat Singh of Chamba (1808-1844), Isvar Sen of Mandi (1788-1826), and Sudarshan Shah of Garhwal (1815-1859), the vitality, chivalrous joy and mystic rapture of the high Kangra style were more and more superseded by a

heavy and ornate weariness, or fashionable recklessness. (6) The disintegration of the 'Kangra' School, ca. 1830/40-1900: Now the style degenerated into a lifeless mannerism, temporarily regalanised by new European influence, but finally reduced to a primitive folk art." In this respect Dr. Herman Goetz has concluded that Mandi played an important role and he has reproduced a rare specimen of the portrait of Raja Isvar Sen of Mandi (A.D. 1788-1826), which is really a very fine specimen of the painting of this period.

M.A.C.

DELHI

Third Meeting of the Central Board of Archæology :

THE third Meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Archæology was held in the Chamber of the Council of State, New Delhi, on September 10, 1946. There was a distinguished gathering present and apart from the representatives of the Department itself, the Government of India, the Inter-University Board, learned All-India Societies taking an interest in history and archæology, the Indian Legislative Assembly, the Council of State, the Political Department and the Department of Education, Government of India were all represented. What was particularly noticeable was that, except for the Muslim members of the Archæological Department, none too many, there were only two Muslim members of the Board present, namely, Mr. Sultān Muḥiyuddīn, Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University, and Mr. H.K. Sherwani, ex-Principal of the Nizam College. In the absence of Hon. Sir Shafā'at Aḥmad Khān, Member of the Interim Government in charge of Education, Mr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee of Calcutta took the Chair.

The Director-General of Archæology, Dr. E. Mortimer-Wheeler, read a very interesting report in which, among other things, he mentioned the conservation work executed in the Dargah of Ḥaḍrat Shaikh Salīm Chishtī at Fatihpur Sikri, where 1862 bags of cement have been pumped into the structure and steel tie-rods have been inserted. Moreover the underground tanks and water-channels which had been blocked for ages have been cleared. The cost of the completed work would be about a lakh of rupees. The Director-General further mentioned the restoration of the Mughal 'Idgāh at Agra at the cost of about 15,000 rupees and minor repairs done to Tughlaqābād and Shēr Shāh's Gateway in the Delhi Circle. He promised the completion of the work at Ibrāhīm Rauḍa at Bijāpūr, while he showed his anxiety regarding what he called the greatest problem at Bijāpūr, i.e., the problem of replastering the Göl Gumbad, the second largest dome in the whole world.

Apart from these works on Medieval monuments the Department had been doing extensive conservation and excavation work on many

more Hindu sites such as Mahabalipuram, Tanjore, Cannanore, Aiholi, and elsewhere apart from valuable work at Harappa and Bassein.

The remarkable thing about the report was its candidness, and he definitely and categorically avowed that many important ancient buildings nominally "preserved" by the Department were in a condition "ranging from bad to deplorable," that very few sites controlled by the survey were supplied with departmental placards or literature for sale, and that the average condition of the wall-paintings throughout India was "exceedingly unworthy."

There was a long and interesting discussion on the Report. Dr. R.C. Mozumdar raised the point of the succession of the present D-G and insisted that when time came for the retirement of the present Director it should not be necessary to import an outsider. Moreover he stressed the need for the recruitment of new efficient hands, and Dr. Wheeler should see that merely raw demobilised army officers who knew nothing about any aspect of archæology should not find their way into the Department. He also proposed that facilities should be given to the present senior members of the staff of the Department for refresher courses and training abroad.

Mr. H.K. Sherwani spoke next and said that the Director-General's report was most praiseworthy in that he did not try to hide the weaknesses of his Department and he was really reaping the heritage left to him by some of his predecessors. The speaker congratulated him for his frankness and hoped that this would lead the further betterment of the Department. He drew the attention of the Director-General to numerous very important monuments which had not yet been "preserved" to his knowledge, such as the tomb of the founder of the Sultanate of Delhi, Qutb-u'd-Dīn Aibak, which was situated in the verandah of a private building at Lahore, and the Supūrdgāh of Bābar at Agra which was being used as a granary sometime ago. Certain important monuments which were supposed to have been "conserved" were surrounded by acacia trees and other shrubs, and on the roofs of which grass was growing, leading to the fast decay of the monuments; he cited the case of 'Abd'un-Nabī kī Masjid which is situated midway between New Delhi and Old Delhi. There were many more monuments like this. He referred to the Director-General's remark about mural paintings, and particularly cited the case of the frescoes at Āsār Maḥal at Bijapur and at Komatgī. Finally he took an objection to the name of the newly started magazine of the Department, *Ancient India*, which was a misnomer as the Department dealt with both the ancient and the medieval periods of Indian history. He confessed that the word "ancient" had been used for everything of the pre-Mutiny period in the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, but this ran counter to all connotations of the term and was obviously incorrect. He suggested that the magazine should be renamed *Indian Archæology* or some other suitable name.

Professor Siddhanta insisted that there should be no further importation of foreigners in the Department. Mr. Karkarker of Poona pointed out certain sites in the Southern Maratha country where work might be commenced with advantage. Mr. Justice Edgeley proposed that an archæological mission should be sent to Balkh with the permission of the Afghan Government and offered the co-operation of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Dr. Tarachand was the last to speak on the Report. The Director-General replied to the discussion in suitable words and thanked the members for taking such a keen interest in the work of the Department, and promised to abide by the spirit of the discussion.

Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan proposed and Dr. Wheeler seconded that the following members of the Board be elected members of the newly formed Standing Committee :

Mr. Justice Edgeley (Calcutta),
Dr. S.N. Sen (Delhi),
Professor Siddhanta (Lucknow),
Mr. H.K. Sherwani (Hyderabad),
Dr. R.C. Mozumdar (Calcutta),
Dr. Tarachand (Allahabad).

The proposal was carried unanimously.

When the memorandum containing a list of the publication of the Department was placed before the Board, Mr. Sherwani moved that the name of the Journal, *Ancient India* should be changed to *Indian Archaeology* or some other suitable name. The matter was referred to the new Executive Committee. In the same way the full scheme of the Indian National Museum along with the report of the Gwyer Committee was referred to the Standing Committee for report, although the Board decided that the initial part of the work should be commenced without delay.

The following two propositions were then formally moved by Mr. Sherwani :

(1) That the Director-General of Archæology be requested to publish a list of monuments preserved in each Circle.

(2) That in order to facilitate identification by interested sight-seers the Department of Archæology be requested to affix an indicator to every monument preserved describing its name and its artistic or historical importance, such as has been done in the case of the more important of our monuments.

Both these propositions were accepted by Dr. Wheeler who said that steps had already been taken to implement the principles underlying the proposals.

At this stage Mr. R.C. Morris made certain proposals with regard to cairns and other ancient monuments in Coimbatore and Madura Districts and archæological survey from the air, which were accepted.

It was decided that the next meeting of the Board be held at Poona in the middle of January, 1947. The meeting came to an end at 2 p.m.

In the afternoon the Director-General was at home to the members of the Board at the Central Asian Antiquities Museum where they were shown photographs of the new excavations at Harappa as well as the wonderful frescoes from Chinese Turkistan which had been bodily brought down from Central Asia some time ago and formed the most important part of the Museum.

H.K.S.

The recent disturbances which resulted in the imposition of curfew by the authorities made it difficult for cultural societies to function, because the evenings, which were usually allotted to meetings, had to be spent at home. However, cultural activities, in spite of these difficulties languished but did not die.

Inter-Asian Conference :

The Indian Council of World Affairs is making brisk preparations for holding a pan-Asiatic Conference for the discussion of problems of common interest. Some countries have accepted the invitations to send delegates, and it is intended to hold the conference in March 1947.

Conference of Muslim Countries :

Mr. M.A. Jinnah is trying to hold a conference of Muslim countries at Delhi to discuss the difficulties which confront the Muslim countries. These conferences will result in establishing cultural contacts with Eastern countries.

Indo-Iranian Cultural Society :

A society was formed at Delhi to establish cultural relations with Iran ; but because it depended on the help of the Government of India, the complexion of which has been changing so often and so rapidly, it has not yet started work. It is very much hoped that the new government will not permit it to die. As a gesture of good-will between India and Iran, a number of Iranian students were invited to India. The first batch are about to finish their studies. The interests which India has aroused in Iran can be gauged from the fact that even students not sponsored by the government are coming to India. One such student is Mr. G. Ferhad

Moezzi (Farhād Mu'izī) who is a research student at the University of Delhi writing a thesis on *A Comparative Study of Ancient Persian and Sanskrit Philology*.

Indian Students for Iran :

Some time ago the Iranian Government invited the Government of India to send Indian students to Teheran for higher studies at the University. The Iranian government will bear all their expenses and the Indian government is, I believe, about to select suitable candidates.

Jāmi'ah Milliyyah Jubilee :

The Jāmi'ah Milliyyah Islāmiah celebrated its Jubilee in November. In spite of the recent disturbances in Delhi and the massacre at Garh Mukteshwar which is so near Delhi, the function was very successful. Apart from the main function which was presided over by H.H. the Nawab of Bhopal and attended by Mr. M.A. Jinnah, M. Abu'l Kalam Azād, members of the Central Government, politicians, delegates of universities and learned societies and many others, a number of subsidiary functions were organised. One interesting feature was the exhibition which in addition to the handiwork of the students contained manuscripts and Indo-Muslim paintings of the Mughal school. Another attraction was the Mushā'irah. The Jāmi'ah collected about ten lakhs of rupees and now intends to start various new departments, including a research bureau. If this materializes, the Jāmi'ah, which has hitherto mostly concentrated on elementary and secondary education, may now begin to make some contribution to higher learning.

Anglo-Arabic College :

The only Muslim constituent college of the Delhi University, the Anglo-Arabic College is one of the oldest Muslim educational institutions. Professor H.K. Sherwani (formerly Professor of History and Politics at the Osmania University has now taken up its principalship and it is hoped that under his able guidance, the college will make great progress. The University of Delhi is expanding very rapidly and unless the college keeps pace, this institution, already backward, will remain far behind its sister institutions. The principal's effort will be seriously hampered if financial difficulties which baulk the management at every step continue any longer. The Anglo-Arabic College is intimately connected with the history of the Āṣāf Jāhī family of Hyderabad

and it would be a pity if the capital of India does not have a Muslim college worthy of the great traditions of Delhi. The principal has put new life into students' activities, particularly the Arabic and Persian societies where all members must speak Arabic and Persian respectively, in which languages the entire proceedings are conducted.

A Private Collection of Manuscripts :

Khan Bahadur Maulawī Zafar Hasan, formerly of the Archæological Survey of India, has a good collection of manuscripts in Arabic and Persian as well as of *Farmāns*, *Parwānah*, *Taṣṣīḥahs* and other documents of times. Students of history will be glad to know that the learned Maulawī is soon publishing a scientific catalogue of his collection.

I.H.Q.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

HIS Majesty the King George VI of England visited graciously the Islamic Cultural Centre in London in March 1946. This Royal visit was described by an English journal *Endeavour* of London in an article entitled *Islam's Contribution to Science*, which has been reproduced in a Muslim daily of Calcutta. The contributor of this article is inspired with the hope that the above institution will help the Muslim scientific genius, long dormant, in waking up with all its former energy and vision. This forecast of a possible future has been made from a survey of the glorious records of the Muslim scientists in the heyday of Islam. In reviewing some of the important contributions of these scientists, he says that al-Baṭṭānī, for instance, who died in 929 A.D. accurately determined the inclination of the ecliptic, the length of the tropical year, and the mean motion of the sun ; he proved the possibility of annular eclipses : he recalculated the value of the precession of the equinoxes and his careful observations of lunar and solar eclipses were reliable enough to be used, as recently as 1749, by the English astronomer Dunthorne in calculating the secular acceleration of the mean motion of the moon. In Muslim physics the leading figure was Ibn al-Haitham, known to the West as Al-Hazen (965-1038/9). A man of outstanding genius, he opposed the idea, held by most of the ancient philosophers including Euclid that the eye transmits rays to the object of vision, and maintained on the contrary that the cause of vision proceeds from the object seen. He discovered one of the fundamental laws of the reflection of light, namely that the angle of incidence and the angle of reflection lie in the same plane. He studied Spherical and parabolic mirrors, and one of the problems connected with them that he attempted to solve is still known by his name : ' Given the

position of a luminous point and of the eye, to find the point on a spherical, cylindrical, or conical mirror at which the reflection of a pencil of rays takes place. Al-Hazen treated of the rainbow, the halo, treated of the height of the homogeneous atmosphere, and was the first physicist to describe the human eye in detail. His study of a "burning-sphere" exhibits a profound and accurate conception of the laws of refraction of light and the nature of focusing, magnifying and inversion of the image, and of the formation of bright rings and colours by experiments.' In the first recorded use of the Camera obscura, he observed the semi-lunar shape of the image of the sun during eclipses. Again al-Bīrūnī (973-1048?) is remembered for his experimental skill in determining specific gravities by the 'Eureka can' method. The principle was that of Archimedes, but al-Bīrūnī made his determinations with a precision that evokes admiration: his figures for the specific gravities of gold (19.05), mercury (13.74), copper (8.83), iron (7.74), tin (7.15), and lead (11.29) are astonishingly close to modern values. And so al-Khāzinī, who lived a century later, carried accuracy to even greater lengths, and showed that both water at the freezing point and hot water were of smaller density than water at an intermediate temperature. He further observed that the buoyancy of the air must affect the value of the weight of an object weighed in it. From such facts and figures, his claim to have constructed a balance accurate to 0.06 gm. on a load of 2.2 kg. may well be admitted. It is indeed, substantiated by other available evidence, from which the sensitiveness of a scientific balance of the time might be judged to have reached, on occasion, the remarkable limit of a milligram or so. In the field of Chemistry, besides the original contribution of Ge-ber (Jābir ibn Ḥayyān) and Rhazes (Abū Zakariyya Ar-Rāzī), it seems probable that sulphuric and nitric acids were first prepared by Muslim chemists, and by the thirteenth century cupellation, the 'parting' of gold and silver, the extraction of silver by amalgamation with mercury, and the quantitative analysis of gold-silver alloys, were all being carried out as routine operations at the Cairo mint. Geography, Botany, Zoology, Mineralogy and Meteorology were also served by talented disciples. The greatest botanist of Islām, Ibn al-Baitār (ob. 1248) flourished at too late a period for his work to exert any marked influence upon European science, but his botanical treatises though based upon earlier writings represent a very notable advance. The writer of this discourse finishes with the following thoughtful and tangible remarks, which are worthy of much consideration. Muslims of those past centuries regarded scientific knowledge as of the highest importance, and 'with interest came method: a rationalistic habit of mind and an experimental temper.' The rise and decline of intellectual activity and productivity remain inexplicable phenomena: but it is permissible to believe that what man has done man can do. A large part of the Islamic world has yet to acquire adequate educational facilities, even remotely comparable with those of Europe or America, and until that defect is remedied it must be idle to

expect to recapture former glories. We do not doubt, however, that Islam represents a vast but untapped reservoir of scientific ability with an unpredictable proportion of genius with which the world can ill afford to neglect. Given the opportunity Islam may again find a place in the van of scientific progress.

It was also reported in the Calcutta press that the afore-mentioned Islamic Cultural Centre has been performing a valuable service to Islam and Islamic relation with the world at large. Each month there has been a lecture of Islamic interest, usually by a visiting Muslim scholar, but occasionally by a non-Islamic authority. Distinguished speakers have included Mr. 'Abdullāh Yūsuf 'Alī, Mr. Naur (?) Bahadur, Prof. Denis Saurat, Prof. Gibb, and Dr. Quadir, a former Professor of Law at Al-Azhar University, Cairo, but at present Director of the Centre. The Centre is in constant contact with the world-known London and Woking Mosques, and every Islamic festival is celebrated at Regent's Lodge, a handsome red-brick mansion on the edge of Regent's Park. A distinguished Muslim seldom visits Britain without being the guest of honour at a Regent's Lodge reception. Recent reception guests at the Centre include the Nawab Zain Yar Jung of Hyderabad, the Emir Feisal of Sa'ūdī Arabia and King 'Abdullāh of Trans-Jordan. For its fine Islamic Library, the Centre is chiefly indebted to King Fārūq. The Library alone—it is unique in Britain—is now of very considerable momentary value, its culture value is immeasurable. The Centre proposes to establish a school for over 400 Muslim children living in East London. They are being educated in ordinary English schools. The new Islamic school will be designed to supplement their Western education by acquainting them with Muslim culture generally Islamic history, art and philosophy. A second project of the Centre is a journal, which will probably emerge early in 1947.

It is a matter of poignant grief to learn that Professor Maḥfūz-ul-Ḥaq, Head of the Arabic and Persian Department, Presidency College Calcutta, died in June 1946. He had not yet finished the fourth decade of his age; so in his premature and sad demise, the Calcutta University has lost a talented and erudite scholar. He was reputed for having a facile pen in Arabic as well as in English. He began his career by writing articles in *Ma'arif*, *A'zamgarh*. Some of which are: (1) *Tadhkira of Urdu Poetry by the French Orientalist, Garcin de Tassy* (August 1922), (2) *Zēb-un-Nisā' and Diwān-i-Makhfi* (May 1923), (3) *A Glance on the Tadhkira-i-Makhzan-ul-Gharā'ib* (June 1924), (4) *Tadhkira-i-Gulzār-e-A'zam and a few Persian Tadhkiras of Southern India* (July 1925). In the prime of his youth he had the privilege to be an editor of the *Muslim Review*, which was published under the auspices of the Muslim Institute, Calcutta. This *Journal*, though, defunct is still cherished for some of its meritorious literature. The late Professor's own contributions in this magazine were: (1) *Specimens of Muslim Calligraphy* (Oct. to Dec. 1927), (2) *Dārā Shikoh and the*

Fine Arts of Painting and Calligraphy (Jan. to March 1928), (3) *Note on Panjsura* (Oct. to Dec. 1928). In 1929 he edited a manuscript of the *Diwān* of Prince Kāmṛān, the son of Emperor Bābur. The sober manner with which he wrote its introduction merited the attention of high class scholars. He developed a still more refined taste when he wrote the introduction on the *Majma'-ul-Bahrain*, the ill-reputed works of Prince Dārā Shikoh. And his fame travelled abroad, when he introduced to scholars of the West the oldest illustrated manuscript of the *Rubā'iyāt* of 'Umar-i-Khayyām by writing an article on it in the *Illustrated London News*, of May 10, 1930. In announcing its discovery, Professor Maḥfūz-ul-Ḥaq wrote: this superb manuscript, comprising 206 quatrains by the poet was copied in A.D. 1505, only forty-five years after the Bodlian manuscript which is the oldest known copy of 'Umar's *Rubā'iyāt*. The manuscript was transcribed by the famous calligraphist, Sultān 'Ali of Mashhad and illustrated by a colleague of the incomparable Bihzād, the Raphael of the East. It is very finely illuminated and tastefully decorated and is, undoubtedly, one of the finest specimens of the art of manuscript production in Persia in the sixteenth century. The beautiful miniatures which adorn the manuscript are among the finest specimens of the pictorial art of Persia, which flourished under Tamerlane and his successors. Simple in design and execution, charming in their colour scheme, and supremely decorative in character, the paintings have a fascination of which observer never wearies. The hair-fine drawing of lines, the graceful expression of faces, and the harmonious blending of colours, leave an everlasting impression of the great skill and penetrating vision of the artist. The discovery of this beautiful, illustrated and illuminated manuscript of the *Rubā'iyāt* of 'Umar-i-Khayyām proved conclusively that it was the East not the West that prepared the first illustrated copy of 'Umar's quatrains. This manuscript which is still preserved in Al-Isḫāḥ Library, Desna (Patna), has also been edited and published by the late professor. He was a contributor of the *Islamic Culture* also, the back issues of which have his following literary products: (1) *Jāmī and his Autographs* (Oct. 1927), (2) *Discovery of a Portion of the Original Illustrated Manuscript of Tārīkh-e-Alfi, written for the Emperor Akbar* (In the collection of Mr. Ajit Ghosh, Calcutta (July 1930), (3) *The Khān-Khānān and his Painters, Illuminators and Calligraphists* (Oct. 1931), (4) *A Valuable Manuscript of the Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (April 1939). May his soul rest in peace!

We do not, of course, like the agnostic features of Qāḍī Nadhr-ul-Islam's (Kazi Nazrul Islam) poetry. But his contributions to the Muses of Bengalee poetry have been acknowledged and appreciated by all sections of Bengalee-speaking people. So, for the sake of information of our readers, we would mention here the glowing tributes which this poet of Bengal has recently received from some of his admirers. A writer named Rashīd Karīm in an article calls him the people's poet and substan-

tiates this claim by the following arguments. "Freedom to Nazrul Islam was like the breath of his life. He is a genuine democrat and the fever of revolution burns in his veins. His radicalism is both poetic and political and the blend of the two often characterizes his poetry. A poet of the people, his songs are more often than not direct transcripts from personal experience, which, aided by his spontaneous rhythm, lends to his poetry an intimate homeliness which makes the reader his willing captive. Rhythm came to him as naturally as breath and there was no ' strenuous ' artistry about it." And then a study in contrast of Qāḍī Nadhr-ul-Islām with Rabindranath Tagore is made by the above writer who observes: " Tagore's language is dulcet without being effeminate, Nazrul Islam's is ornate, not without excess. In this and many other respects, it is no small wonder that he could repel the over-powering influence of his great contemporary. Not only in form but in matter also, Nazrul Islam does not give you the slightest impression that he belongs to Tagore's age, much less to Tagore's school. This singularity no other contemporary could achieve. He is rather with Satyendranath Dutta, if with anyone at all. Even if he is a member of Satyen Dutta's circle, it must be said to his credit that he far excelled his master. Nazrul Islam's vitality Dutta never attained. The tremendous rush and passionate fervour that vibrate through the Qazi's poetry was also outside Dutta's domain." This observation is followed by a brief review on the Qāḍī Nadhr-ul-Islam's poetry. " The special genius of Nazrul Islam " according to the reviewer " lay in the unerring instinct with which he seized upon the elemental passions of the primitive toilers of the field, whom he knew so intimately. Wordsworth said that poetry comes from the heart and goes to the heart. If that be so, then Nazrul Islam is among the greatest poets the world has known. His songs dealing with the peasantry are not only about them but are really sung by them. Here he compares well with his younger contemporary, Jaseemuddin, who, together with Nazrul Islam shares in the gift of seizing on rustic passions. It is as a poet of humanity that Nazrul Islam is at his happiest. In him the human note is paramount. The modern poets of Bengal, who have seen the village through books, have never succeeded in their attempt to be a school of people's poets. Their humanism is purely intellectual, while Nazrul Islam's teems with his mind, soul and spirit. The frailties of the village folk, the green of the grass, the love of man and woman in field, all come to the reader charioted by Nazrul Islam's poetry." Mr. Rashīd Karīm is an admirer of the political concept of Qāḍī Nadhr-ul-Islam's also, so he writes, "Nazrul-Islam's radicalism was political also. The woes of the have-nots found their true expression in his bold outbursts. His patriotic enthusiasm surpassed all legal bounds, for which he was imprisoned. He rebelled against political bondage and economic inequity and writing in his usual fiery language stirred his despondent country-men into pulsive activity. He performed the metamorphosis of apathetic human beings into politic-

ally conscious people. By hastening the struggle for political and economic emancipation, Nazrul Islam did what so many statesmen could not." The appreciative study of the greatest living poets of Bengal is concluded thus: "There is a section of critics which denies Nazrul Islam a place in the firmament of great poets. Their charges are numerous and not always without foundation. Some of the indispensable qualities of a great poet such as sensuous receptiveness, transcendental fervour, philosophical introspection, they say, are not his. Symbolism, suggestiveness, and subtlety are also beyond Nazrul Islam's comprehension. His errors of taste and lack of self control are perhaps patent. Although Keats said 'Poetry should please by a fine excess,' no other poet more than Keats himself took greater pains to disprove the statement. Excess, fine or crude, is detrimental to good poetry. Nazrul Islam's poetry suffers most from excess. But it has to be remembered that Nazrul Islam never pretended to be a poet of poets or a poet of the sophisticated. Let the cultivated critic sneer at his poetry if he will, Nazrul Islam never wrote for him. Just as Robert Burns was poet of the people and of people so is our poet. Bengalee literature does not know a greater national poet."

Dr. 'Itrat Husain Zubairi, Principal of the Islamia College, Calcutta, is working out a scheme for the establishment of an Islamia University in Bengal. The Provincial Government is giving due consideration to this scheme. The Secondary Education Bill, which was likely to ameliorate the educational condition of the Muslims of Bengal, is still in the fiery furnace of the stiff and stout opposition of some section of the people of the province. But it is gratifying to learn that the present ministry is acting upon the recommendations of 'Abdul Mo'min's Committee, according to which one million of rupees is to be spent annually on the primary instruction of the Muslim children of Bengal. Dr. 'Itrat Husain Zubairi wants that the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization should establish a National Commission for India. The task of the National Commission should be to serve as a means of canalising the spiritual means of the Indian people. Dr. I. H. Zubairi says that we in India are terribly ignorant of the literary heritage of the various cultural and national groups of our country. How many people know that there is a flourishing and vital literature in Marathi and Telugu. The grace and delicacy of Urdu poetry is a sealed book to the people of Eastern India. The achievement in drama and folk poetry of the Bengali is unknown to the people in the South. The National Commission in India can co-ordinate not only the educational and scientific activities of our people but it can interpret the cultural and imaginative heritage of one group to the other through translation, through exchange of pupils and teachers on large scale. Dr. Zubairi hopes that the above Commission can become a means of developing the cultural autonomy of the Hindus, the Muslims and national sub-groups of India, and the richness and diversity of India's cultural heritage will thus be recognised by the United Nations.

Since we last referred to the *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society* a few more articles on one or other aspect of the Muslim rule in India have appeared in its subsequent issues. They are : (1) *Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Khusrau* by Mr. Kishori Saran Lal, M.A. (July 1944). This is a critical study of the life and conduct of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Khusrau, who originally belonged to the low caste of Barvaria or Parvaris of Gujarat, but rose to the exalted position of the Sultān of Delhi by murdering Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn Khiljī. Diyā'-ud-Dīn Barnī, the author of *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī* hurls every sort of abuse upon Khusrau Shāh whose reign, according to him ushered in a reign of untold misery for the true believers. But the above writer defends Khusrau Shāh and argues that his (Khusrau Shāh's) only fault was that he had trusted too much a nobility and soldiery which were accustomed to worship the rising sun and desert a weak cause. He had lived a life of scandal but died the death of a soldier.

(2) *Mariam kī Kothi or Sunehra Makān of Fathpur Sikri*, by Dr. S.K. Banerjee (July 1940). This is an architectural study of the above named building.

(3) *Shāh Jahān's Monuments in Agra*, by Dr. S.K. Banerjee (Dec. 1944). This gives the archæological description of the Agra Fort the Dīwān-i-'Ām, the Shāhburj, the Mīnā Bāzārs, the Khāṣ Maḥal, the Angūrī Bāgh, the Sīsh Maḥal, the Muthamman Burj, the Pachise Court, the Mīna Nagīna and the Motī Masjids and last Jāmi' Masjid of 'Agra. Dr. S. K. Banerjee earned the distinction of being a prolific writer on the various subjects dealing with the Mughal and pre-Mughal period of India. But he very often manoeuvres dextrously, though unnecessarily, to usher in between his writings some disagreeable remarks which leave unfavourable impression upon his readers and cast at the same time reflection on his otherwise able and industrious researches.

(4) *The Sanskrit Legend on the Bilingual Tankas of Maḥmūd of Ghazni*, by V.S. Agarwala (December 1944). This describes some newly discovered silver coins which Maḥmūd of Ghazni issued from the Lahore mint bearing on the obverse the Kalima and the legend in Kūfic script, and on the reverse, a Sanskrit translation of the Kalima and the legend written in Deva-Nagri character of the 10th century A.D. These coins are preserved in the Museum of Lucknow.

The bi-weekly *Sidq*, published from Lucknow under the able editorship of Maulawī 'Abd-ul-Mājid Daryābādī, is busy in accomplishing the old mission of educating its readers in high class moral cameos. Its outstanding feature is its leading article written under caption *Sachchī Bātain* (Truthful Discourses) which, besides being tastefully couched in lucid and charming style, is always the most instructive. Its various other notes have been serving successfully to counteract the evil influences of the non-spiritual and materialistic civilization of the West, which, with the fascination of its colourful and untrammelled modernism has irresis-

tible temptation for the people of India. It also entertains its readers with religious and sociological discussions. The subjects which are being discussed at present in its various issues are: (1) *The Causes of the Present Discontents and Disturbances in India*, (2) *Zakāt*, (3) *Zamīndārī System and the Islamic Laws*, (4) *Recollection of the Personal Impressions and Experiences of the late Haḍrat Maulāna Ashraf 'Alī Thānawī*.

The learned editor of the *Šidq* has taken a keen interest in an article namely *Islam's Influence on Hinduism* by Lt.-Col. Khwāja 'Abdur Rashīd. We would like to quote here some extract from it. Islam, observes Lt.-Col. Khwāja 'Abdur Rashīd, has given a vital impetus to the religions it has come into contact with. View for a moment, the various progressive movements and reforms that are taking place in Hinduism and Christianity since the last one century. The people of the above two religions are gradually detaching themselves from their old practices and coming to a right understanding of their faith to which Islam has re-introduced them. Brahma, Vishnu, and Maha-eshwara are all in one Aum (Om) now. Aum is the one supreme creator for them in whom all attributes of the ultimate Ego are concentrated. The nature of Christ has been doubted, and the theory of son has been refuted and is disappearing. 90% of the Christians of various schools of thought that one comes across these days do not believe in Jesus Christ as the son of God. Islam has infused into the people a spirit of right thinking and reintroduced them to the true religion of one God which had died long ago. In other words religion is reborn in Islam. Islam has brought home to the people the lost teachings of the Upanishad and the original Holy Bible. After centuries of religious slumber the Qur'ān struck a note of warning that the religions which were all from God had been adulterated, and now they must revert to the same old belief of one God, without which a peaceful harmony in society is not possible. The Hindu Pantheon is fast disappearing under the influence of Muslim Tauḥīd. They have started unearthing the real teachings on the footsteps of Islam. Islam has shown it the way : it has pointed out in unequivocal terms that that which was the truth is hidden from them. As all religions are true and from the same one God, but having been malpractised and forgotten they must start afresh the search for truth on the line suggested by Islam.

A very interesting publication, namely *Mashāhīr Ahl-i-'Ilm ki Muḥsin Kitābain*, has been brought out by Nadwat-ul-Ulemā, Lucknow. It consists of a collection of articles by almost all the renowned Urdu scholars, each of whom has given a lively discourse on his choicest books, which have helped to mould his life, character as well as modes of writing. This book, which is really a valuable addition to Urdu literature will be found entertaining and instructive by every class of readers.

FOREIGN

MIDDLE EAST

THE whole of the contemporary Arab world is in an intellectual ferment. This is closely linked up with the revival of interest in the glorious past as well as the burning national aspirations of the present. The following is a brief summary of these developments in some of the Middle Eastern Arab lands (Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Lebanon and Iraq) in recent years, covering a vast field from University education to intellectual, cultural and scientific activities.

University and Higher Education :

There exist seven Universities catering primarily to the Arabs. Three of these are in Cairo : the Fuād I University, controlled by the Ministry of Public Instruction ; partially reformed Al-Azhar and the other as yet undeveloped American University. In Alexandria, there is the Fārūq I University, also established and controlled by the Ministry. Bairut has two Universities, the Jesuit Universite de St. Joseph, partially subsidised by the French Government and the non-sectarian, private American University. Damascus has a State University which is as yet no more than a group of professional schools. In Baghdad, it is proposed to create a University out of the existing professional schools. In Khartum the Gordon Memorial College is proposed to be raised to the status of a University College. Jerusalem has only an excellent Teachers' Training Institute, the Government Arab College ; the Hebrew University has only a handful of Arab students and practically no contact with Arab intellectual life.

Of these institutions the Fuād I University is the largest and richest and has men of considerable eminence especially in science, both Egyptian and European, among its professors. The American University of Bairut is perhaps the most effective teaching institution. The Universite de St. Joseph is notable for its great Oriental Seminary.

Revival of Arabic Language :

Recent years have witnessed a great revival of Arabic. Its vocabulary has been so expanded and idiom so developed and enriched as to make it capable of expressing the most comprehensive and subtle modern ideas. It has led to a new knowledge of and growing interest in the rich classical literature. As a result, the masterpieces of the past have once more be-

come familiar to the cultivated Arab. There has been a considerable amount of activity in translation both of purely literary and technical writings.

Among some excellent translations may be pointed out 'Abdur Raḥ-mān Badawī's renderings of long series of German literary and philosophical works in Cairo, and Najātī Ṣidqī's recently begun work on Russian classics in Jaffa.

History and Science :

Great Arab traditions of historiography are once more coming to life and scholars of Arab origin are throwing the light of modern Western critical method upon the Arab past. Among the outstanding writers may easily be mentioned the Lebanese Professor Phillip K. Hitti (working at Princeton University, N. J., U.S.A.) and the Egyptian A.S. 'Atiyah. Of sociological works, perhaps the most remarkable is Pere Eyrou's book *Le Fallah*—a study of the Egyptian peasantry.

Poetry :

Arab poetry is once more flourishing, both through a revival of classical forms and an adaptation of Western forms, primarily French. The greatest of the modern poets have been Egyptian, Lebanese and 'Irāqī—Shawqī and Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm in Egypt, al-Zahawī and al-Rasafī in 'Irāq; Nasif al-Yazījī, Ibrāhīm, Khalil Maṭrān and Bishara al-Khūrī in Lebanon. Today most well-known young poets are found in Lebanon and among emigrants from that country to the New World *i.e.* one of the best living Arab poets is Eliya Madey who edits an Arabic newspaper in New York.

Belles lettres :

In the domain of belles lettres and criticism certainly Dr. Tāḥa Ḥusain is outstanding. This Egyptian blind scholar (blind almost from birth and educated at Al-Azhar, Fuād I University and in France) is an essayist on pre-Islamic poetry, life of the Prophet and Arab history. He has also written an autobiography (*Al-Ayyām* partially translated into English as 'An Egyptian childhood'), of great charm and pathos. Another notable book by him is *'Ala Ḥāmish as-Sira*, which is a literary work attempting with full awareness of modern critical results, to imaginatively reconstruct the environment of the Prophet's day and interpret his life as it must have appeared to his contemporaries.

Among the chronicles of Egyptian countryside may be mentioned Tawfiq al-Hakīm who has produced his masterpiece, *Yawmiyāt Nā'ib Fi'l Rif*. The drama and the novel are new to the Arabians but in recent years they have been greatly encouraged, especially due to the rapid growth of the film industry in Egypt.

Pristine Islam :

There has also grown up a tendency common to many Muslim lands to emphasize 'primitive Islam' and the days of the Prophet, and along with this has been evinced a renewed interest in the study of the traditions. Thus have appeared many biographies of the Prophet, which have sought to give a modern presentation of the events of his life and their significance. Among these may be mentioned Mawlā Bay's *Muḥammad the Perfect Example* and Husain Haikal's *Muḥammad* and Ṭāḥā Husain's *'Ala Hāmish as-Sirah*.

Women :

Among the Arab women in the literary field may be mentioned the Syrian May Ziadah and the Egyptian Malak Hifni Nasif. The awakening among women has been growing ever stronger since Qāsim Amīn wrote his *New Woman* at the turn of the century.

Christian Arabs :

Christian Arabs both in the Middle East as well as in their new settlements in the Americas are fired by a burning nationalism and conscious of their Arab heritage. Most present writers and thinkers among them seem determined to hold on equally to both sides of their heritage, the Christian and the Arab. Apart from a host of contributions the writings of Khalīl Jibrān may be regarded as the most original products of Arab Christian culture.

N.A.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

STUDIES, ISLAMIC AND ORIENTAL
by Ahmad Miān Akhtar of Junagadh ;
published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf,
Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore; pp. 226 ; Rs. 8

THE author has collected here ten of his articles published in different journals during the last several years. Two of them relate to Warāqah (or all those professions that are connected with Warq or paper, such as transcribing, bookbinding, paper manufacture and colouring of books, etc. The rest are :

3. Sa'dī's Visit to Somnath.
4. A tract of Avicenna translated by Khayyām.
5. Shams-e-Tabrizī.
6. The Arabic Poetry of Hāfiz.
7. The Saracens, Etymology and Denomination.
8. The Tribulations of India.
9. Al-Māwardī, his Life and Work.
10. Arabic Sources of the History of the Gujarat Sultanate.

In connection with Sa'dī's visit to Gujarat, we may refer our readers to an article by Garcin de Tassy in the *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, of as far back as 1843, on the Urdu poetical compositions of the famous Persian Master. We take the liberty of reproducing an important quotation from it :—

میان محمد قائم در تذکرہ خود از روی تواریخ
احوال سعدی شیرازی در نوشته اند کہ هنگام سیر

وساحت بطرف گجرات تشریف آورده و در
مجاورت سومات - چنانچہ در نسخہ بوستان خودش
ایمانی براین فرمودہ اند ، زبان این دیار وقوف
یافتہ یکدو بیت کہ بعد ازین مرقوم خواہد شد
برسیل تھن بقید نظم در آورده ، مراد اینست کہ
موجد زبان ریختہ سعدی شیرازی است - بعد از آن
حضرت امیر خسرو برہان بنا طراحى و تعمیرہای
بسیار بکار بردند -

ای مردمان شہر سمان ، کیسی پژی بہ ریت ہے
ہے ہے نغمی پرسد کے ، پردیسا ما ریت ہے
ہم نے ہے تم کو دل دیا ، تم نے لیا اور دکھ دیا
تم بہ کیا ، ہم وہ کیا ، ایسی بھلی بہ ریت ہے
سعدی طرح انگیختہ ، شہد و شکر آمیختہ
در ریختہ در ریختہ ، ہم شعر ہے ہم گیت ہے
(J.A., p. 24, 26).

In the article on Saracens, the author has quoted the opinion of Mas'ūdī from his *at-Tanbih wal-Ishraf*. Our author could usefully have translated the Latin footnote in the European edition of this work, which contains some important observations.

The two articles on Warāqah could better follow each other in the next edition if not even amalgamated in one single article.

Arabic sources of Gujarat history are welcome addition to the very small literature on the subject.

We welcome this useful collection, and hope it will stimulate the Muslim intelligentsia in Kathiawar for ever greater efforts in this field. Junagarh is a big Muslim State, but our ignorance or negligence of it is bigger still. It ought to contribute its quota to the scholarship of Indian Islam. Invitation to learned conferences must be the first step in that direction.

M.H.

ISLAM AND THE THEORY OF INTEREST by Anwar Iqbal Qureshi of Osmania University; published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore; pp. 222; Rs. 5.

THIS is the English translation of the author's original Urdu monograph, done by himself, for wider diffusion and utilization. Such a work, requiring co-operation of authorities on Muslim Law as well as Economics could only be produced in the Osmania University under the existing circumstances. The author is the Head of the Department of Economics, and was helped by the Head of the Faculty of (Muslim) Theology and other competent persons, and the result is an illuminating and inspiring contribution in English on the subject from Islamic point of view.

The author has traced the history of interest in all ages and climes up to the most modern and current theories and trends. Discussion of Islamic teaching is tolerably exhaustive. However, workable and self-contained schemes for interest-free banks and insurance companies would have enhanced the practical utility of the work at the present juncture.

Unfortunately the book abounds in printing mistakes especially in Arabic quotations. On p. xviii there are two grave misprints in Qur'ānic verses in two lines. There are others on pages 84, 103 (line) 5, etc.

The very first line of the author commences as "After groping in darkness for over 1360 years the world is realizing

today that the rate of interest may come to near zero." However, it is not clear what he means by the number of years (1360). If it refers to the Hijra year in which the book was written, that would imply that before the Hijra or Migration of the Prophet, there was no trouble with regard to this matter in the world; and the evil spread from the time of the Holy Prophet,—which is certainly not what the author intends to convey. There are other such unhappy expressions, which, of course, must be overlooked in one to whom English is not a mother-tongue.

The book must find place in every intelligent home in the east and west.

M.H.

TĀRIKH NĀMA-I-HARĀT by Sayf ibn Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Harawī edited by Prof. Zubair Siddiqi of Calcutta University, and published by the Imperial Library; Calcutta; pp. 822, xxxvi; price not given.

THE printing of this rare and important work was begun as far back as 1928 and it has just been released. Different fascicles printed during these 18 years have naturally affected adversely on the get-up of the book but not the scholarship of the editor.

The importance of Harāt cannot be too much exaggerated in the annals of Islam. The present work is of great historical and literary value. It is supposed to have been compiled between 721 and 729 Hijra, at the command of Malik Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Kurt. It is a contemporary record of the complicated events in the history of N.-E. Iran during a difficult period of her history. "It is the earliest available history of Harāt and the only available contemporary account of its Kurt ruler." There are quotations of poems of some of whom there is no other record. The work is considered as a reliable source of information, and was constantly referred to or even plagiarised by later historians.

The editing of a work with the help of a unique manuscript is not an easy task, and even the 24-page corrigenda is perhaps not complete. However, we congratulate the editor on completing this extremely valuable work.

There is a name-index yet no list of contents. Such a reference work requires even a subject-index.

There may be manuscripts of this book in Afghanistan yet none has come so far to light even by persistent efforts of Governments concerned.

The work is in Persian, and the editor has wisely preserved the old orthography which dates from an epoch when *ch*, and *j*, *g* and *k*, *p* and *b*, *z* and *zh* had no distinctive features.

M.H.

IBN TUFAIL AND HIS PHILOSOPHICAL ROMANCE HAYY IBN YAQZĀN, edited by Dr. Omar A. Farrukh, professor of Islamic Philosophy and Arabic Literature at the Maqasid College, Beirut, 1946; pp. 100; price not given.

THE famous Arabic work by Ibn Tufail has been reprinted again and again, but it was unintelligible except to the specialized few. Our author has done a singular service by producing this monograph in Arabic, in which he has not only given interesting information regarding life and time and work of Ibn Tufail but has also set forth in clear language the object of the romance and its analysis, together with a comparative study, and a resumé of its effects on Western thought.

M.H.

THE LAST PESHWA AND THE ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS 1818-1851 by Pratal, C. Gupta; publishers S. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta; Rs. 6.

THE author has to his credit a book on *Baji Rao II and the East India Co.* The book under review is a continuation of the former work, containing a further study of Baji Rao in exile.

On the 5th November 1817, Peshwa Baji Rao attacked the Company's troops stationed at Kirkee and the Maratha War began. In May next Baji Rao decided to give up the struggle, so saying the author proceeds. The Peshwa surrendered himself to the English on 3rd June 1818.

It was sometime before the city of Poona was surrounded by General Smith's army on the 8th May 1817, Baji Rao agreed to grant Niwar Putr. Therefore he held a durbar on 5th May, and three days afterwards the city of Poona was occupied by the British troops. Thus it was the last official durbar of the last Peshwa which appears stranger than fiction. We wish the author had mentioned something on this topic which appears to be appropriate as the last generous act of the Peshwa, now doomed for exile.

The author has very ably examined the case of Yasodabai, the imposter lady. It may not be out of place to mention that we have come across two copies of her letter written in Persian dated 12th and 25th June 1825, wherein the so-called Yasodabai narrates her pathetic case and claims Rs. 1,25,000 for the expenses incurred. There is no doubt that this fake lady approached important personages as her letters disclose.

The author has utilized almost all the sources, published and unpublished and has given us the result of his careful study for which we are grateful to him.

While looking into his Bibliography (p. 108), newspapers and journals, we find *The Bengal Harkare & India Gazette* 1851, *The Englishman & Military Chronicle* 1951, etc., have been utilized by him. It is unfortunate that he had no access to other contemporary newspapers published in Cawnpur, Delhi, Indore, etc., for we know that these refer to the activities of the Peshwa. The *Akhbār-i-Malwa*, published an obituary notice on the death of the Peshwa (black borderd) and there was also an editorial covering 3 columns.

However, what we have said, in no way lessens the value of the book. The author deserves our best compliments for

presenting to the scholars a readable account of the Peshwa and the English officers who acted as his custodians.

K.S.L.

PESHWA BAJI RAO I AND MARATHA EXPANSION by V. G. Dighe, M.A., Ph.D.; published by Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay; Rs. 6.

THIS work which is now before us was submitted as a thesis for the Ph.D. Degree of the University of Bombay, which approved it. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has written the preface which speaks of the high standard attained by the author.

Such a vast historical materials which has been brought to the notice of scholars, through the untiring efforts of Sardesai, the Maratha historian, has been, we are glad to say, very well utilized by Dr. Dighe. The perusal of the book impresses one with the scholarship of the author, his capacity for careful documentation, his impartial examination of data and presentation of sober conclusion.

The author deserves our congratulations for presenting us with a scientifically written full history of one of the greatest Maratha statesmen, who in spite of some blots in his private character, tried his utmost to serve the cause of the Maratha Empire. This book should prove useful to scholars and students of Indian history.

K.S.L.

BOOKS, PERIODICALS, ETC., RECEIVED

1. *National Harmony* by Percival Spear; publishers : Oxford University Press, Madras ; Rs. 0-6-0.
2. *Pakistan Defined* by Begum Firdaus Rizvi ; publisher : Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore.
3. *Indo-Iranica*, Vol. I, Nos. I & II, Quarterly organ of the Iran Society, 159-B, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta ; annual Indian subscription : Rs. 10, annual Foreign subscription : £. 0-15-0.
4. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXVI, Parts III & IV ; printed and published by Dr. R.N. Dandekar at the Bhandarkar Institute Press, Poona—4.
5. *Ramadan Annual* August, 1946 ; printed and published by Md. Makki, 98-100 Brickfield Road, Durban, Natal.
6. *Five Pillars*, Vol. I, Nos. 3 & 4, Vol. II. No. 1 ; printed and published by Md. Makki.
7. *The Star*, Qaed-e-Azam Birthday Number ; printed and published by Aziz Beg, Mustafa Building, Sir Pheroz Shah Mehta Road, Fort, Bombay ; Re. 1.

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Ed., I. C.

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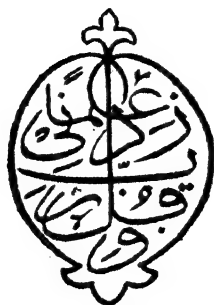
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[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân]

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. THE ANNUAL FAIRS OF THE PAGAN ARABS —DR. F. KRENKOW.	111
II. 'ULAYYA, A LESS KNOWN 'ABBASID PRINCESS —MAS'UD HASAN SHAMSI, Esq.	114
III. CONDUCT OF STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WAR DURING THE MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA —S. SABAHUDDIN, Esq.	123
IV. NOTES ON THE ARAB CALENDAR BEFORE ISLAM —REV. BRO. LOUIS NOBIRON.	135
V. SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF SHĀH NAWĀZ KHĀN ŞAMŞĀM-UD- DAULAH —DR. YUSUF HUSSAIN KHAN.	154
VI. THE FIRST URDU NEWSPAPER —ASLAM SIDDIQI, Esq.	160
VII. THE DEATH OF HAIDAR 'ALĪ —I. H. BAQAI, Esq.	167
VIII. DEVIL'S DELUSION —(Late) DR. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.	172
IX. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES	184
HYDERABAD	
DECCAN	
DELHI	
NORTH-EASTERN INDIA	
NORTH-WESTERN INDIA	
FOREIGN	
X. NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW	209

THE ANNUAL FAIRS OF THE PAGAN ARABS

THE recent publication of the *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar* by the Dā'irat-ul-Ma'ārif contains on pp. 263-268 an important chapter on the ancient fairs in Arabia. The editors appear to have been unaware that a much earlier publication of the Dā'irat also contains a similar chapter. I refer to the *Kitāb al-Azmina* by al-Marzūqī,¹ and they would have done well to have referred to it, as both chapters are derived from the same source and agree often word for word. So the meaningless phrase *وكانوا اكثر العرب* on page 264 1.6 is complete only if we add the word *فنا*,² which is found in Marzūqī. Both relations are derived from an earlier work by the antiquarian Abul-Mundhir ibn al-Kalbī, to whom we owe most of the accounts of pre-Islamic customs. Ibn al-Kalbī's works appear practically all to have perished except for two manuscripts of his work on Arab genealogies which, to judge by a marginal note in the manuscript of the *Mu'jam ash-Shu'arā'* of al-Marzubānī by the eighth century scholar Mughultā'ī, is only an abbreviation of a much larger work now lost and his book on the Arab Idols.³ Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Duraid (died 321 A.H.) derived his knowledge of the works of Ibn al-Kalbī from his uncle al-Ḥusain in whose house Ibn al-Kalbī was a frequent visitor. As the text of the *Kitāb al-Amkina* also mentions Abū 'Ubaida Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna as one of its sources, Ibn Duraid may also have had such information from his Shaikh, Abū Ḥātim as-Sijistānī, but I do not see any internal evidence in the *Kitāb*

1. This important work was published over thirty years ago in 1332, and contains too many errors which could easily be rectified in a new edition which should have a liberal vocalisation.

2. The text means: "They, the tribe of Kalb, have among Arabs the greatest number of home-born slaves." *Qinn* means the son or daughter of a slave. These were, for the sake of gain, taken to the fairs to be prostitutes, not the daughters of the free Arabs. We learn from pre-Islamic poets that Greeks and Jews carried women as well as fire-water (an inferior fiery wine, as in modern times) to the Hijaz.

3. Published by Ahmad Zaki Pasha in 1914. Fragments of Ibn al-Kalbī's *Kitāb al-Mathālib* are contained in a volume of the *Muw'affaqiyāt*, unique manuscript of which should be in the library left by Ahmad Zaki. I have a copy of the greater portion, except for one leaf which the original owner of the manuscript would not allow to be copied, so that no one else should possess the work in full.

al-Muḥabbar that it contains anything which was not found in the book of Ibn al-Kalbī. The text of the *Kitāb al-Amkina* is frequently fuller and it seems that Ibn Ḥabīb deliberately left out details, as for example of the goods sold and bought at some of the markets and some special events connected with certain visits to the fairs. The names of the tribes or persons who were guardians of the fairs and levied a ten per cent. tax on goods, and the tribes who, against a payment, undertook to ensure safety in travelling to the fairs are in both accounts the same except in that of the fair at ash-Shiḥr on the Ḥaḍramaut coast, which is a rather long distance from the place in which to-day is the small mosque over the supposed grave of the Prophet Hūd. The *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar* says that the merchants were under the protection of the Banū Muhārib b. Harb (with ا not ح) of the Mahra people, while Marzūqī mentions in this case the Banū Yathrib, also of Mahra. It is impossible to say which is correct as the antiquarians could have but scanty knowledge of this far off country in which the people spoke and still at this day speak an entirely different language from Arabic proper.

It is important also to note that the accounts collected by Ibn al-Kalbī relate to the seasons into which the ancient months fell before the additional days were given up and the Muslim year no longer tallied with the seasons. The names of several months still indicate their place in the solar year, the two Rabī' were in *autumn*, with which the journeys of the merchants commence in both accounts. With the approach of winter (Jumādā frost-month from Jumādā to freeze) they travelled towards the hotter regions, but were in 'Aden and Ṣan'ā in the height of summer (Ramaḍān, from Ramaḍa—to be excessively hot) to reach 'Ukāz, near the holy places, during the holy months, when and where no special protection was necessary.

Marzūqī has added to the information derived from Ibn al-Kalbī a short chapter on the fairs of Syria derived from a lost work by Muḥammad b. Kunāsa.¹

1. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb died in 245 A.H. and could have studied the works of Ibn al-Kalbī under the author. Marzūqī is much later and was living in Iṣfahān and died in 421 A.H. (Biographies in Yaqut, *Irshād*, II, 103 and Suyūṭī, *Bughyat*, 159).

Marzūqī (II. 161. 2) states that the account he gives is on the authority of Abū Bakr b. Duraïd and the latter says (p. 168.14) that the account of the fairs was not in the *Book* of Abū 'Ubaida but that Abū Ḥātim as-Sijistānī had added it. From this it would appear that the latter also transmitted the works of Ibn al-Kalbī.

As regards the Manuscript of the *Mathālib* of Ibn al-Kalbī it was originally in the possession of a learned Shī'āh scholar at Najaf, and he allowed a friend of mine to make a copy of it with the exception of one leaf as stated above. When the American traveller Amīn Raiḥānī visited Najaf the owner made him a present of this unique manuscript dating, in my opinion, from the sixth century. Raiḥānī, who was not a classical scholar, visited Aḥmad Zeki Pasha in Cairo and presented the manuscript to him. As I was at that time interested in the history of the first century of the Hijra I enquired from Zeki Pasha if he intended to publish the work and he replied that he had mislaid it. Both Raiḥānī and Zeki Pasha died many years ago and the library of the latter has been inherited by the Dār al-Kutub, where the manuscript should be at present. I wonder if it has disappeared again.

(Contd.)

A modern Syrian scholar of repute Sa'īd al-Afghānī, has collected and elaborated the information furnished by the two ancient sources and occasional references in other works in a book which he published in 1356/1937, and I understand that this edition is exhausted and that he contemplates a second enlarged issue.

F. KRENKOW.

As regards the contents I can assert that the manuscript is *not* the *Kitāb al-Mathālib* of Ibn al-Kalbi but a volume of the *Muwaffaqiyāt* of az-Zubair b. Bakkār, a work which originally consisted of five volumes of which the last (Bab 16-19) is preserved in Gottingen. The manuscript begins with extracts from the work of Ibn al-Kalbi, perhaps the whole of the *Mathālib*, but soon begin extracts from a work of a similar title by al-Haitham b. 'Adī. The end of the manuscript is missing.

‘ULAYYA

A LESS KNOWN ‘ABBASID PRINCESS

PRINCESS ‘Ulayya, the poetess, musician and music-theorist, is one of those literary luminaries of the ‘Abbasid period about whom we know very little. The fact is that though modern scholarship has attempted to ransack the vast and extensive region of the “Golden Age of Islam,” there are still many hidden treasures here and there, whose discovery will undoubtedly enrich our heritage immensely.

We know that the ‘Abbasid princes with a few exceptions¹ were passionately devoted to poetry and music. They not only appreciated these arts to the fullest extent, or gathered a galaxy of eminent poets and gifted musicians at their courts, but at least some of them took great pains in cultivating them. Thus al-Mahdī (775-85) possessed an exceptionally fine voice and was very fond of singing. Hārūn ar-Rashīd (786-809) was the author of a number of beautiful poems addressed to Helen, and was the first man to elevate singing into a noble profession. Al-Mā’mūn (823-33), his son, has not written much, but the few verses that have come down to us bear evidence of his remarkable poetical talent. His palace, except for a period of twenty months in which he never heard any music, rang with the sound of voices and instruments. Caliph al-Wāthiq (842-47) distinguished himself both as an excellent composer and a skilful performer on the ‘ūd (lute). Ibn al-Mu‘tazz (866-69), the versatile poet, was the first man to attempt a metrical epic in miniature in Arabic literature, and also composed beautiful Bacchanalian pieces.² Other members of the royal family who were not fortunate enough to grace the caliphal throne and are comparatively less known, also took keen interest in literary and musical pursuits.³ Even the ladies of the Imperial House, despite the

1. Al-Manṣūr (754-75), for example, was completely insensible to the charms of music. Cf *Aghāni*, XIII, 115.

2. For further information I will request my readers to go through Julian Ribra's *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain*, translated and abridged by Eleanor Hague and Marion Leffingwell (1929), and Dr. Henry George Farmer's *A History of Arabian Music*, (1929). They are admirable works on the subject and I have consulted both of them with interest and profit.

3. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥya aṣ-Ṣūlī has devoted his entire book *Ash'āru Awlād al-Khulafā' wa Akhbāruhum*, ed. Heyworth-Dunne, 1936, which forms the third volume of his famous *Kitāb al-Awraq* to these less celebrated princes.

handicaps of the restricted movement, seclusion and segregation of the fair sex—which in course of time became more and more rigid—held their own against men in culture, wit, music and poetry, and often organised poetical recitations and musical soirées. The Empress Zubaida was a gifted woman and an accomplished poetess. 'Ubaidā was regarded as one of the best songstresses of her time. She excelled in arts and literature, and played very skilfully on the instrument *Tanbūr* (pandore) which fact earned for her the title *aṭ-Ṭunbūrīya*. Badhl, a most accomplished *artiste*, is said to have composed a *Book of Songs* containing some 12,000 specimens. Faḍl, the poetess, who lived for sometime in al-Mutawakkil's (1847-61) palace, is considered equal to the most eminent poet of that time.¹ But the most fascinating figure in the whole of the 'Abbasid family that filled court rejoicings and festivities with grace and radiance was Princess 'Ulayya. Unfortunately such a towering personality of 'Abbasid literary and social life—whatever may be the reason or reasons—has been wilfully neglected and callously unnoticed by classical² as well as modern³ scholars, and consequently invites our special care and attention.

'Ulayya, the daughter of al-Mahdī the third 'Abbasid caliph, was born in A.D. 777 (A.H. 160). Her mother Maknūna,⁴ a songstress belonging to the Marwānī family but not sharing royal blood, was a beautiful woman well-versed in music. She was at first married to one Ḥasan b. 'Abdullāh, then Ibn al-Qaddāh, as the story runs, bought her for the huge sum of one hundred thousand silver pieces for al-Mahdī, and she was admitted to the latter's Harīm in the lifetime of al-Manṣūr (754-75) but without his knowledge. Her grace, comeliness and above all her tender melodies gained the affection of the Caliph to such an extent that even Khaizurān the queen could not help entertaining some feeling of jealousy against her.⁵ Princess 'Ulayya must have been initiated into the practice of music by her mother in her very early childhood. However, she rose to be an exquisite musician and an elegant poetess of her time. It is enough to say that Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī (779-839), her brother by another mother Shakla,⁶ a singer, theorist, and instrumental performer of outstanding merit, and the leader of the Romantic movement in music,

1. See Ribera, *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain*, pp. 58-60, and Farmer, *A History of Arabian Music*, pp. 132-36, 162-63.

2. Aṣ-Ṣūlī (*Ash'ar*, pp. 55-83), Abu'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (*Aghānī*, IX, pp. 83-95, XIII, 115) and Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ed. Egypt (1299 A.H.) Vol. II, pp. 99-101 alone have done some justice to the Princess.

3. In Farmer's *A History of Arabian Music* her name occurs twice (pp. 119, 213), but in both places only a passing reference has been made. Ribera too, at least in the English translation of his *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain* (pp. 46, 65, 81 and 111), has dismissed her with a few words.

4. According to Ibn Khurdādhbih (d. ca. 912), Baṣbaṣ ("Caress"), another singing-girl of al-Mahdī was the mother of 'Ulayya. But al-Iṣbahānī rejects this version as doubtful. Cf. *al-Aghānī*, XIII, pp. 114-15.

5. *Aghānī*, IX, p. 83, XIII, p. 115.

6. According to Dr. Krenkow Shukla is perhaps more correct. Cf. *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, January 1944, p. 56 f. art. *The Minstrels of the Golden Age of Islam*—Farmer.

received musical lessons from her.¹ 'Abdullāh, the grandson of Faḍl b. Rabi' the celebrated Chamberlain of al-Hārūn, is said to have remarked, "In Islam there never have been a sister and a brother more talented in music than 'Ulayya and her half-brother Ibrāhīm, and she even surpassed him."² Aṣ-Ṣūlī (d. 946), the renowned literary historian, says: "I do not find any princess in the whole of the 'Abbasid family who can be a match³ to 'Ulayya. She wrote good poetry and composed a large number of good melodies."⁴ 'Uraib (d. 841), a famous singer from al-Hijāz, once admitted that the happiest day she ever spent in her whole life was the day on which she heard 'Ulayya chanting a song of her own composition to the accompaniment of the Mizmār (reed-pipe) played by her step-brother Ya'qūb.⁵ Ishāq al-Mausilī (767-850), the chief court-musician, was one day simply amazed to hear one of his own melodies imitated by her, and exclaimed, "Good God, I have never seen such a thing before!"⁶

'Ulayya was a very pious and devout lady. She indulged in the "profane" arts of singing and composing poems only in the period of her delicate health when a woman is exempted from the prescribed five daily prayers. When she had no such excuses she spent most of her time in saying prayers, reading and teaching the Holy Qur'ān, and sometimes retired to an isolated corner of the mosque for deep meditation. In one of her customary prayers she used to say, "Lord, do not forgive me if I commit anything prohibited, nor if I make up my mind to do the same. Whenever I am on the verge of being carried away by my passion towards error I recall my relationship with the Prophet, and abstain from committing it. Verily God knows that I have never spoken any lies, nor have I ever broken my promises."⁷

Beside being extremely pretty, she possessed a very fine taste in setting fashions. It was she who invented the use of the fillet or diadem, a very lovely ornament worn round the forehead, carved in the shape of a headband and studded with precious stones. Her forehead, it is said, was a bit too broad and she used to wear this ornament to hide this slight imperfection of her face.⁸ Since then it has been a very popular head-decoration. In India it is still in vogue, with a very ingenious addition of a thin golden chain attached to it which is fixed just at the parting of hair.

1. *Ash'ār*, pp. 55, 83; *Aghānī*, IX, pp. 87, 95.

2. *Ash'ār*, p. 55; *Aghānī*, IX, p. 83.

3. *Ash'ār*, p. 55.

It is interesting to note that she has been compared to Princess Wallāda, the daughter of al-Mustakfi
 4. *Aghānī*, IX, p. 89; *Fawāt*, Vol. II, pp. 100-101.

5. *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 86-7.

6. *Ash'ār*, pp. 55-57; *Aghānī*, IX, p. 83.

7. *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 83; *Fawāt*, II, p. 99.

8. *Ibid.*, IX, p. 83.

'Ulayya entered into the limelight of arts and letters in the reign of her half-brother, Hārūn ar-Rashīd. In his assemblies her wit, humour, elegance, poetry, conviviality and above all her musical skill evoked the highest admiration from all. But the Caliph, who had taken personal care in her education, was in particular enchanted by her rare accomplishments. In fact she was a "message of joy," a "picture of sunshine," and a "phantom of delight" to al-Hārūn. He always addressed her as My Soul,¹ and invited her to sit with him on the throne, but she very courteously expressed her inability to comply with the royal request.² On many occasions he sent for the Princess to listen to her songs when other noted court-singers had failed to humour him. Once one single melody sung by 'Ulayya filled him with so much delight that he ordered the exchequer to distribute all he had in the treasury, and not to spare a single coin. Thus in one day some six crores Dirhems were spent.³ 'Ulayya too was sincerely attached to her half-brother. She frequently sent poetical epistles to him and composed many verses and tunes exclusively for him.⁴ She was very much grieved to see al-Hārūn's affliction and restlessness because of his ill-considered treatment of the Bermekide family, and comforted him feelingly in these soft words, "I never saw you enjoying a single day of complete happiness since you put Ja'far to death. Then pray why did you kill him?"⁵ She always tried to provide entertainments for the Caliph. Once she purchased a melody from Ishāq al-Mauṣilī for 40 thousand Dirhems and 40 pieces of cloth,⁶ and is said to have trained a number of singing-girls for his palace.⁷ It is true that she occasionally incurred al-Hārūn's displeasure also. But these fits of severity were very brief, for the Caliph could deny nothing to the poetess who gave him such charming verses in her own renderings and in her own magnificent voice. Once her intimacy with Ṭall, a slave of ar-Rashīd, excited the latter's anger, and he commanded her not only not to speak to him but not even to mention his name. Now it so happened that one day while reciting the holy Qur'ān she reached a verse⁸ that contained the word طل which she did not utter, and instead said "that whose utterance has been prohibited by the Caliph." The Caliph, who was accidentally passing by, overheard her and was so much pleased that he pressed a kiss on her head and permitted her to deal with the slave as she pleased.⁹ On another occasion al-Hārūn took her to task for halting

1. يا حياى

2. *Ash'ār*, pp. 55-6; *Fawāt*, II, p. 100.

3. *Aghānī*, IX, p. 88. The composition was:

منفصل عني وما قلبي عنه منفصل يا فاطمي اليوم لمن نويت بعدى ان تصل

4. *Ash'ār*, p. 58; *Aghānī*, IX, p. 93.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 57; *Ibn Khallikān*, *Bio.-Dic.* tr. De Slane, Vol. I, p. 310.

6. *Aghānī*, IX, p. 87.

7. *Ibid.*, IX, p. 90.

8. فان لم يصحبها وابل فطل — *Sūrat al-Baqara*.

9. *Ash'ār*, p. 57. *Aghānī*, IX, p. 84.

at Ṭīzanābādh,¹ a luxurious beauty spot, on her return journey from the pilgrimage. She in no time composed a few couplets, set an air for them, and chanted them before the Caliph, who no sooner heard them than he was reconciled.² In one of his journeys to Rayy he took 'Ulayya along with him, perhaps against her wish. When the party reached Marj she extemporised the following verses and set them to music before al-Hārūn :

و مغترب بالمرج يبكي لشجوه وقد غاب عنه المسعدون على الحب
إذا ما اتاه الركب من نحو ارضه تنشق يستشفي برائحة الركب

"A traveller at Marj is lamenting in his sorrow, and those who help him in his love have deserted him. When horsemen come to him from the direction of his homeland, he takes long breaths seeking his relief from their fragrance."

These verses betrayed her home-sickness and her longing to meet her people. Al-Hārūn did not fail to realise it and at once ordered her to be sent back to 'Irāq.³

The death of Caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd in the year 809 A.D. affected her heart very deeply. Like a faded rose she entirely lost her charm, her radiance and her sweet agreeableness, and bade farewell to poetry and music. She of course wrote something for al-Amīn (809-13) and al-Mā'mūn the succeeding rulers, but only when induced by the caliphs, and even then in a rather disinterested and half-hearted manner.⁴ She survived al-Hārūn fifteen long unhappy years with the sweet memories of the joyous days of dalliance as her only comfort, and passed away in the year 825 A.D. (210 A.H.).⁵ Even the death of the gifted Princess is not free from some elements of poetry and romance. Al-Mā'mūn, after the proscribed period of twenty months, had begun taking special delight in the musical talents more especially of his musical kinsmen.⁶ One day in some such musical festivities he, perhaps in a fit of ecstasy inspired by her melodious voice, embraced 'Ulayya very tightly and rained down kisses on her lovely head. Her face being completely covered she lost her breath and began to cough.⁷ Soon after, she had an attack of fever to which she succumbed in course of a few days.⁸

1. Al-Iṣbahānī has wrongly spelt it Ṭīratābādh (Aghānī IX, p. 93). It was a pleasure resort full of orchards, vinegars and taverns and was situated between Kūfa and Qādisiyya on the pilgrim's way. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, III, pp. 569-70.

2. *Ash'ār*, p. 59; Aghānī, IX, p. 93.

3. *Ash'ār*, p. 60; Aghānī, IX, p. 99; *Fawāt*, II, 100

4. *Ibid*, p. 82; *Ibid* IX, pp. 99;

5. Curiously enough the account of her marriage or married life is not available in the few sources of her biography which I have consulted, except that she was the wife of Mūsa b. 'Isa, a member of the royal family. Cf *Ash'ār*, p. 83; *Fawāt*, II, p. 99.

6. Ibn 'Abd-Rabbihi, *Al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, III, p. 240. Aghānī, V, p. 106. The First musician to whom he listened was either Muḥammad b. al-Hārith (Aghānī, IX, p. 52) or Abū 'Isa, the son of al-Hārūn (*Iqd*, III, p. 240), both his near relations.

7. *فشرت من ذلك وسعلت*

8. *Ash'ār*, p. 83; Aghānī, IX, p. 95; *Fawāt*, II, pp. 99-100.

Ibn Nadīm records that the Princess wrote a note-book of poetry consisting of some 20 pages.¹ But the author of the *Fawāt* mentions that she left a *Dīwān*.² If she did really compose such a thing it is very unfortunate that it has not come down to us. More than two hundred of her couplets, however, have been preserved by aṣ-Ṣūlī and al-Iṣbahānī.³ They are occasional poems of fragmentary character, and generally written on the spur of the moment. But they are specimens of charmingly fresh poetry, distinguished by their lightness, elegance, and depth and tenderness of feelings. Love and wine are two most favourite themes which she treated with monotonous reiteration. But her love throughout is pure, sincere and sublime. Her heart is broken but full of hope. She feels from the very bottom of her heart, and makes us feel likewise. Here are some of her most representative verses:

She treats of Love, Beauty and Separation from the beloved, again and again, and the treatment is intimately personal:

فرجوا كربى قليلا فلقد صرْتُ نحىلا
افعلوا فى امر مشغو ف بكم فعلا جميلا

Relieve me of my affliction a little, for I have become emaciated. Treat him gently who has fallen in love with you.

ما صنع الهجران لا كانا هاج على الهجر احزانا
ونم طرفى بدخيل الهوى فصار ما اسررت اعلانا

What separation (from the beloved) has acted upon me, may not act upon (anybody). It has hurled sorrows upon me. My eyes betrayed my innermost love, so that which I kept concealed has become manifest.

اذا كنت لا يسليك عن تحبه تناء ولا يشفيك طول تلاقى
فما انت الا مستعير حشاشه لمهجة نفس آذنت بفراق

When remoteness from the person whom you love does not comfort you, nor long intercourse with him satisfy you, then you are only borrowing the last breaths for your life-blood, which is ready to depart.

أيارب حتى متى اصرع وحسام ابكى واسترجع
لقد قطع الياس حبل الرجا فها فى وصالك لى مطمع
بليت بقلب ضعيف القوى وعين تضر ولا تنفع

1. *Fihrist*, p. 233.

2. Vol. II, p. 99.

3. *Ash'ār*, pp. 56-83; *Aghānī*, IX, pp. 84-95.

اذاما ذكرت الهوى والمنى تحدر من جفنها اربع

Lord, how long shall I remain fallen and how long shall I wail and lament ? Disappointment has cut down the chord of my hope, so that I entertain no desire for union with you. I have been put to trial by (my) feeble heart and the eyes which always do harm and never heal. Whenever I think of my desire and my love, my eyes shed tears from their four sides.

لا حزن الا دون حزن نالنى
يوم الفراق وقد غدوت مودعا
فاذا الاحبة قد تولت غيرهم
وبقيت فردا والهامة وجعا

There is no sorrow except the sorrow that I received on the day of separation while bidding farewell (to my friends), when their camels turned their faces and I was left all alone, madly in love, and afflicted.

كتمت اسم الحبيب من العباد
وردت الصبا به فى فوادى
فوا شوقى الى بلد خلى
لعلى باسم من اهوى انادى

I concealed my beloved's name from people and repeated my love in my heart of hearts. Then O my longing for a lonely place, where I could utter aloud the name of him whom I love !

يا خلتنى وصفيتى و عذابى
مالى كتبت فلم ترد جوابى
خنت المواعظ ام لقيت حواسدا
يهوين هجرى ام مللت عتابى

O my love and my choicest friend, and my torment, why did I write a letter to you and you did not favour me with a reply ? Have you broken your promises or have you met my enemies who wish my separation (from you), or has my complaint offended you ?

يا حَبِّ بالله لِمَ هجرتينى
صددت عني فما تبالينى
وآمل الوعد منك ذو غرر
لا تخدعني كما خدعتينى
ابن اليمين التى حلفت بها
والشاهد الله ثم ختتني

O my love, for God's sake tell me why have you forsaken me ? You have turned away from me so you do not care for me. Do not deceive innocent people who believe in your promises as you have deceived me. Where are those oaths which you took (citing) God as your witness, and then broke ?

الا يا نفس ويحك لا تشوقى الى من ليس بالبر الشفيق
الا يا نفس انت جنيت هذا فذوقى ثم ذوقى ثم ذوقى

O my accursed soul, do not long for one who is neither kind nor generous. O my soul, you committed this fault, then taste it, then taste it, then taste it.

Some of those verses which were set to music are :

سلم على ذكر الغزا ل الاغيد المسبي الدلال
سلم عليه و قل له يا غل الباب الرجال
خليت جسمى ضاحيا وسكنت فى ظل الحجال
وبلغت منى غاية لم ادر فيها ما احتيال

Greet the memory of the youthful, coquettish and captivating gazelle. Greet her and tell her, "O shackle of men's reasons, you have forsaken my body wailing, and taken abode under the pavilion set for the brides. You have dragged me to such an extremity that I do not know what can avail me.

يا ذا الذى اكتم حبيبه ولست من خوف اسميه
لم يدر ما بى من هواه ولم يعلم بما قاسيته فيه

O one whose love I conceal and whom I do not name out of fear ! He is not aware of my longing for him nor does he know what I have suffered for his love.

اشكو انفرادى بالهموم و وحشتى لفراقكم و صبابتى و حنينى
وتلفتى كما اراك و ما ارى الا خيالا مذكرا يوذنى

I complain of my loneliness in grief, my melancholy in your separation, my affection and my yearning (for you), and (also) my desire to have a glimpse of you while I see only your apparition which torments me by reminding me (of you).

الشوق بين جوانحى يتردد و دموع عيني تستهل و تنفد
انى لا طمع ثم انهض بالمنى والياس يجذبني اليه فاقعد

Yearning is struggling in my bosom, and the tears of my eyes trickle down, and are drained. I feel tempted, and I rise up with my desires, but disappointment draws me towards itself and then I sit down.

ومدمن الخمر يصحو بعد سكرته وصاحب الحب يلتق الدهر سكرانا
وقد سكرت بلا خمر يخامرني لما ذكرت وما انساه انسانا¹

A person addicted to wine recovers after his drunkenness, but the lover is always found intoxicated. I get intoxicated without any wine that inebriates whenever I think of a person, though I never forget him.

نام عذالي ولم انم واشتقوا شون من سقمي
واذا ما قلت بي ألم شك من اهواه في ألمي²

My slanderer slept but I had no sleep, and the calumniator derived satisfaction from my sickness. When I said I was sick he whom I loved did not believe in my pain.

Even a cursory reading of these love-lyrics unmistakably reveals that the most important thing that decided the character of 'Ulayya's poetry was her musical aptitude. Everywhere the words are inseparably bound up with the melody that adds richness to them. Many of her verses are originally musical inspirations or tone-waves which have been clad in mantle of words afterwards. Here lies her achievement as a music-theorist, for she was not only a great musician but a skilful composer of ditties too. She is credited with the authorship of some seventy-three *Aṣwāt*³ (airs), of which only two dozen have been quoted by al-*Iṣbahānī*.⁴ These delightful compositions are mostly in *ramal*, *hazaj*, and *khafif*, the lighter rhythmic modes which were more in keeping with the tastes of the period.⁵ She was specially attracted by the *ramal* mode which was first introduced by a musician named *Salmak* in the reign of al-*Hārūn*,⁶ for she used to say, "Nothing can please him who is not pleased by *ramal*."⁷

MAS'UD HASAN SHAMSI.

1. All these verses have been quoted from the *Ash'ār* (pp. 64-79) but some of them occur in the *Aghānī*, IX, also.

2. *Aghānī* IX, p. 86.

3. *Ibid.*, IX, p. 89.

4. *Ibid.*, X, pp. 84-95.

5. Ribera, *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain*, pp. 79-80, Farmer, *A History of Arabian Music*, p. III.

6. *Aghānī*, I, p. 151.

7. *Ibid.*, IX, p. 89.

CONDUCT OF STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WAR DURING THE MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA

(Continued from p. 15 of the January 1947 Issue)

4. CONDUCT OF A BATTLE

A GREAT artillery duel took place in the battle near Lahore which was fought between Bahādur Shāh's sons after his death. Prince 'Azīm-ush-Shān entrenched himself on the bank of the Ravi, and had with him big guns, some of which were dragged by two hundred and fifty oxen aided by five or six elephants. 'Azīm-ush-Shān's three brothers Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Rafī'-ush-Shān and Jahān Shāh had sided together against him. They pitched their camps close to 'Azīm-ush-Shān's entrenchments, and built batteries for their own guns, some of which were posted on the mounds formed of the debris left from brick-burning. Before the battle began, a clandestine attempt was made to blow up 'Azīm-ush-Shān's power magazine but it met with failure. And then the operation commenced with cannon-fire from 'Azīm-ush-Shān's troops. The fire was maintained continuously for some time, but the opposite side returned shot for shot. The duel produced no result on that day. Next day the entrenched army of 'Azīm-ush-Shān was much harassed by the artillery fire of the besiegers. The former were encamped on the sandy ground in the dry bed of the river Rāvi, where they suffered much from cannon shot. Still they held their ground well. After three days of indecisive fighting the three princes decided to bring the contest to a final issue. They made an all-out advance towards the entrenchment of 'Azīm-ush-Shān, but they were received with a relentless discharge of cannon-fire. For six hours both sides maintained an artillery duel, and Jahāndār Shāh managed to reach close to 'Azīm-ush-Shān's earthen wall after heavily pounding his opponent's troops. A furious hand-to-hand fight followed. A shot from one of the heavy guns of the surging armies struck the trunk of the elephant on which Prince 'Azīm-ush-Shān was riding. The elephant turned and fled towards the Rāvi, where it was drowned along with the unsuccessful claimant to the throne of the Mughal empire.¹

1. *Khāfi Khān*, Vol. II, p. 686; *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhirin*, Vol. II, pp. 382, 83, 84.

Artillery remained the most important and destructive armament till the last days of the Mughal rule. In the battle of Ḥasanpūr the deadly fire of Muḥammad Shāh's big guns caused great destruction in Sayyid 'Abdullā's army. A very graphic description of this battle has been given by Khāfi Khān. He writes "The royal forces, having the battery of guns in front of them, were set in motion, and the musical sounds of the drums and Karna infused vigour and fervour into the ground and the terrific discharge of the murderous guns, big and small, shook the earth and the sky. At mid-day the rival forces stood against each other at the distance of a rocket-flight, and the volleys of the cannon-balls and incendiary bans emboldened the respective combatants. The incessant discharge of the cannon invigorated the spirit of the victory-laden forces, but it shook the entire body of the hostile army, which had flocked together like ants and locusts. Some of the new recruits from amongst the pony-riders, and some even of the low-paid old soldiers, took to flight from the ranks of the opposite army, which owing to its huge host and improper arrangement had little or no information about the different files. At every moment and at every space, the volleys of guns and cannon grew still speedier, and thousands were made victims to death. The Sayyids of Barha charged many times most heroically, and towards the end they pressed the imperialists hard through a movement made by Najib-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān Bahādur, who advanced a battery of guns under the cover of some trees on a hill near a village, and made a bold charge with fourteen or fifteen thousand horsemen upon the royal artillery. Confusion spread amongst the light-hearted combatants, but Maṣṣūr Jang and Nāṣir Jang, like rank-breaking furious elephants galloped forward to resist the valiant attack of the Barhas, and checked their massive surge. Nuṣrat Yār Khān, Thābit Khān and other heroes also stood firm and took a leading part. At length some guns (Rakhala) of the enemy were taken by the imperialists, and the Barhas lost their battery under the cover of the trees. And at sunset the unfortunate Sayyid 'Abdullāh ordered a small tent to be put up for the night, but thinking that his tent and resting place would be a point-blank target for the archers of Khata, Rūm, and Farang (?) as well as for artillery, he ordered the pitched tent to be removed. The night was one of full moon, and moonlight spread throughout. When it grew dark Nāṣir Jang dragged forward the cannon by unusual means. The oxen were harnessed to the muzzle, instead of as usual to the breech-end of the gun. A moving battery was thus formed, and then a fierce charge was made. It is very difficult to describe how the volleys of rank-breaking and elephant killing cannon caused havoc, misery and death amongst the troops of Barha. With the discharge of every gun elephants and their riders were killed, and the thunderous roar of the cannon made one think of the day of resurrection. Every ball which was thrown from the cannon named Ghāzī Khān on the troops of Barha broke their ranks, and the terrific noise produced by the cannon named Shāh Pasand shook the earth and filled the heaven with

clangour. Haidar Qulī Khān showered gold and silver coins upon the artillery-men to gain the favour of his royal master, and kept up their energy by continual largesse, making further promise for more rewards through speedy adjutants.....and the heavy guns, which were usually discharged only once or twice in former battles, fired oftener than had ever been done before in the recollection of the oldest man. I have read in *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammad Qāsim Firishta* in the accounts of the rulers of the Deccan that the beginning of artillery was made in 770 A.H., in the days of Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī, under supervision of Muḥammad Khān Rūmī during the course of battle against the Raja of Vijayanagar. But ever since that time till the days of Abu'l-Muẓaffar Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, artillery has not caused such a great havoc, destruction and misery as was caused in the present battle."¹ The so-called ease-loving Muḥammad Shāh fought in this battle with the traditional valour of his glorious ancestors. He had been sitting for eight or nine watches on his elephant, which was so near the vanguard as to be under fire.

In the battle of Karnal, Muḥammad Shāh used eight thousand pieces of artillery, which were drawn by elephants and buffaloes numbering 500 to 1,000. But these cannons did not work effectively against Nādir Shāh's better art of generalship, joined to the superior vigour, mobility and tactics of his troops. Nādir Shāh had portable light artillery, which consisted of Jazair (long muskets, seven or eight feet in length with a prong to rest on) and Zamburak (long swivels firing one or two pound balls). Each of these pieces, with its stock, was mounted on camels, which moved easily and speedily, gaining advantages over the cumbrous ordnances of the Mughal army.

Next to artillery, bows and arrows were the most effective weapon in causing consternation amongst the hostile army. Bābur describes the beginning of the first battle of Panipat in the following words : " Our orders were for the turning parties (Tulghama) to wheel from right and left to the enemy's rear, to discharge arrows and to engage in the fight ; and for the right and left (wings) to advance and join battle with him. The turning parties wheeled round and began to rain down arrows. Mahdī Khwāja was the first of the left to engage ; he was faced by a troop having an elephant with it ; his men's flights of arrows forced it to retire. To reinforce the left I sent secretary Aḥmadī and also Qūj Bēg's Tardī Bēg and Khalifa's Muḥibb-i-'Alī. On the right also there was some stubborn fighting ; orders were given for Muḥammadī Kukuldāsh Shāh Maṣṣūr Barlās, Yūnus-i-'Alī and 'Abdullāh to engage those facing them in front of the centre. From that same position Ustād Qulī made good discharge of firing shots. Mustāfa, the commissary of his part, made excellent discharge of Darb-Zan shots from the left hand of the centre. Our right, left, centre, and turning-parties having surrounded the enemy,

1. Khāfi Khān, Vol. II, pp. 925, 26, 27.

rained arrows down on him and fought ungrudgingly. He made one or two small charges on our right and left, but under our men's arrows fell back on his own centre. His right and left hands were massed in such a crowd that they could neither move forward against us nor force a way for flight."¹ Again in the second battle of Panipat, Akbar's archers created much confusion in Hēmū's army. Abu'l-Faḍl writes that "bands of devoted archers came forward on all sides and did yeoman's service." And he adds further, "Suddenly, in the midst of the contest, an arrow from the banded bow of Divine wrath reached Hēmū's eye, and piercing the socket, came out at the back of his head."² As soon as Hēmū was wounded, he was captured, and the fortune of the battle ended in Akbar's favour. Again, when Bairam Khān made a bid for the throne of India, he filed his troops against Akbar's army at Gunachur (Punjab). Between the two forces there was a rice-bottom, and as the operation began, Bairam's elephants, which were his mainstay, came into that bog and stuck there. The archers of the imperial troops took advantage of the situation and shot arrows incessantly at the elephants. One of the arrows hit the driver of the leading elephant and he hung down from the animal's neck. When Bairam Khān saw the miserable plight of his elephants, he sought to come out by their rear, leaving the rice-bottom on his right, and to get to the dry land and make his attack. But this manœuvre was frustrated by the foresight and courage of one of Akbar's generals, Atka Khān.³

In 1035 Mahābat Khān projected a *coup de main* and took Jahāngīr prisoner when the latter was crossing the Jhelum on his way to Kabul from Kashmir. All the attendants, officers, and domestics of Jahāngīr had passed over the bridge to the other side of the river. Jahāngīr, along with Nūr Jahān and a few servants and eunuchs, alone remained in the camp to cross next morning. Mahābat Khān formed the bold design of capturing the emperor with the help of a detachment of four or five thousand Rajputs, who had sworn fidelity to him. But they missed Nūr Jahān, who passed over the river, and sternly upbraided all the chiefs and nobles, and then arranged to deliver an attack on Mahābat Khān and rescue her husband. Fidā'ī Khān, on the receipt of the news of his royal master's capture, mounted his horse and rode down to the river. But the bridge had been burnt and there was no means of passing over. Having no other resource, Fidā'ī Khān, with a few of his faithful followers, rode into the river opposite the Imperial camp, and tried to cross over by swimming. The rapid current swept away six of the men with their horses, and others, owing to the coldness of the water, were unable to proceed and returned to land half dead. But Fidā'ī Khān and seven others, leaving their horses to perish, swam gallantly across to the opposite bank under a heavy volley of arrows from the Rajput soldiers. Four of Fidā'ī

1. *Bābur Nāma* translated by A.S. Beveridge, Vol. II, pp. 473, 474.

2. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. II, p. 40.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

Khān's companions were killed, and when he saw that the enemy was too strong, and that his efforts to reach the abode of his royal master must fail, he fell back and repassed the river with the same dash and spirit as that with which he had crossed it. Next morning the whole army moved down to the attack. It was headed by Nūr Jahān herself, who was seated on an elephant with a bow, two quivers of arrows, and a gun. She was accompanied by Shahryār's infant daughter and her nurse. The imperialists proceeded to cross the river, but the ford by which they chose their route proved impassable, and before they reached the middle of the stream they lost their order and discipline on account of deep water and large shoals and dangerous pools. In this confusion each party got over as best it could. But some of them, along with the elephant-litter of Nūr Jahān, landed in front of a strong party of the enemy, which held the bank with their elephants posted in front. The enemy discharged arrows and flung cannon-balls and rockets at the imperialist but the latter were undaunted and reached the beach in their drenched clothes and armour. Here a hand-to-hand contest took place, and the water of the stream was tinged with blood. The Rajputs were pouring down showers of balls, arrows and rockets on the troops in the ford, and the most furious assault was directed on Nūr Jahān. Balls and arrows fell thick round her elephant. An arrow struck the arm of Shahryār's infant daughter, but Nūr Jahān pulled it out, staining her garments with blood. Her elephant received two sword cuts on the trunk and when it turned round it was again wounded twice or thrice behind with spears. The driver urged the beast into the deep water. The Rajputs followed it into the stream, but turned back for fear of being drowned. The elephant, after several plunges, swam out and reached the shore, where Nūr Jahān's maids found her howdah stained with blood from the shots of arrows. While Nūr Jahān's assault was thus disastrously repelled, Fidā'ī Khān once more made a highly bold attempt to reach the emperor's abode. With a small party, he swam across the river and valiantly attacked the force which he found opposed to him. He drove back the enemy and forced his way to Shahryār's house, where the Emperor was staying as a captive. Fidā'ī Khān made a still more gallant attempt to enter into the interior of the Emperor's residence, which was vigilantly guarded. "So Fidā'ī Khān," writes the author of *Iqbāl Nāma-i-Jahāngirī*, "stopped at the entrance, and sent a discharge of arrows inside. Some of the arrows fell in the courtyard of the private apartments near His Majesty, when Mukhlis Khān placed himself before the throne and made his body a shield for the protection of the Emperor. Fidā'ī Khān persevered for sometime in his efforts, but several of his followers were killed, others were severely wounded, and the Khān's own horse received four wounds. When he found that he could not succeed and that there was no chance of reaching the emperor, he passed through the camp and went up the river."¹

1. *Iqbāl Nāma-i-Jahāngirī*, pp. 260, 64; *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. IV, pp. 14, 15; *Khāfi Khān*, Vol. I, pp. 366-68; Elliot, Vol. VI, pp. 424-28.

When a Mughal prince or any officer of the Mughal army conducted a battle sitting on an elephant, his usual weapons were bows and arrows, and he thought it undignified, disgraceful and dishonourable to retire from the field after being wounded by an arrow. Murād's chivalrous resistance of the impetuous onslaught of Dārā's archers in the battle of Samugarh is ever to be regarded as an exhibition of wonderful bravery and exquisite skill. While the battle was at its hottest, four thousand Uzbeks poured rapid flights of arrows on Murād's elephant, until the howdah bristled with arrows like the back of a porcupine. But Murād bore this formidable attack patiently and gloriously. He retaliated by discharging the arrows from his own quivers, and when the driver of his elephant was killed, he ordered a chain to be cast round the animal's legs, thus cutting off the power of retreat for himself. The Rajputs dashed forward and one of their chiefs charged upon Murād's elephant, crying out defiantly, "What, do you contest the throne with Dārā Shikoh?" and hurled his javelin at the prince, who received it on his shield and nearly at the same moment laid the Rajput chief dead with an arrow shot at point blank range. Seeing their chief fall dead, other Rajputs swarmed round the prince's elephant and fought desperately. The prince received three wounds in his face, still he defended himself with extraordinary valour and skill, and the Rajputs were victims to his arrows in such a large number that the ground round his elephant looked 'yellow like a field of saffron.' The howdah of Murād's elephant was long afterwards preserved in the store-room of Delhi Fort as a curiosity and memorial of the heroism and bravery of the race of Tīmūr. And when the Sayyids of Barha gave trouble to the descendants of Tīmūr in Farrukh Siyar's days, Farrukh Siyar's sister defied their authority by saying that the members of her family still gloried in the memory of Murād's tenacious fight at Samugarh.¹

Again, in the battle of Jajall, Prince A'zam Shāh was struck several times by arrows, but he paid no heed to the wounds and kept on fighting heroically, until a musket-ball struck him on the forehead and killed him. His son, Bīdār Bakht, also participated in the battle, having his quiver at his back and his bow on his arm. He was severely wounded by several arrows, but remained undaunted. At length a ball from a swivel gun killed him. In the same battle, Prince 'Azīm-ush-Shāh was fighting on behalf of his father Bahādur Shāh, when Khān 'Ālam Dakhinī and Munawar Khān, who were noted for breaking up the files of their enemy, drove their elephants sharply up alongside the animal ridden by 'Azīm-ush-Shāh and aimed thrice at the prince with spears, but the prince remained unhurt. Khān 'Ālam tried to jump over the prince's howdah, but the latter shot an arrow full in his breast and killed him. Seeing his brother slain, Munawar hurled his javelin at the prince, who retaliated with his own spear very promptly, and then a rocket-ball made a sudden end of Munawar Khān.²

1. *Khafi Khān*, Vol. II, p. 30.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 590, 591.

Later on, when Bāhādūr Shāh and Kām Bakhsh arrayed their troops against each other near Hyderabad, Kām Bakhsh was severely wounded in the course of hostilities. But he was regardless of his wound, and "used his bow so well in the face of three thousand foes that a terror fell upon them and they were nearly taking flight. He emptied two quivers and wounded and brought down many men, but loss of blood from his many wounds prevailed; he lost his strength and the enemy surrounded his elephant and made him prisoner. His youngest son, who was on the same elephant, was also made prisoner after receiving four or five severe wounds. Muḥī-us-Sunnat, the eldest son, fought bravely. The drivers and others on his elephant fell wounded one after another. He then drove the animal himself, but fell in the howdah wounded with balls and arrows."¹

In 1124 A.H. when Farrukh Siyar's troops confronted Jahāndār's army near Agra, Sayyid Ḥussain 'Alī Khān and Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān performed extraordinary deeds of valour in the battle which they fought on behalf of Farrukh Siyar. When Farrukh Siyar's army was pressed hard by the enemy, Sayyid Ḥussain 'Alī Khān resorted to the custom of Indian heroes in the sorest straits. He got down from his elephant, and continued to fight on foot, sword in hand. The Tūrānī archers from the enemy's ranks wheeled round and reached Sayyid Ḥussain 'Alī Khān's rear, and wounded him so severely that he fell to the ground and fainted. The Barha Sayyids closed round him and defended his body frantically till they were cut down themselves. On the other side of the field, Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān also could not stem the torrential attack of the Tūrānī bowmen, and when he was trying to swerve from his position, 'Abdul-Ghaffār Khān, who fought on behalf of Jahāndār Shāh, struggled hard to reach Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān's elephant. As soon as he overtook the beast, he shot an arrow at 'Abdullāh, but the latter very dexterously made a prompt reply from his bow, and the two arrows, hurled from opposite directions, met and fell into pieces in the air. Sayyid 'Abdullāh took the earliest opportunity to shoot another arrow, which pushed back 'Abdul-Ghaffār Khān. Just at this juncture Sayyid 'Abdullāh received fresh troops, who attacked Jahāndār Shāh's elephant, bearing his women, with clouds of arrows. The elephant receiving several wounds in the head, grew uncontrollable and rushed first in one direction and then in another.²

The Uzbēks and the Tūrānīs were regarded as being very expert and skilled in archery. It was popularly said that every arrow shot by a Tūrānī bowman emptied a saddle. The Afghans were noted for their heroic defence against the attack of hostile archers. In the battle fought between Jahāndār Shāh and 'Azīm-ush-Shāh near Lahore, the Afghān soldiers of the latter treated the showers of arrows as if they were being pelted with flowers. A Mughal prince was given a highly efficient training in

1. Khāfi Khān, Vol. II, pp. 623-25; Elliot VII, p. 407.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 702, 703; *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. p. 323, and Vol. III, pp. 133, 134.

archery. Jahāngīr had superb skill in the art. He very often killed a wolf by a single shot from his bow, although it was popularly known that a wolf is not killed even if it receives twenty or thirty arrows.¹ 'Ālamgīr's special instruction to his eldest son Sultān Muḥammad was to practise archery daily for two hours (Gharī).²

The sword was the most indispensable weapon for a warrior. It was used freely when the rival combatants met in a hand-to-hand contest. Intrinsic heroism was judged by the willingness to fight with swords. In the second battle of Qandhar, the mainstay of the Persian army was the fire-arms, but Shāh Jahān's soldiers scoffed at the Persian troopers for declining sword-combats with the cavaliers of Hindustan. In the battle of Jajau, A'zam Shāh relied much on his personal valour and prided himself on his swordsmanship, and so he said boastfully that an artillery fight was a stripling's pastime and that the only real weapon was the sword.

When a battle raged fiercely, bold warriors exhibited their extraordinary bravery and chivalry by flinging themselves into the mêlée from their elephants and horses, and fighting on foot. They bound themselves together by the skirts of their long coats and attacked the enemy with swords, dealing blows about themselves without caring for their own lives. In the battle of Dharmaut, when Jaswant Singh's troops pressed Aurangzēb's army hard, Dhu'l-Fiqār Khān, the commander of Aurangzēb's front division of the Van felt that the crisis of the battle had come, and that he must do something to break the enemy's attack. So he at once jumped out of his horse with a drawn sword in his hand, and stood on the ground fighting like an incarnation of valour and gallantry. He received several wounds, but disdained to be driven back by the enemy.³

A similar heroic sacrifice was made by Mukhtār Khān, when he fought on behalf of 'Azīm-ush-Shān against Jahān Shāh. The Sayyids of Barha gained much reputation for such tactics. In the battle of Agra, when Sayyid Hussain 'Alī Khān, as has been mentioned earlier, found his army in the throes of death, he did not want to sell his life cheaply, so in a spirit of defiance he alighted from his elephant, and stood fast on foot in the centre of the carnage, and, showing great skill in swordsmanship, fought with the valour of despair until he fell to the ground and fainted. Again, Qutb-ul-Mulk Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān made a still more gallant and glorious end on the battle-field of Hasanpur. When the contest between the hostile armies reached its climax, Sayyid 'Abdullāh dismounted from his elephant and posted himself firm on the ground, bare-headed and bare-footed. He stood like a lion and wielded his sword valiantly, and though he was enveloped on every side by a crowd of assailants no one had the courage to lay hands upon him. But when a large number

1. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 375.

2. *Ruqa'āt-i-'Ālamgīrī*, Ma'ārif Press, p. 271

3. *'Ālamgīr Nāma*, p. 67.

of his opponents had fallen victims to his sword, he was struck in the forehead by an arrow shot at long range. This wounded him severely, and he succumbed to the inconstancy of Fortune."¹

The chief merit of a swordsman lay in the swiftness of his movements, the alertness of his mind, and the strength of his strokes. Akbar killed a lion with one stroke of his sword,² and Prince Aurangzēb, while yet a boy of fourteen, hurled back a raging elephant with smart strokes of his sword.³ A cavalier attacked an elephant by wheeling round it. The chopping off of an elephant's trunk and the slashing of its leg by a stroke of the sword were ordinary facts of swordsmanship.⁴

The spear or Javelin or lance or Barchha was also an important offensive weapon, which was much favoured by the Rajput horsemen. The Muslim cavaliers also used it in emergency. It was of great use in stopping a hostile horseman at a closer distance, and overthrowing him from the saddle.⁵ It was also utilised in wounding an elephant⁶ and hurling its riders down to the ground.⁷ A very uncommon use of the spear was made by one of Nādir Shāh's soldiers in the battle of Karnal. In the thick of the battle, he galloped up to the elephant of one of Muḥammad Shāh's generals, Sa'adat Khān, and then drove his spear into the ground and the reins of his horse round it, and climbed up to Sa'adat Khān's howdah by the rope hanging down from it.⁸

Other minor offensive weapons were Jamdhar (broad daggers) Khanjar, (a poignard with bent blade), Khapwa, Gurz (club), Tabar (Axe), etc. These were used on rare occasions in individual fights or hand-to-hand encounters.

5. TRICKS AND STRATAGEMS

THE most outstanding stratagem was that troops pretended to fly and then, when the enemy had pursued them for some distance, turned round and attacked the foe. This trick was practised both in pre-Mughal and Mughal periods. Mu'iz-ud-Dīn Sām, better known as Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ghorī, gained a victory over Raja Pithaura by employing the same tactics.⁹ Fīrōz Shāh Tughluq, in his first battle against Shams-ud-Dīn in Lakhnauti, fell a few miles back strategically. The enemy thought that the Sultān was in full retreat, and so they brought their forces out

1. Khāfi Khān, Vol. II, p. 932; *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhirin*, Vol. II, pp. 440, 41.

2. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. II, p. 144.

3. *Bādshāh Nāma*, Vol. I, pp. 489, 90.

4. For instances vide *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, pp. 103, 104, *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* Vol. II, p. 536.

5. For instance vide *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III, p. 15.

6. For instances vide *Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 340, *Bādshāh Nāma*, Vol. I, pp. 489-95. Khāfi Khān, Vol. I, p. 474.

7. For instances vide Khāfi Khān, Vol. II, pp. 27, 591.

8. *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhirin*, Vol. II, p. 483.

9. *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*, p. 120.

of their stronghold and pursued the imperial troops, but had to suffer reverses.¹ Again, when Shēr Khān fought at Surajgarh against Ibrāhīm Khān, who had under him a large Bengal army, he (Shēr Khān) employed the same hoax. Before he commenced the actual operation he gave the following instructions to his chiefs, saying : " In the enemy's army there are many elephants and guns, and a great force of infantry ; we must fight them in such a manner that they shall not be able to preserve their original order. The Bengali cavalry should be drawn away from their guns and infantry and the horses intermingled with the elephants, so that army may be disordered. I have thought of a stratagem by which to defeat the Bengalis. I will draw up the great part of my forces behind the cover of that height which we see, but will retain for the attack a small number of experienced and veteran horsemen. Now they will fight exactly in the same manner as they did on the former occasion without any expectation of defeat. I will bring up my select division, who, after discharging one flight of arrows into the Bengali army, shall retreat. Ibrāhīm Khān, who is presumptuous on account of his superior force, will think the Afghāns are beginning to fly, and becoming eager he will leave his artillery and foot in the rear, and press on with all expedition himself, and disorder and confusion will find their way into his order of battle. I will then bring out my force, which had been concealed behind the eminence, and will attack the enemy. The Bengali cavalry, deprived of the support of their artillery and infantry, will by themselves be unable to cope with the Afghān horses." This device was accordingly executed, and the Bengali cavalry, just as Shēr Khān anticipated, fell into the trap.² In the 19th year of Akbar's reign, his troops fought against Dā'ūd in Bengal. During the course of the battle, Dā'ūd disconcerted the vanguard Altamash and centre of the imperialists, who were put to flight. But Dā'ūd thought this flight was a trick of the imperial forces, so he did not pursue them. Meanwhile the right wing of the imperial troops came to their aid and Dā'ūd's victory was turned into unexpected defeat.³

The Mughal emperors did not indulge in this pretentious form of fighting, so we do not find that the imperial armies ever resorted to such tactics. In the battle of Karnāl, Nādir Shāh's " Persian scouts pretended flight, turning back in their saddles and discharging their bows and muskets while galloping in the manner of their Parthian ancestors." Muḥammad Shāh's soldiers pursued them until they reached an ambush, where Nādir Shāh's gunners assailed them by the discharge of many hundred swivel-guns at point-blank range. This stratagem was generally manœuvred with great skill and care, for when the flying army turned back to encounter the enemy, it had to fight with redoubled vigour, agility and momentum.

1. *Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhi*, by Shams Sirāj 'Aḥf, p. 114.

2. *Tārikh-i-Shēr Shāhi* by 'Abbās Khān Sarawānī, in Elliot, Vol. IV, pp. 341-42.

3. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III, p. 126.

A surprise attack on the enemy's camp in the small hours of the morning was another stratagem which has been practised ever since human being began to fight battles. But it was always regarded as foul tactics. This night-raid, called *Shab-Khūn*, was successfully made only when the enemy's camp was ill-protected and carelessly guarded. The raiders managed to enter stealthily into the opposite camp and then caused every kind of panic and consternation in it. Fakhr Mudabbir, an author of the pre-Mughal period, gives an idea how the *Shab-Khūn* was carried out. According to him "the defenders against the night-attack used to divide themselves into four groups: (1) the foot soldiers with bows and arrows, swords, spears and shields, who guarded the entrance to the camp: (2) the right wing and the centre remained quietly at their places, with extinguished lights so that they might not be seen: or they lighted fires at wrong places in order to mislead the invaders and then to surround and kill them: (3) the left wing arranged itself in battle array, ready to meet the attack: (4) a fourth group left the camp and guarded the roads and the neighbourhood in order to prevent any reinforcements from reaching the enemy." The attacker also blocked all the roads of the camp and in confusion shouted deliberately that this great man had been captured and that man had been killed, in order to alarm and dishearten their opponents.¹ *Shab-Khūn* (night-attack) was however the stratagem of the inferior and feebler party. The imperial forces of the Sultāns of Delhi did not like to adopt this underhand method of attacking the enemy, although they were harassed by similar tactics on the part of their foes. For example, when Muḥammad Tughluq was encamped on the bank of the Ganges near Qannauj in order to suppress the rebellion of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, "the latter," writes Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, "assailed the vanguard of the royal army in the latter part of the night. Confusion prevailed in the camp, but the Sultān ordered that no person should move from his place, and all of them should take swords in the hands and grapple with the enemy. A bitter fight took place....." 'Ain-ul-Mulk wanted to raid the Sultan's tent, but he was misled by his guide, who pointed to the Wazir's camp."² During the course of preliminary encounters against Ibrāhīm Lodī at Pānīpat, Bābur also delivered a night-attack on the former's camp. But he did this against his will. He writes in his *Tuzuk*: "During the seven or eight days while we lay in Pānīpat, our men used to go, a few together, close up to Ibrāhīm's camp, rain arrows down on his massed troops, and cut off and bring in heads. Still he made no move: nor did his troops sally out. At length, we acted on the advice of several Hindustani well-wishers and sent out four or five thousand men to deliver a night-attack on his camp..... It being dark they were not able to act together well, and, having scattered, could effect nothing on arrival. They stayed near Ibrāhīm's camp till

1. *Ādab-ul-Ḥarb*, quoted in *Islamic Culture*, October 1937.

2. *Safar-Nāma-i-Ibn Baṭṭūṭah*, Urdu translation, p. 181.

dawn, when the nagarets sounded and his troops came out in array with elephants. Though our men did not do their work, they got off safe and sound, not a man of them was killed, though they were in touch with such a mass of foes.”¹ Shēr Khān (afterwards Shēr Shāh) accomplished a great tactical ruse at the battle of Chaunsa. When he lay encamped for three months against Humāyūn, he misled the Mughal Emperor by organising a pseudo-campaign against the Maratha Chero of Shāhābād district of Bihār. After going ahead for two days, he turned back his army at the distance of twenty-five miles from the imperial encampment and then marched speedily and secretly towards it. The Mughal troops were quite off their guard, and were enjoying pleasant slumber in the coolness of the night when the Afghāns fell suddenly upon them. They found no time to “buckle their saddles and close their cuirasses” so they were utterly scattered. Humāyūn failed to rally his forces and face the Afghān attack. He fled from the field, leaving his family at the mercy of his enemies.² Akbar sneered at the very idea of a night-attack. In one of his battles against Ibrāhīm Hussain Mīrzā near the river Mahendri at the ford of Bikanir, between Ahmādābād and Baroda, Akbar had not many troops with him. So one of his generals Jalāl said to him, “Our troops have not come up yet, and the enemy is in full force. When we are so few in number it is not advisable to engage in daylight with so many. The proper thing is to halt awhile and make night-attack.” But Akbar did not approve of a night-attack, which according to him was a form of deception and fraud, so he encouraged his soldiers by saying, “Courage is a helper and many cowards become brave men out of shame. It is far better not to put off the work of day till the night, and to fight with the smartness and alacrity that we are marching with.” He added further, “Friends! be stout-hearted and let each one overthrow a foeman.”³ He dismissed with contempt a similar suggestion when he was engaged against Muḥammad Husain Mīrzā at Ahmadabad. Abu’l-Fadl in one of his verses calls a night-attack ‘the trade of cowards, disdained by heroes.’⁴ Jahāngīr also agreed with his father in characterising the Shab-Khūn as “the business of the feeble-hearted and device of mischievous ones.”⁵ But the Mughal army took special care to protect itself from the night-attacks of the enemy by strengthening barricades, erecting earthen wall and digging trenches round its camps.⁶

S. SABAHUDDIN.

(Concluded).

1. *Bābur Nāma* (A.S. Beveridge) Vol. II, p. 471.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shāhi*, by ‘Abbās Khān Sarwānī in Elliot, Vol. IV, pp. 374, 375.

3. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III, p. 13, and the English translation by H. Beveridge, pp. 18, 19.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

5. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 19.

6. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. III, pp. 425, 835; *Bādshāh Nāma*, Vol. III, p. 249.

NOTES ON THE ARAB CALENDAR BEFORE ISLAM

[This treatise is an English translation of the famous article of Caussin de Perceval which appeared in the *Journal Asiatique* of Paris more than a hundred years ago, i.e. in April 1843. The title of the article in French was "Memoire Sur Le Calendrier Arab Avant L'Islamisme" and has been translated as "Notes on the Arab Calendar Before Islam" by Rev. Bro. Louis Nobiron of St. Patrick's School, Secunderabad, at the request of Dr. Amir Ali. This article is published here in view of its importance for research scholars.].

Ed., I.C.

IT is a well-known fact that the names of the months of the lunar year of Muḥammedans, which are :— Muḥarram, Ṣafar, Rabī' I, Rabī' II, Jumādā I, Jumādā II, Rajab, Sha'bān, Ramaḍān, Shawwāl, Dhu'l-Qa'da and Dhu'l-Hijja, had been in use among pagan Arabs long before Islam. It is believed that they had been adopted in the time of Kilāb, son of Murra,¹ one of Muḥammad's ancestors, that is a little more than two centuries before the Hijra.

Besides, it is known that pagan Arabs regarded four of these months as holy : the first, Muḥarram ; the 7th, Rajab ; the 11th, Dhu'l-Qa'da ; and the 12th, Dhu'l-Hijja, during which it was forbidden to make war and have recourse to any hostile act whatsoever. It was a kind of " truce of God," wisely instituted for a people eager for war, pillage and vengeance. It contributed to the preservation of the tribes always intent on internecine destruction, and also provided commerce with some fixed intervals of security.

The names of these four holy months indicated their character. Muḥarram means holy or inviolable. The word Rajab expresses ideas of fear and respect. Dhu'l-Qa'da means month of rest, and Dhu'l-Hijja month of pilgrimage. In fact, it was during the latter month that pagan Arabs performed the Ḥajj or pilgrimage to the Mecca temple, called the Ka'ba.

In doing so they pretended to follow the example set by Ishmael. The very feast of the pilgrimage, that is the feast of sacrifices, terminating the pilgrimage ceremonies, was from time immemorial held on the 10th day of the 12th month of the year.

The names of the other eight months had also their own significance. Nowadays it is rather difficult to determine exactly the idea which the designations : Ṣafar, Sha'bān, Shawwāl, were meant to convey, but the meaning of the other five designations can easily be ascertained.

1. Mas'ūdi, quoted by Golius. Notice in *Alferg*, p. 4.

Rabī' means verdure, vernal rain ; the two Rabī' must originally have been months of rain, vegetation, spring. The two Jumādā come immediately after the two Rabī'. Some writers bearing in mind only the idea of intense cold and freezing derived from various derivatives of the root Jamād, think that the names of these months had been transposed ;¹ but this hypothesis lacks plausibility ; or else that the two Jumādā were winter months, and so the two Rabī' which preceded them must have been autumn months.² The meaning of the word Rabī' might in truth lend itself to this interpretation, but this hypothesis fails, in fact, as will be seen later on, to correspond to the position of the month of Ramaḍān and that of Dhu'l-Hijja, the latter corresponding to the fruit season. Moreover, freezing and intense cold are practically unknown in Arabia and the designation of the months of Jumādā makes it easy to establish an origin more likely and perfectly compatible with the place assigned to them.

The root *Jamad* contains notions of drought, cessation of rain ; the word *Jamād* جامد, for instance, means : ground which has not been watered, or a rainless year. The word *Jumādā* جامدي, itself is used to denote a dry eye, tearless eye. Is it not probable that the word *Jumādā* may originally have indicated that season when rains ceased and drought began to be felt ? This interpretation will fully justify the position of the two Jumādā just after the two Rabī', months of rain and vegetation.

Ramaḍān means intense heat. This designation must surely have been created to apply to one of the hottest months of the year, a fact quite in keeping with the place occupied by Ramaḍān, which comes two months after the 2nd Jumādā.

From this it can be seen that the names of these five months : the two Rabī', the two Jumādā and Ramaḍān, had a definite connection with the seasons. So we can infer that when the pagan Arabs adopted these names, they had a system of years which was not purely lunar. For the lunar year, being about 11 days shorter than the solar year, gains more than one month on the solar year in the space of three years, and more than one season in the space of nine years.

So if the pagan Arabs had been using a purely lunar calendar, the connection between the names of these months and the seasons would soon have been out of joint and a hopeless muddle would have ensued.

Consequently one may naturally surmise that the Arabs created these designations for a system of solar years, or at least luni-solar years. The first of these two hypotheses appears utterly untenable : it is useless to dwell on it. The second on the other hand, is based on certain and positive evidence.

It is apparent that in ancient times the year of the Arabs was primarily the vague lunar year. Their months had no permanent connection with

1. Mas'ūdī; see notes on *Murūj*, by M. Deguignes. *Notices and extracts from Manuscripts*, Vol. I, p. 35.

2. *Kitab al-Āthār* of al-Bīrūnī, Manuscript of the Arsenal Library, fol. 102 V^o and 109.

the changes due to temperature; and their designations¹ were different from those we have mentioned. The beginnings of their years, and the dates of their pilgrimage festivals, being brought forward 11 days every year revolved round the seasons in successive years.

When the pilgrimage fell at a time when the harvests of the current year had not yet been got in and when those of the preceding year had nearly all been consumed, the pilgrims were hard put to it to procure provisions, both during their journey and during their stay at Mecca and in various neighbouring localities where annual fairs were held in connection with the festival. It was deemed necessary to remedy this anomaly and to fix the date of the pilgrimage, writes Muḥammad Jarkasī,² at a time when grain, fruit and other commodities were easily available, i.e., in Autumn. For this purpose, the Arabs used a certain process of embolism or intercalation taught them by the Jews settled at Yathrib (later called Medina). They kept their lunar months, but from time to time, intercalated a year with 13 months instead of 12. 'Masūdi,³ al-Bīrūnī,⁴ Maqrīzī,⁵ Abu'l-Fidā,⁶ Hājī Khalīfa and other oriental writers confirm this assertion. By means of an embolismic year, repeated from time to time, the Arab calendar became luni-solar; their months had a tendency always to correspond as nearly as possible to the various seasons and there is a strong probability that the practice of intercalation and the twelve designations of months: Muḥarram, Šafar, Rabī', etc., five of which bear a striking analogy with the seasons, must have been adopted simultaneously. This may be inferred from the comparison of the opinions held by various writers concerning the date of the introduction, among the Arabs, either of the process of embolism or of the designation of the months. Maqrīzī and Muḥammad Jarkasī time the introduction of embolism about 200 years before the preaching of Muḥammad; this is the time given by Masūdi and others to these designations of months.

Those among Muslim writers who are agreed upon attributing to the pagan Arabs who lived within the period of two centuries before Islam the use of a luni-solar calendar, show a marked divergence of opinion concerning the manner in which the Arabs practised embolism. Masūdi and Abu'l-Fidā state that one month was added every third year. According to Hājī Khalīfa, 7 months were intercalated in a period of 19 years; according to al-Bīrūnī, Maqrīzī and Muḥammad Jarkasī, 9 months in a period of 24 years. I shall soon examine which of these opinions is the most tenable.⁷

1. Masūdi: *Murūj*. See Notes and extracts from manuscripts, Vol. I, p. 35. Hājī Khalīfa, *Taqwīm at-Tawārīkh*, p. 8.

2. *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, Vol. LXVIII, p. 618.

3. *Memoires de l'Academie des Ins.* Vol. LXVIII, p. 616.

4. *Kitāb al-Āthār*.

5. *Memoires de l'Academie*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 616.

6. *Historia anteislamica*, edition Fleischer, p. 180.

7. *Taqwīm at-Tawārīkh*, p. 8.

Be it as it may, whether the Arabs used a period of 3, 19 or 24 years, one is led to think that they did not insert a month in the course of a year, as the Romans did before Julius Cæsar, but that they added one month at the end of a year, as was practised by the Jews from whom they had adopted the intercalary system.

In their embolismic year the Jews counted a month called "Veadar," after the month of "Adar," the 12th month of their religious year. In the same manner, the Arabs, at the end of a certain number of lunar years, had to insert an extra month between the month of Dhu'l-Hijja, 12th month of the expiring year, and the month of Muḥarram, the 1st of the incoming year. According to Mas'ūdī, Maqrīzī, Muḥammad Jarkasī¹ and al-Birūnī, this extra or intercalary month and the intercalation itself were called *nasī* نسي by the Arabs; the word means "late," no doubt because the intercalation effected at the end of a year retarded by one lunar month of Muḥarram, which began the following year and with it the whole series of months of that same year.

According to the same writers the work of settling the intercalation and proclaiming the intercalary month was entrusted to some men called *nas'āt* نساة (singular *nāsī* ناسي). It is to be noticed that the Jews gave the nearly identical name of *Nasi* (נָסִי) to the president of their Sanhedrin,² some members of that body being deputed to find out to which year a 13th month was to be added.

The Arab *nas'āt*, or at least some of those who originally discharged this office, appear to have been decorated with the title of Qalammas, قلمس , a word which means³ rough sea, and metaphorically, a skilful man, a man of high attainments, a sea of science, so to say. The office of *nasi* was confined by a special privilege to a certain family called the children of 'Abd-Fuqaim.⁴ This family belonged to the Kināna tribe scattered round about Mecca, of which the Quraishites, inhabitants of that city, formed the chief branch.

Mas'ūdī, al-Birūnī and Maqrīzī mention the *nasi* only in connection with intercalation or intercalary months, and the office of the *nas'āt* only as determining embolismic years. According to these writers, when in the 10th year of the Hijra (632 A.D.), Muḥammad, in a speech to the assembled people, abolished the *nasi*, he also did away with the intercalary system and re-established the vague lunar calendar. Abu'l-Fidā is of the same opinion.

On the other hand, some writers like Ibn-Ishāq, Fīrūzābādī, Jawāhirī, Baidāwī and Jalāl-ud-Dīn, make no mention whatever of intercalation and explain the word *nasi* as merely meaning the postponing of the observance

1. See passages of these writers in Memoire of M. de Sacy, Vol. XLVIII, (Memoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions, pp. 6, 6, 6, 8).

2. Dictionnaire de Castet: Art de verifier les dates, I, p. 84.

3. Reland, Antia Sac, Vet, hebraeor; edit. de Hale, p. 205.

4. Sirat ar Rasūl, fol. 7ve.

of a holy month to another month.¹

The interdiction of war during the month of Muḥarram coming immediately after two holy months Dhu'l-Qa'da and Dhu'l-Ḥijja of the preceding year, acted, says Jawhirī,² as an unbearable restraint upon the Arabs who lived and thrived on raids. To satisfy their bellicose ardour, the *nas'at* sometimes transferred the privilege of Muḥarram to the following month, Ṣafar; that is, declared Muḥarram profane, and Ṣafar holy. This declaration was made towards the end of the pilgrimage ceremonies, when the pilgrims were about to leave Minā.

Firūzābādī affirms that the *nas'at* could also transfer that privilege from Rajab to Sha'bān.³ This assertion is not corroborated by any evidence and appears to me somewhat hazardous. The observance of Rajab, isolated in the middle of the year, must have caused little worry among the Arabs. Besides, the *nasi* was proclaimed during the course of Dhu'l-Ḥijja and one fails to see why the *nas'at* should have decided, six months beforehand, that the inviolability of Rajab should be transferred to Sha'bān. The opinion of Firūzābādī, which is at variance on this point with that of Jawhirī, is further contradicted by the following passage from Ibn-Ishāq, quoted in the *Sīrat-ur-Rasūl*³: "When the Arabs had ended their pilgrimage, they gathered round the *nasi*; the latter declared holy the 4 months of Muḥarram, Rajab, Dhu'l-Qa'da and Dhu'l-Ḥijja; and if he wished to make one of them profane, it was Muḥarram, the observance of which he transferred to Ṣafar. So the Arabs held Muḥarram profane, but respected Ṣafar; in this manner the number of holy months was always four."⁴

This divergence of view among writers who attach the same meaning to the word *nāsī* is of little importance; what is important to notice is the divergence of opinion which exists, at least apparently, between writers who attribute to the pagan Arabs the practice of embolism, the use of a luni-solar system, and those who, totally ignoring intercalation, state that the *nāsī* merely consisted in transferring the observance of a holy month to another month, thus giving rise to the supposition that, in their opinion, the Arabs always observed the pure lunar calendar. Muḥammad Jarkasī uses the word *nasi* to designate both the intercalation and the transfer of the inviolability of a holy month. After stating that the pagan Arabs had adopted from the year of Yathrib the process of *nasi* or intercalation, he adds: "The first among the Arabs to practise the *nasi* (intercalation)

1. *Memoire de M. de Sacy*, *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, Vol. XLVIII p. 613-615.

2. *Ibid*, p. 615.

3. In the text of Firūzābādī, quoted at the end of the *Memoire* of M. de Sacy, p. 756, one must read *احلت الصفرين* instead of *احلت اول الصفرين*

4. كانت العرب اذا فرغت من حجها اجتمعت الى الناسي فحرم الا شهر الحرم المحرم ورجبا وذا القعدة وذا الحجة فاذا اراد ان يحل منها شيئا احل الحرم فاحلوه وحرم مكانه مفرا فحرموه ليوا طبوا عدة الا شهر الاربعه الحرم (سيرة الرسول لابن هشام، ورقة الحيلة ص ٧)

was, it is said, Sarīr, son of Tha'labā. His nephew, the Qalammas 'Adī, son of 'Amīr, succeeded him in this office and had for successor his grandson Hudhaifa. The latter was the first to embody in the *nasi* the power to transfer the holy character of one month to another month."¹

Thus, the *nas'āt*, according to Muḥammad Jarkasī, were invested with two functions intimately connected and even fusing one into the other, under a certain aspect. For whether after several lunar years, they intercalated one month between Dhu'l-Hijja and Muḥarram, or, during a series of lunar years without embolism, they transferred the privilege of Muḥarram to Šafar, they, too, were making a *nasi*, a postponement of a holy month to a later date : 29 or 30 days later. All are agreed that *nasi* means retardation تاخير. If we concede to Jawharī, Baiḍāwī, etc. that the word *nasi* was more specially used to designate the postponing of the observance of Muḥarram, by the transfer of the inviolable character of this month, we readily realize, however, that the same word may also have meant the embolism, considered as retardation in the observance of Muḥarram by the intercalation of a lunar month placed immediately before.

This manner of envisaging facts is the only way to arrive at a satisfactory understanding among writers on the subject, for, after all, their various opinions present no glaring contradiction. Some do not positively reject what others put forward, they merely do not mention it, and this omission is far from being equivalent to a flat contradiction. So I believe that all these opinions can be reconciled and consequently the fact stands out that the pagan Arabs, after having long used the vague lunar year, adopted a certain embolismic system destined to render their calendar luni-solar ; further it sometimes happened that in a series of years without intercalation, they transferred to Šafar the holy character belonging to Muḥarram. This opinion has already been put forward, without discussion, by Gagnier and other European writers. A famous savant, Mr. de Sacy, has expressed another opinion which I shall examine later on. But I wish to reproduce here the speech in which Muḥammad abolished the *nasi*, which speech is found verbatim in the ninth chapter of the Qur'ān. The text of that speech seems to tally exactly with my own opinion and this will appear from my commentary on the words of the apostle of Islam.

Muḥammad, after having solemnly performed the pilgrimage ceremonies (about 3 months before his death), stopped on Mount 'Arafāt and thus spoke to the multitude that pressed around him :

'Oh you, men, listen to my words, for I do not know whether another year will be given me to meet you in this place..... No doubt the *nasi* (the adding of one month to the lunar year, or the transferring of the privilege of Muḥarram to Šafar) is an impious practice leading the unbelievers into error. In a certain year, the *nasi* is allowed (Muḥar-

1. See text at the end of the *Memoire* of M. de Sacy, p. 758.

ram is retarded, either by transposition or by intercalation) ; in another year, the *nasi* is prohibited (no intercalation or transposition is made), so that though one pretends to observe the divine precept, in fact one profanes what God has declared inviolable, and sanctified what God has declared profane. In truth, time, in its revolution, has come back to what it was on the day of the creation of Heaven and Earth." According to Muḥammad Jarkasī and Ibn-al-Athīr, Muḥammad means that in that very year the pilgrimage corresponded exactly to the same day, and that the month of Muḥarram which was soon to follow, would begin precisely at the same instant as if, ever since the beginning of things, the course of pure lunar years had never been interrupted by the *nasi*. This assertion was no doubt rather gratuitous, but nobody was in a position to control or verify it, and it motivated the time chosen for re-adopting the old system of purely lunar years.

"In the eyes of God," Muḥammad goes on, "the number of months is twelve (so no more embolismic years with 13 lunar months) ; among these twelve months four are holy, e.g., Rajab of Modhar which stands between Jumāda and Sha'bān, and three other consecutive months ; so no more intercalary month between Dhu'l-Hijja and Muḥarram, no more transferring of inviolability from Muḥarram to Šafar, two facts which stand against this consecutive order."¹

M. de Sacy believes, on the authority of Fīrūzābādī and Jawharī, and the commentators of the Qur'ān, Baiḍāwī and Jalāl-ud-Dīn, that the real and only meaning of *nasi* was : postponement of a holy month to another month, and that Muḥammad in his harangue and in that passage of the Qur'ān where his words are quoted, had only in view the reform of this kind of abuse ; that no word of his has any bearing on intercalation or the use of embolismic years with 13 months among the Arabs. However M. de Sacy could not well set aside the evidence of justly reputed historians like Mas'ūdī, Maqrīzī, Abu'l-Fidā, etc., that is why he grants them some sort of concession : He supposes that a luni-solar system and the use of intercalation had been introduced among the Medina Arabs and others of Yemenic origin, but that the Mecca Arabs and all those of Ma'addic origin had invariably kept the vague lunar system. In confirmation of the use of various calendars among Arabs, he quotes a passage from Maqrīzī where mention is made of a certain method of intercalation peculiar to the inhabitants of Medina. He concludes by saying that there may be some truth in the tradition which attributes to Muḥammad the abolition of intercalation, in the sense that the Prophet, whilst using the vague lunar system along with a part of the Arab nation, forced the other part who had embraced Islam to give up the embolismic system which could but ill accord with the Islamic religion.²

While pondering over this opinion with the attention claimed by the

1. The text of Muḥammad's speech is at the end of the *Memoire* of M. de Sacy, p. 760.

2. M. de Sacy, *Memoire*, pp. 622, 625, 626.

writings of such a man as M. de Sacy, a serious consideration appeared to me to be in direct opposition to the hypothesis upheld by this learned man. Indeed, the result would have been that the month of Dhu'l-Hijja and consequently the pilgrimage and the three other holy months would have fallen at different times for the Mecca people and the Medina people, for the Ma'addic race and for some Yemenic races. Such a thing lacks plausibility. There was too much bad blood among the Arab tribes for half of the nation to refrain from war, whilst the other half had a free hand in the matter. Besides, historical accounts establish that the Hajj (الحج) pilgrimage took place at the same time for all the Arabs united by the bond of a common faith and the same veneration for the Ka'ba. This epoch was called al-Mausim الموسم, or appointed time, precisely because it was common to all. This name was also applied to the very festival of the pilgrimage itself. It was among the large concourse of people drawn to Mecca by this festival, that Muḥammad began to preach his doctrine to the various tribes and even made his first Medinan proselytes.¹ The famous 'Ukaz fair which was held in the Course of Dhu'l-Qa'da,² and to which repaired crowds of people from all parts of Arabia, also affords a proof of the simultaneousness of the holy months among the majority of pagan Arabs. Finally, the historians whose evidence shows that embolism was practised by the Arabs are quite positive about this matter, thus leaving no room for suspecting any exception in favour of the large Ma'addic race, an exception they would probably not have omitted if it had existed, notably as regards the Meccan people or Quraishites; for the latter as guardians of the Ka'ba wielded a powerful influence by the mere force of their example.

The passage in which Maqrīzī, after stating that the pagan Arabs in general intercalated 9 months in 24 years, adds that the inhabitants of Medina intercalated one lunar month every 975 days³ (or every 33 months), this passage, I say seemed to me rather suspicious. Later on I came to know that it is altered and incorrect. M. de Sacy had no access to the *Kitāb-al-Āthār* of al-Bīrūnī, a manuscript of the Arsenal Library, which I myself came upon only recently. M. Reinand, whilst perusing this work, noticed some articles relative to the year of the pagan Arabs. Knowing that I was interested in that subject, he was kind enough to communicate them to me. I saw that Maqrīzī had copied word for word all that he relates about this matter.⁴ But owing to a singular error due either to Maqrīzī himself or to his copyists, the use of the intercalation of a lunar month every 33 months is attributed, in the manuscript copy of Maqrīzī used by M. de Sacy, to the inhabitants of Medina, while the original author, al-Bīrūnī, attributes this embolismic method to the peoples of

1. Abu'l-Fidā: *Life of Muḥammad*; translated by M. Noel Desvergers.

2. *Qāmūs*.

3. M. de Sacy's *Memoire*, p. 626 and text, p. 761.

4. Maqrīzī lived long after al-Bīrūnī. The latter died, according to Ḥāji-Khalifa, about 430 Hijra (1039 A.D.). Maqrīzī was born about 765 Hijra (1363 A.D.).

India. A further proof that the passage in question really concerns Indians and not the inhabitants of Medina is the following quotation also copied by Maqrīzī: "they call the embolismic year *dimāsa* (دِمَاسَة)." But *dimāsa* has no meaning in Arabic. M. Eugene Burnouf informs me that this word may be derived from the Sanskrit compound *dvimasa*, that is: "which has two months," an expression which can well be applied to an embolismic year with 2 months bearing the same name, just like the embolismic year of the Jews in which, after the month of Adar, a 2nd month or Veadar is added.

So Maqrīzī is clearly in error on this point, and M. de Sacy's hypothesis founded on this very error, recently discovered by mere chance, is no longer tenable. So it must be admitted that all the pagan Arabs had the same calendar, counted the holy months at the same time of the year, and performed the Ḥajj or pilgrimage at the same epoch. In fact, the difference of opinion on the meaning of the word *nasi* might, by a process of induction somewhat forced, leave room for doubt concerning the question whether they, in fact, always kept the use of the vague lunar year, or whether they followed a luni-solar system during a space of 200 years before Islam; but no middle course is possible and the other alternative must thus be stated. I have already indicated my choice. The opinion of Muḥammad Jarkasī, that is the opinion according to which any system of intercalation and luni-solar years, together with the practice of deferring a holy month to another month, was introduced among the pagan Arabs, appears to me the most probable: it seems to accord better than the other opinion with Muḥammad's discourse and the passage in the Qur'ān which abolishes the *nasi*; finally it is the only one that explains in a satisfactory manner the connection between the names of the months and the seasons. But here we meet with an objection.

The Arabs had adopted the intercalation with a view to timing their pilgrimage to take place in that season when provisions were abundant, that is in or about autumn, for the fruit harvest, staple food of the Arabs, ends in their country at the beginning of September.¹ How is it, then, that Muḥammad's pilgrimage, at the end of the 10th year of the Hijra and during which he abolished the *nasi*, fell about the approach of spring, about March 9, 632 A.D.?

This difficulty, realized by M. Reinaud, led him to suppose (in his work on Arabic, Persian and Turkish monuments)² that the pilgrimage had been fixed by the pagan Arabs at the beginning of spring, an opinion already put forward by Ohsson;³ but this opinion is a mere conjecture not corroborated by any evidence from Arab writers and further discountenanced by the designation of months relative to the seasons. The respective position of these months shows that Dhu'l-Ḥijja, pilgrimage

1. Buckhardt: *Travels in Arabia*; translated by Eyries, Vol. II, pp. 95 & 124.

2. Vol. I, p. 263.

3. *Tableau de l'empire ottoman*, Vol. III, p. 249.

month, originally corresponded to autumn. The objection still stands. Before stating the manner in which I believe I can meet it, I should like to recall a well-known event which will help a great deal towards solving the puzzle. The Romans used to empower their pontiffs with the right to give their intercalary month, Merkedonius, the length deemed necessary to make their year coincide with the course of the Sun;¹ but the pontiffs performed this office very negligently, so much so that Amyot, the naive translator of Plutarch, states that "there was much confusion in dates, that sacrifices and yearly festivals gradually fell during seasons wholly contrary to the very purpose for which they had been instituted." The Roman year was a whole year behind the tropical year, when Julius Cæsar remedied this state of affairs by giving 445 days to the year of Rome 708, and thus reforming the calendar.²

Something analogous to this must have happened among the pagan Arabs; that is the first idea that comes to the mind. To ascertain its correctness it is necessary, first, to find out the method of embolism used by the *nasa'at*, observing that if they had practised intercalation so as to maintain the pilgrimage in autumn, one would hardly admit that Muḥammad would have abolished such a commodious usage, it being his desire to facilitate and not hinder the performing of the pilgrimage, which he made one of the fundamental precepts of his religion. All ancient peoples who had lunar months, have tried, perhaps the Macedonians excepted, according to Champollion-Figeac,³ to adjust their year to the seasons by the use of supplementary months. It was only after many set-backs and fruitless attempts that, having calculated the length of the solar year and that of the lunar year to a certain degree of accuracy, they imagined periods or cycles at the end of which the first lunation of their year coincided, or nearly so, with the tropical year.⁴ These peoples were generally more advanced in astronomical science than the Arabs. The latter observed the heavens, the respective position of the stars which guided them in their nocturnal journeys, the rising and setting of opposite stars for signs of rain. This was called the science of the *Anwā'*⁵ علم الأنواء. Their astronomical knowledge went no further. When, al-Bīrūnī⁶ says, they had calculated that the solar year exceeds the lunar year by 10 days 21 hours 12 minutes, this astronomer, under an illusion born of his own knowledge, lends them scientific attainments which they certainly had not. Far from being able to perform this calculation they had, as far as I am aware, no notion of hours, still less minutes, there is no evidence whatever for believing they had any instruments for measuring the duration of time. They probably measured time approximately as

1. Daunou: *Historical Studies*, Vol. III, p. 168.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 212.

3. *Annales des Lagides*, Vol. III, pp. 101.

4. Daunou: *Historical Studies* Vol. III, pp. 153, 155.

5. *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*, 2nd edition, p. 7, 168.

6. In the passage copied by Maqrīzī, and quoted in the *Memoire* of M. de Sacy, p. 616.

do modern Bedouins and our own country people, by the mere inspection of sun and stars. They had no other divisions of the day than the 8 divisions designated by the words : al-Fajr الفجر , day-break ; Shurūq ash-Shams شروق الشمس Sunrise ; ad-Duḥa الضحى , forenoon ; az-Zuḥr الظهر noon ; al-'Aṣr العصر afternoon ; al-Ghurūb الغروب sunset ; al-'Ishā العشاء night ; Niṣf-al-Lail نصف الليل midnight. The prayers instituted by Muḥammad imply the ancient existence of at least 5 of these divisions, which, dividing the day into intervals of variable length according to the epoch of the year, have all (8) been kept among Arabs to the present day. These people, as is still done now-a-days, regulated their months on the sensible appearance of the new moon. Such being their simplicity and ignorance, could the Arabs have invented a cycle of 24 years during which they would have intercalated 9 months, as stated by Muḥammad Jarkasī and Maqrizī ? Both of them have based this assertion on a passage in the *Kitāb al-Āthār* of al-Bīrūnī ; but this astronomer has nullified it himself in a subsequent passage of his work, as I am going to show.

It must be noticed that the use of this period of 24 years during which intercalation would have been practised 9 times, sometimes after 3 years, sometimes after 2 years,¹ must have resulted in putting the calendar (Arab) $4\frac{2}{3}$ days slow.² Al-Bīrūnī seems to give up the idea that the Arabs ever used that cycle when later on he writes on the *advance* of the calendar : " When the Arabs, on observing the rising and setting of the moon, noticed that in spite of embolism they were about to be one month fast on any season, owing to the accretion of fractions which they had neglected on adding to the lunar year the excess of the solar year, then they made a double intercalation."³

This fails to fit in with the hypothesis of the 24 year cycle and implies the use of a period of 30 years during which a triennial intercalation having been made in the years 3, 6, 9, 12, 15, 18, 21, 24, 27 and 30, the beginning of the 31st year would have been 1 month and a fraction *fast*, if, at the end of the 30th year, a double intercalation had not been made to make up the difference with the course of the sun.

One may see by the divergence of the two methods successively indicated by al-Bīrūnī that this writer has put forward mere conjectures ; he has calculated what the Arabs should have done, but has failed to learn by tradition what they really did.

The same must be said of Hājī Khalīfa, according to whom the pagan Arabs had adopted the period of 19 years with an intercalation of 7 months.

1. In the years 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 16, 19, 22, 24.

2. 24 lunar years, with 9 intercalated months, that is :

297 lunations = 8770 days 13 h. 48 m.

24 solar years = 8765 days 19 h. 30 m.

Difference 4 days 18 hrs. 18 m.

3. *Kitāb al-Āthār* MS. of the Arsenal: Here is the text :

فإن ظهر لهم مع ذلك تقدم شهر عن فصل من القصول الأربعة لما يجتمع من كسور سنة الشمس وبقية فصل ما بينها وبين سنة القمر الذي الحقوه بها كسورها كبساتانها وكان بينهم ذلك بطول منازل القمر وسقوها

This period, which is nearly exact, was in use among the Jews, and this, no doubt, suggested to Hājī Khalifa the opinion which he puts forward. But the Jews adopted the 19 year cycle only towards the end of the 4th century of the Christian era.¹ That method was still new to them when, at the beginning of the 5th century after Christ, the embolismic system was introduced among the Arabs. Were the Medina Jews who had taught it to them and, being less advanced than those of Palestine, were accustomed like the other Jewish communities living away from Jerusalem to receive from the doctors of that town the indication of the years when embolism was to be made,² were those Jews then acquainted with the 19 year theory and were they able to communicate it to the Arabs together with the practice of intercalation? This is rather doubtful. Besides, if the Arabs had regularly followed the period of 24 years, 30 years or 19 years, they would not have been out in their reckoning with the latter; and with any one of the two others, the epoch of their pilgrimage would not have been out of gear with a difference of about 40 days in two centuries; but it happened that it took place not in autumn as originally intended but in spring. So they must have followed some very faulty method.

This method must be the one pointed out by Abu'l-Fidā and Mas'ūdī, the first of Arab authors to treat this matter; I mean the addition of one month at the end of every third lunar year. This small cycle of 3 years was one of those tried by the Greeks and the Jews. Its very imperfection gives a certain traditional touch to the evidence of Mas'ūdī and Abu'l-Fidā, for it can easily be seen that these historians took no trouble to verify its soundness: they seem to have naively accepted whatever tradition handed to them.

In examining the results accruing from the addition of a month every 3 years, one may surmise that very probably such was the practice followed by the *nasa'at*.

This simple and rough system of intercalation could not make the beginning of each 4th Arab year coincide, with any degree of precision, with the same point of the solar year. For 3 solar years give 1095 days 17 hours 28 minutes 15 seconds; 3 Arab years, of which there were two with 12 months each and one with 13 lunar months, gave only 1092 days 15 hours, 8 minutes; difference: 3 days 2 hours 28 minutes and 15 seconds; so that after every 3 years the beginning of the 1st Arab year of a new series was about 3 days fast on the solar year. The year of the pilgrimage during which Muḥammad abolished the *nasi*, 10th year of the Hijra, is a starting-point from which anterior Arab years can be determined. Muḥammad Jarkasī, al-Birūnī and Maqrizī state that this 10th year of the Hijra was the 220th since the institution of the *nasi*.³ It does not seem

1. Daunou, Vol. III, p. 143.

2. Reland, *Antiq. Sac. Vet. Heb.*, Halle, 1769, part IV, p. 205.

3. See the passage of Muḥammad Jarkasī in M. De Sacy's *Memoire*, pp. 618, 758; al-Birūnī and Maqrizī (same *Memoire*, p. 617) say, that the *nasi* had been instituted about 2 centuries before Islam, which agrees

likely that the 9th or the 8th were embolismic years. Muḥammad having become Master of Mecca in the year VIII maintained the functions called *Hijāba* and *Siqāya* and abolished all other functions of pagan origin,¹ consequently that of the *nasa'at*. I believe, at all events, that the 10th year of the Hijra should have been an embolismic year, but for Muḥammad's express interdiction. Now the 10th year of the Hijra, 219 years after the adoption of the intercalary system, began on the 9th of April 631 A.D. Between that year and that when the *nasi*, or embolism, had been practised for the first time, there is an exact interval of 73 series of 3 years. If the advance of the Arab calendar on the solar calendar had been exactly 3 days every 3 years, the year when the *nasi* was instituted should have begun 219 days after the 9th of April of the solar year, that is on November 14. But the advance was really 3 days 2 hours 20 minutes 15 seconds. This fraction of a day after 73 series of 3 years gives 7 days 2 hours 38 minutes 15 seconds. So, 7 days must be added to the date of November 14; that is the Arab year when the *nasi* was instituted must, in fact, have begun on November 21, 412 A.D., that year having 13 months, the next must have begun on December 13, 413 A.D.; the 3rd on November 28, 414 A.D. and the 4th on November 18, 415 A.D., 3 days earlier than the first. This 4th year, succeeding two years with 12 lunar months each, must have had 13 lunar months, and so on.

The fraction of 2 hours 20 minutes 15 seconds added to the 3 days difference between the Arab year and the solar year after every 3 years, gives after 33 years or 11 series of 3 years, 1 day 1 hour 42 minutes 45 seconds.

Whilst drawing up the chart showing the relation between Arab years and solar years, one must be careful, after every period of 11 series of 3 years, to count 4 days instead of 3, allowing for the advance of the Arab year. This is what I have done in the chart below, where I have marked the beginning of all the Arab years which in my opinion are intercalatory, and also the date of the pilgrimage for each of these years. I have also given the same indications for some intermediary years, especially the first 10 years of the Hijra.

with Muḥammad Jarkasī's assertion, since Muḥammad began preaching his doctrine 10 or 12 years before the Hijra.

1. *Sīrat ar-Rasūl*, fol. 217 v.

Years of the institution of Nasi	Beginning of the month of Muharram <i>Christian Era</i>	Date of Pilgrimage. <i>Christian Era</i>
1 Nasi	21st Nov. 412 20 days 10th Nov. 413 to 8th Oct.	21st Oct. 413
2	9th Dec. 413	9th Nov. 414
3	28th Nov. 414	29th Oct. 415
4	18th Nov. 415	19th Oct. 416
7	15th Nov. 418	16th Oct. 419
10	12th Nov. 421	13th Oct. 422
13	9th Nov. 424	10th Oct. 425
16	6th Nov. 427	7th Oct. 428
19	3rd Nov. 430	4th Oct. 431
22	31st Oct. 433	1st Oct. 434
25	28th Oct. 436	28th Sept. 437
29	25th Oct. 439	25th Sept. 440
31	22nd Oct. 442	22nd Sept. 443
34	18th Oct. 445	18th Sept. 446
37	15th Oct. 448	15th Sept. 449
40	12th Oct. 451	12th Sept. 452
43	9th Oct. 454	9th Sept. 455
46	6th Oct. 457	6th Sept. 458
49	3rd Oct. 460	3rd Sept. 461
Nasi	22nd Sept. 461	
50	21st Oct. 461	21st Sept. 462
51	11th Oct. 462	11th Sept. 463
52	30th Sept. 463	31st Aug. 464
55	27th Sept. 466	28th Aug. 467
58	24th Sept. 469	25th Aug. 470
61	21st Sept. 472	22nd Aug. 473
64	17th Sept. 475	18th Aug. 476
67	14th Sept. 478	15th Oct. 479
70	11th Sept. 481	12th Oct. 482
73	8th Sept. 484	9th Oct. 485
76	5th Sept. 487	6th Oct. 488
79	2nd Sept. 490	3rd Oct. 491
82	30th Oct. 493	31st July 494
85	27th Oct. 496	28th July 497
88	24th Oct. 499	25th July 500
91	21st Oct. 502	22nd July 503
94	17th Oct. 505	18th July 506
97	14th Oct. 508	15th July 509
100	11th Oct. 511	12th July 512
103	8th Oct. 514	9th July 515

Years of the institution of Nasi	Beginning of the month of Muharram <i>Christian Era</i>	Date of Pilgrimage. <i>Christian Era</i>
106	5th Oct. 517	6th July 518
109	2nd Oct. 520	3rd July 521
112	30th July 523	30th June 524
115	27th July 526	27th June 527
118	24th July 529	24th June 530
121	21st July 532	21st June 533
124	17th July 535	17th June 536
127	14th July 538	14th June 539
Nasi	3rd July 539	
128	1st Oct. 539	2nd July 540
129	21st July 540	22nd June 541
130	11th July 541	11th June 542
133	8th July 544	8th June 545
136	5th July 547	5th June 548
139	2nd July 550	2nd June 551
142	29th June 553	30th May 554
145	26th June 556	27th May 557
148	23rd June 559	24th May 560
151	20th June 562	21st May 563
154	16th June 565	17th May 566
157	13th June 568	14th May 569
Nasi	2nd June 569	
158	1st July 560	1st June 570
159	20th June 570	21st May 571
160	10th June 571	11th May 572
163	7th June 574	8th May 575
166	4th June 577	5th May 578
169	1st June 580	2nd May 581
172	29th May 583	29th April 584
Nasi	18th May 584	
173	16th June 584	17th May 585
174	5th June 585	6th May 586
175	26th May 586	26th April 587
178	23rd May 589	23rd April 590
181	20th May 592	20th April 593
184	16th May 595	16th April 596
187	13th May 598	13th April 599
190	10th May 601	10th April 602
193	7th May 604	7th April 605

Years of the institution of Nasi		Beginning of the month of Muharram <i>Christian Era</i>	Date of Pilgrimage. <i>Christian Era</i>
	196	4th May 607	4th April 608
	Nasi	22nd April 608	
	197	22nd May 608	22nd April 609
	198	12th May 609	12th April 610
	199	1st May 610 ¹	1st April 611
	Nasi	21st April 611	
	200	19th May 611	19th April 612
	201	8th May 612	8th April 613
	202	28th April 613	28th March 614
	Nasi	16th April 614	
	203	16th May 614	16th April 615
	204	5th May 615	5th April 616
	205	25th April 616	25th March 617
	Nasi	13th April 617	
	206	13th May 617	13th April 618
	207	2ne May 618	2nd April 619
	208	22nd April 619	22nd March 620
	Nasi	10th April 620	
	209	10th May 620	10th April 621
Years of			
Hijra	210	30th April 621	30th March 622
I	211	19th April 622	19th March 623
	Nasi	8th April 623	
II	212	17th May 623	7th April 624
III	213	26th April 624	26th March 625
IV	214	15th April 625	15th March 626
	Nasi	4th April 626	
V	215	3rd May 626	3rd April 627
VI	216	23rd April 627	23rd March 629
VII	217	12th April 628	12th March 629
	Nasi	2nd April 629	
VIII	218	1st May 629	1st April 630
IX	219	20th April 630	20th March 613
X	220	9h April 631	9th March 632

I shall now make a few remarks on these charts, remarks which will serve as a rapid survey of the history of the Arab calendar, as I understand it, covering the period of two centuries before Islam.

1. The mission of Muḥammad commenced in the month of Ramaḍān, 23rd December 610 A.D.

The relation between Arab months and Roman months in the very year when *nasi* was instituted is as follows :

Muḥarram	from Nov. 21, 412 A.D.	to Dec 21
Ṣafar	from Dec. 21 412 A.D.	to Jan. 19, 413 A.D.
Rabī' I (month of rain)	from Jan. 19	to Feb. 18
Rabī' II (rain and vegetation)	from Feb. 18	to March 19
Jumāda I (rain stops or becomes rare)	from March 18	to April 18

Burckhardt¹ states that the last showers in the Hijāz fell at the beginning of April, and that the designations of the months must have had a close connection with the climate of the Hijāz whence they were derived.

Jumāda II	from April 18	to May 17
Rajab	„ May 17	„ June 16
Sha'bān	„ June 16	„ July 15
Ramaḍān	„ July 15	„ Aug. 14
Shawwāl	„ Aug. 14	„ Sept. 12
Dhu'l-Qa'da	„ Sept. 12	„ Oct. 12
Dhu'l-Hijja (month of pilgrimage)	„ Oct. 12	„ Nov. 10

The pilgrimage festival fell on Oct. 21, in the heart of autumn.

This relation between the two calendars went on diverging year after year. However for about 30 years, that is the space of one generation, the divergence was not so wide as to render ridiculous the designation of the months with respect to the seasons. In the 34th year of the *nasi* when Muḥarram began on Oct. 18, 445 A.D., the two Rabī', included between Dec. 16 and Feb. 13, were always rainy months. Jumāda I (Feb. 13 to March 15) already began to part company with its own designation ; but Jumāda II (March 15 to April 13) still coincided with the tail-end of the rainy season ; and Ramaḍān (June 11 to July 11) was still a very hot month.

Finally, the connection between the months and the seasons ceased to exist. Yet these designations were kept in use through sheer force of habit ; the same thing occurred with the Romans : the months of Sept. Oct. Nov. Dec. kept their names even though they occupied the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th places among the other months.

The date of the pilgrimage festival maintained itself rather longer within reasonable limits. In the 51st year of the *nasi* it fell very near autumn at the beginning of September, which is the fruit season in Arabia. The object in view had thus been attained during at least half a century. Later on when the pilgrimage, advancing gradually, happened to fall in August, then in June, etc., the motive for the adoption of the intercalary system missed its very purpose. So one cannot but be puzzled by the persistence of the Arabs in using a defective system of embolism ; unless

1. *Travels in Arabia*, translated by Eyries, Vol. II, p. 152.

allowance is made for the attachment to time-old institutions which may have developed into deep-rooted religious prejudice.

Here is, besides, an historical event which will throw some light on the matter in question.

Procopius tells us¹ that at a meeting of Roman Generals convened at Dara by Belisarius, 541 A.D., to discuss a plan of campaign, two officers who commanded a corps formed of Syrian troops declared that they could not march with the main army against the town of Nisibius, alleging that their absence would leave Syria and Phoenicia an easy prey to the raids of the Almondar Arabs (al-Mundhir III). Belisarius showed these two officers that their fears were groundless, because they were nearing the summer solstice, a time when the pagan Arabs used to devote two whole months to the practice of their religion, abstaining from any bellicose act whatsoever.

Evidently this refers to the time of the pilgrimage, for it was the only time of the year when the Arabs had two consecutive holy months; in fact, there may have been three: Dhu'l-Qa'da, Dhu'l-Hijja and Muḥarram. The pilgrimage held in the 129th year of the *nasi* (according to the above table) fell in fact, on June 22, 451 A.D., precisely at the summer solstice.

So we are in possession of three quasi-certain data: the pilgrimage was timed to take place in autumn, about 413 A.D.; at the summer solstice, in 541; at the beginning of spring in 632. These data concur exactly with the hypothesis of the constant and regular use of triennial embolism, as shown in the table; this opinion appears highly probable and conformable to reality. As a consequence some change must be made concerning the calculation, up to now obtaining among chronologists, of the first years of the Hijra, which had been considered as purely lunar years. However, this change implies a difference of a few months and concerns only the first 7 years. I have already stated why I incline to think that intercalation, expressly abolished in the 10th year, was practised neither in the 9th nor in the 8th.

To verify my conjectures and check my table of correspondence, I have looked up among Arab historical documents, especially during the first 7 years of the Hijra, those containing any mention of temperature, together with date and month (Arab). I found only two of that kind.

In the very year of the opening of the Hijra, Muḥammad migrating from Mecca arrived at Medina in the middle of Rabi' I; the heat was then *very inconvenient*.² From the table, the middle of Rabi' I coincides with the first days in July.

In the 5th year of the Hijra, an army of allied tribes which was besieging Madina in the month of Shawwāl had much to endure from cold and the inclemency of the weather.³ From the table, that month of Shawwāl covers the period from Jan. 23 to Feb. 22.

1. *De bells Persico*, lib. II, cap. XVI.

2. *Sīrat ar-Rasūl*, fol. 84.

3. *Ibid.*, fol. 179.

Thus this historical evidence confirms the new concordance I am putting forward between the first years of the Hijra and the Christian Era. In conclusion I shall now give a brief summary of these notes on the Arab calendar.

The present names of Arab months were adopted more than two centuries before the Hijra, along with a triennial embolismic system aiming at maintaining the pilgrimage in autumn. This aim was frustrated by the incorrect method of calculation used. When no embolism was resorted to, the pagan Arabs to avoid having three consecutive holy months, sometimes transferred the privilege of Muḥarrem to Šafar. The word *nasi*, whose proper meaning is retardation, also meant the intercalary month and the retardation of Muḥarram, either through embolism or the postponement of the observance of that month to the following month. Muḥammad abolished both these practices in 632 A.D., the 10th year of the Hijra.

One can easily imagine that since the pilgrimage no longer coincided with the season originally selected as the most favourable for that purpose, embolism was but a vain and useless practice which Muhammad could well abolish without let or hindrance.

REV. BRO. LOUIS NOBIRON.

SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF SHĀH NAWĀZ KHĀN ŠAMSĀM-UD-DAULAH

THE object of this paper is to bring to light some of the unpublished and rare letters of Shāh Nawāz Khān Šamsām-ud-Daulah, the great scholar-statesman of the Deccan.¹ Šamsām-ud-Daulah, the minister of Nāšir Jang and later Wakīl-i-Muṭṭalāq of Šalābat Jang, is equally famous as the author of *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, the valuable and voluminous

1. His name was 'Abdur Razzāq. He was descended from the family of Sādāt of Khawāf in Khurāsān, but his great-grandfather Amīr Kamāluddīn left Khawāf, and came to India in the reign of Akbar, when he was admitted amongst the nobles of the court. His son, Mirak Husain, held a situation in the service of the State, in the reign of Jahāngīr. His son, Amānat Khān, was in great favour with Shāh Jahān and later retained the patronage of 'Ālamgīr. When 'Ālamgīr resided in Northern India, he bestowed the Subedari of the Deccan on Khān Jahān Bahādūr Kokaltāsh and Amānat Khān was appointed Dīwān of the Deccan. He had four sons of eminent character; the first, 'Abdul-Qādir Diyānat Khān, was the keeper of the privy purse; the second, Mīr Husain Amānat Khān, was the public treasurer and Governor of Surat; the third son was Mīr 'Abdur-Raḥmān Wizārat Khān, who was appointed Dīwān of Mālwa; the fourth son, Qāsim Khān, was Dīwān of Multan. Mīr Ḥasan 'Alī, the son of Qāsim Khān, was the father of Šamsām-ud-Daulah Shāh Nawāz Khān.

Shāh Nawāz Khān was born on the 10th March, 1700 A.D., at Lahore, but repaired to Aurangabad at an early age, and took up his abode with his relations and kinsmen who resided there before him. He was engaged first by Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, under whom he served as Dīwān of Berar for several years. During the period of his forced retirement of six years following the defeat of his patron Nāšir Jang in the battle of Burhanpur on 3rd August, 1741, and till he was appointed Governor of Berar in 1747, he devoted himself to the compilation of *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*. When Nāšir Jang succeeded Nizām-ul-Mulk, he made Shāh Nawāz Khān his Dīwān.

Later on, Shāh Nawāz Khān rose high in the favour of Šalābat Jang and obtained the rank of 7000 with the title of Šamsām-ud-Daulah. On the 12th May, 1758, the day on which Hyder Jang, the counsellor of Monsieur Bussy, was assassinated, he also was murdered in the tumult that ensued and was interred in the tomb of his ancestors in the southern part of the city of Aurangabad.

His work, *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, contains the memoirs of the Mughal nobility who served under the house of Tīmūr. The manuscript was left unfinished, and in the turbulent scenes which attended his death, it was scattered in various directions and was considered as lost. It was, however, recovered in an incomplete form a year later, and some twelve years after its composition (i.e. in 1759) it was rearranged and completed by the author's close friend and associate Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād. Šamsām-ud-Daulah's son Mīr 'Abdul-Ḥāy who received his father's title and a high rank further completed it by supplying a preface and some additional biographies, the draft of which was left imperfect owing to excess of materials and to postponements (*Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. I, p. 41).

biographical dictionary of the Mughal peerage. He was a first-class literary stylist. Hence the collection of his letters is important both on account of his high political and his literary position.

The collection of his letters in the Persian Manuscript Section of the Asafia Library contains valuable information regarding contemporary political events. One manuscript copy of the letters or *Makātīb* is casually attached to *Inshā'-i-Musavī Khān*, No. 201 (*Inshā'*), and the other is equally casually attached to the manuscript copy of *Bahāristān-i-Sukhan* No. 193 (*Tadhkira*), without any specific mention of the *Makātīb* either in the catalogue or in the manuscript volumes themselves. I have compared both the copies of the *Makātīb* and found them practically identical except for some slight verbal differences.

The collection consists of Shāh Nawāz Khān's official and private correspondence which covers a pretty long and historically important period in the history of the Deccan. As some of the letters and petitions are addressed to such personalities as 'Ālamgīr II, the Mughal Emperor, Nāṣir Jang, Pēshwā Bālājī Rao, Sayyid Lashkar Khān, Malhar Rao Holkar and Dupleix, they are historically of great value.

The letters and petitions are of varying length. Some of them bear sub-titles indicative of the subject treated therein. The collection contains in all 66 letters and petitions, which are detailed below :

Addressed to

'Ālamgīr II, the Mughal Emperor	1
Fīrūz Jang, Wazīr-ul-Mamālik	3
Raja Kesho Rao, royal courtier	2
Nāṣir Jang	5
Pēshwā Bālājī Rao .	2
Malhar Rao Holkar	2
Dupleix	1
Sayyid Lashkar Khan (Rukn-ud-Daulah Naṣir Jang).	1
Amānat Khān.	5
Qutb-ud-Daulah Muḥammad Anwar Khān	3
Quṣūra Jang Bahādur	1
Qavī Jang Bahādur	1
Aḥmad 'Alī Khān	1
Mahārājā Arjun Bahādur	2
Qādī Kamāluddīn	1
Shāh Wali	1
Rai Samdhu Lāl	1
Naṣir-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān	1
Dilāwar Khān Bahādur	11
Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād	11
Mīr Muḥammad Husain Khān	2
Sayyid Ghulam Ḥasan	1
Muhammad Aslam Khān	1

The English translation of two of these letters, along with their historical interpretation, is given below¹ :—

The petition addressed to 'Ālamgīr II, the Mughal Emperor, runs thus :

“ ‘Abdūr-Razzāq,² who considers himself to be smaller than the atoms of dust, prostrates his forehead of devotion and begs access to touch the foot of the royal throne. The royal Farmān, accompanied by a special write and gifts, has honoured the devoted servant beyond description. The happy news that one's desire shall find fulfilment has opened the doors of felicity to hope. It is gratifying that in the beginning of the spring of the happy reign, right counsel given by the wise, who have access to the Royal throne, found due appreciation. The devoted servant full of humility and solicitation desires heartily to accompany the Royal stirrups and thus be able to exert himself in the Royal Service. But in accordance with the Royal command, which is of a piece with life and faith, the devoted servant would continue to serve in the interest of the Exalted Court as a means of his own salvation in the two worlds. In future also, whatever the Exalted Commands may be, they will be carried out punctiliously and should be considered as a justification for his self-exaltation. May the benign shadow remain over the head of all the devoted servants for ever.”

This letter was probably written sometime in 1754, just after Shāh Nawāz Khān took the place of Sayyid Lashkar Khān as Diwān and Wakīl-i-Mutlaq of Šalābat Jang. It was in the same year that Emperor Ahmād Shāh was blinded, and the triumphant 'Imād-ul-Mulk Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān, grandson of Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh I and patron of Shāh Nawāz Khān, set up 'Ālamgīr II as the Mughal Emperor. 'Imād-ul-Mulk Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān's rival, the redoubtable Šafdar Jang, after wielding power for six years, was forced to retire to Oudh where he was destined to found a dynasty.

(۱) عرضداشت به پیشگاه خلافت و جہانانی عزیزالدین عالمگیر ثانی پادشاہ ارسال داشته
کمتر از ذرات آفاق عبدالرزاق جہمہ اعتقاد بسجود شدہ سینہ افروختہ بعرض ملتسمان پایہ
سریر خلافت و فرما نروائی حضرت ظل سبحان خلیفۃ الرحمن ادامہ اللہ اقبالہ و جلالہ میرساند۔ فرمان
کرامت نشان والا شان موشع بخط خاص تقدس اختصاص بانواع مراحم و تفضلات و ورود مسعود فرمود
و بنوید وصول مارب و مقاصد ابواب سرور و شادمانی بر روی امید کشود۔ در بنوقت کہ سر آغاز بہار
چارچمن جہانانی و کشور کشائی است و بایاری رائی درست اندیش بار یا بان حضور لامع النور بازیگی
شکفتگی دارد فدویان عقیدت کیش سراپا عجز و الحاح و بدل و جان آرزو دارند کہ بعرق ریزی سعی
جانفشانی در رکاب قدسی انتساب خدیو زمین و زمان سرخروی نشاتین اندوزند لاکن پیاس اطاعت امر اقدس
حکم مقدس را کہ توام جان و ایمان است بتقدیم کار ہائی سرکار والا درغبت ہم سرمایہ و نجات و رستگاری
دارین می شمارند۔ الحال کہ ہمہ جا وقت کاہرچہ فرمان واجب الاذعان شرف صدور باید بانقیاد و پیروی
ذخیرہ اندوز تفاخر و مباہات گردد ظل ظلیل ظل اللہی بر مفارق بندہای درگاہی لاتناہی باد۔

2. Name of Shāh Nawāz Khān Šamsām-ud-Daulah.

It was probably at the instance of 'Imādūl-Mulk Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān Fīrūz Jang that Shāh Nawāz Khān got in touch with the Emperor, who bestowed on him Māhī-Marātib (the Fish Insignia), an honour which was specially conferred on princes and great nobles. For the conferment of the rare honour on Shāh Nawāz Khān Šamšām-ud-Daulah the chronogram was found in the hemistich: از شاه هند آمده امی و هم مراتب (1116 Hijra).

Letter addressed to Monsieur Duplex :¹

"Praise be to the Almighty !

"I consider you to be unique in sympathy and benevolence. We are sure that you want improvement and tranquillity in our affairs just as we want them in yours. During the time that the Mughal Emperor has lain low at the hands of the Marathas, the latter's pride has increased a hundredfold. So far as our administration is concerned we do not find ourselves in a position to undertake conquest or realise tribute from others owing to lack of resources and excess of expenditure on salaried persons of which the details may be known later. Now it seems

1. بگورند و رپهلچری متضمن درخواست قرض قلمی ساخته

الحمد لله که آن مهربان را در محبت و دوستی و خیرخواهی و غمخواری نسبت بخود منفرد و یکتا میدانم. هیچکس درین امر ایشان شریک و سیم نیست لهذا هر قدر که مارا جمعیت و رفاه و رونق کارهای خود مطلوب است یقین که زیاده بران ایشان را مرکوز خاطر است. درینولا که سلطنت هندوستان بدست مرهته تباه و ذلیل گردید و غرور آنها از یکی بصد رسید بسبب بے زری و کثرت تنخواه داران و قلت آمدنی که مفصل معلوم می شده باشد نهضت به ملک گیری و تحصیل پیشکشات خصوص پیشکش سری رنگ پتن که فلاح و روانه منحصر بر آنست از محالات بنفاری آید. حال آنکه بعد انقضاء برسات بدون سیر و گشت نه ملک بدست می ماند و نه ازدست مخالفان رهایی. متصور است - نظر به کمال محبت و یکجبهی که فیما بین متحقق است مصدع است که درینوقت اقل ده یا نوزده لک روپیه بطریق دستگردان کومک ضرورتا استالت سپاه و عزیمت ملک گیری صورت گیرد والا فی الحمله عمل ضعیفی و ملک کمی که مانده بالکلیه بدر میرود فضل الهی هرگاه از عوض مظفر جنگ که مبلغ خطیر بود مارساندیم بعد انتظام ملکی در ادائی این دستگردان توقف و اهمال امکان ندارد. طرفه ناموری و نیکبانی بان مهربان در عالم میشود که فوج شایسته سرداری موسی بوسی بهادر تعین رکاب کرده بزر نقدیم در چنین وقت اعانت کردند بلکه گمان خواهند کرد که محصول کر ناکت فرستاده اند. سپاه را امید می بهم میرسد و مخالفت را رعیه و سرکار را اعتبار می افزاید چون حالت باین درجه رسیده باشد آن مهربان بقور و تامل انصاف نمایند که بحساب سی و دولک روپیه سال در چهار سال قریب یک کرو و سی لک روپیه برای خاطر آن مهربان که از همه زیاده منظور است نقصان آرکات کشیده زرهای نقد و ٹیپ پانزده پانزده بست بست لک روپیه که محمد علیخان و انگریزان میدادند قبول نکردیم. آینده این قسم اولکه عظیم را که خال چهره دکن است از دست دادن منافعی عقل و مصلحت بمقل دور اندیش نظر بمصلحت وقت و کار هرچه اولی و قریب الوقوع باشد برنگارند والا نظر بر اینکه رونق کارهای دوستدار از خود میشناسند. درین امر بمقتضای مصلحت مارا مختار سازند. بلاعلاجی مقدمات اینهمه تفصیل بخط خود نوشته شده دمیدم منتظر شناخته مفصل و منقح بدور اندیشی زود بنویسند که خاطر جمع شود.

impossible to realise the tribute from Seringapatam on which our prosperity is dependent. Unless a tour is undertaken after the rainy season the country cannot remain in a state of tranquillity and the opposition be crushed. As there prevails complete friendship and harmony between us it should be feasible to advance us a loan of ten or fifteen lakhs of Rupees so that we could conciliate the soldiery and undertake expeditions. Otherwise there is danger of the country shrinking and the resources getting attenuated beyond recovery. As you know, we on our part paid the contribution promised by Muẓaffar Jang, which was not a small sum. I should like to assure you that after completing the general organization of the administration there will not be any negligence or delay in the payment of the loan. Your fame will spread far and wide for helping us with an army under Monsieur Bussy, and also for offering us monetary aid at such a critical moment. This will be taken as the tribute of the Carnatic by some people. But if the loan is advanced, the soldiery will find a basis for hope, the enemy will be overawed, and the Government will regain its lost confidence.

You might realise this in justice, that we have foregone for your sake thirty-two lakhs of rupees annually, which would be one crore and thirty lakhs in four years. It was in consideration of your interest that we even refused to receive fifteen lakhs from Muḥammad 'Alī of Arcot and twenty lakhs from the English in the form of cash or draft cheques (Tip). It would be against reason and expediency to give away the portion of the state which is like a mole on the fair face of the Deccan. In this connection let us know whatever you consider to be right and proper. As a true friend and well wisher it would be in the fitness of things to give us full authority as a free agent to do what is expedient in the circumstances. We hope that you will give us the benefit of your valuable advice in detail, which will be a means of comforting us a great deal."

In this letter several issues are raised. The first is the bankruptcy of the State. When Shāh Nawāz Khān succeeded Sayyid Lashkar Khān in the Dīwānship in 1754, the State was practically bankrupt. The State finances had reached such a low ebb that even the ruler had to go without money. According to the *Ḥadīqat-ul-Ālam*, "when Šamsām-ud-Daulah assumed the reins of Wikālat-i-Muṭlaq, the Government of Nawāb Šalābat Jang was in extreme financial straits. Šalābat Jung's household objects were sold to meet the expenses of the palace. Šamsām-ud-Daulah by his wonderful management succeeded in easing the financial situation. It would be apt to say that by his masterly touch he made the dry river flow again."¹

(۱) چه وقتیکه وکالت مظان باو مقرر شد سرکار نواب امیرالمالک عجب حالتی داشت که از بے زری

نوبت به فروخت اثاث الیت رسیده بود - نواب مصصام الدوله نوعی حسن تردد نمود که آب رفته به جو

آمد (حدیقة العالم - جلد ۲ - صفحه ۲۳۹)

It was in these circumstances that Shāh Nawāz Khān Şamşām-ud-Daulah asked for a loan from Dupleix. But the latter, although he believed that the French prestige should be maintained in the Deccan even if it were at the cost of diplomatic and military defeat in the Carnatic, could not be of much help to Şamşām-ud-Daulah. After the failure of the second siege of Trichinopoly by the French in 1753, Dupleix lacked calm judgement. His prestige was waning, his power was about to be annihilated. His financial condition was none too good. His country had lost confidence in him. Probably Shāh Nawāz Khān Şamşām-ud-Daulah's letter reached Pondicherry at a time when the orders for the recall of Dupliex and Godeheu's appointment to the Governorship of the French settlements in India had already been issued by the French Government.

In this letter there is also a hint about Bussy's galling interference in administrative matters. We know on authority that after his return to Hyderabad in 1753, the whole attitude of Bussy had undergone a change. He had compelled Sayyid Lashkar Khān to sign an agreement ceding the Sarkars of Guntur, Rajahmundry, Ellore and Chicacole for the support of the French army. Although Bussy tacitly engaged himself to support Sayyid Lashkar Khān in the office of Dīwān, he very soon created such situation that Sayyid Lashkar Khān was so disconcerted that he sent in his resignation and retired into private life. Shāh Nawāz Khān succeeded him.

Bussy's interference continued even during the ministership of Shāh Nawāz Khān. It was due to this that the latter was compelled to organize the anti-French party with the help of Mīr Nizām Khān. The party aimed at keeping Bussy at a distance from the management of State affairs. The repeated defeats of the French in the Carnatic shook Şalābat Jang's confidence in the French. At Shāh Nawāz Khān's instance he opened negotiations with the English, which culminated in the treaty of Masulipatam entered into between Şalābat Jang and the East India Company in May 1759.

YUSUF HUSSAIN KHAN.

THE FIRST URDU NEWSPAPER

WHICH is the first Urdu newspaper? This question has yet to be answered with authority in definite terms. But from the records available, it is safe to advance this claim of priority for *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* (Calcutta). It appears to have started publication on March 29, 1823.

Hurree Hur Dutt, a writer in the Office of the General Treasury, Fort William, applied for a license on the 19th April, 1823, "to carry on the Persian and Hindoostanee newspapers, called the *Jam-i-Jehan Nooma*." It was to be edited by Lalla Sodha Sook of Mirzapur, a Calcutta Moonshee, and printed by William Hopkins Pearce. The permission was granted. The Persian edition, for which no license was then required, had been appearing from March 28, 1822.

Another application for a license to bring out a newspaper entitled *Shamsul Akhbar*, in "Persian and Hindoostanee languages" was made by Mathur Mohan Mitter. Muneeram Thacoor was to edit it. The permission was granted on May 6, 1823. No copy of this paper is available in the Imperial Record Department. Even its name is not mentioned in later official notes on the Indian native press. Perhaps it was eclipsed altogether by its rival, the *Jām-i-Jehān Numa*.

In the course of a note on the Indian native press, written on the 10th October, 1822, W.B. Bayley, the Chief Secretary, enumerates the various newspapers then existing in India. He mentions two Persian and two Bengali newspapers. Another is said to be appearing from Bombay but the language is not specified. It was the *Bombay Samachar* in Gujrati. Looking through the records in the Imperial Record Department, we first of all come across an application by Hurree Hur Dutt requesting permission to bring out this Hindoostanee newspaper. This evidence is sufficient to establish that the Hindustani edition of the *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* is in fact the first Urdu newspaper.

Some people dismiss this Urdu edition as a mere supplement, not meriting the name of a newspaper. This impression has been created by the common proprietorship of the Urdu and Persian newspapers bearing

the same name, the *Jām-i-Jehān Numa*. Even the notices that appeared in the two papers seem to confirm this impression.

The notice in the Urdu paper said : " The editor of the *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* begs leave to notify to the public that he has, with a view to rendering this publication more interesting, entertaining and instructive to the European portion of its supporters, resolved to publish, in future, a Supplementary Sheet in pure Hindoostanee or Oordoo Tongue, at the additional trifling charge of four annas the Number, or One Rupee per month, if taken together with the two Persian sheets ; but if taken separately, Two Rupees will be charged for it per mensem."

The Persian paper had a notice saying : " European Gentlemen, who may wish to be supplied with this paper, either for their own perusal, or from a benevolent desire to diffuse knowledge among the native members of their establishment, may be supplied with it, on application to Tara-chand Dutt of Colootollah, at three Rupees per month, including the Oordoo Supplement."

But this ' Oordoo Supplement ' differed from the Persian paper in contents, style, presentation of news and even policy. A comparison of the two issues of these papers bearing the same date will go a long way to establish their separate entities. Let us take the first two issues available in the Imperial Record Department. They bear the date January 5, 1825.

The Urdu edition has four news items about Lucknow, Jaipur, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and Sindhia Bahadur. The Persian edition has thirteen news items about Calcutta appointments, the fall of Katoor Fort, Rangoon news, Martaban news, Tibarmarkovi Island news, Sir Francis Mac-naughton's appointment as officiating Chief Justice, Calcutta, Strange news, Funeral rites of Sir Alexander Keel, Deccan News, Medical School, Calcutta, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the mother of the King of Oudh, Rangoon. Only Maharaja Ranjit Singh is the common item between the two lists. The radical difference between the two editions is apparent from the reports themselves, reproduced below.

مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ بہادر کی خبر

اخبار کے پڑھنے سے دریافت ہوا کہ ربیع الثانی کی پہلی تاریخ کو عرضیان سرداروں کی جو خیبر کے درے سے بڑھے ہوئے کابل کے رخ پر پڑے ہوئے ہیں اس مضمون کی پہنچ کہ خیبر کے حاکم کی فوج لشکر میں داخل ہوئی اور سرکار کی فوج مقام گاہ سے کوچ کر کے بارہ کوس درے کے آگے کابل کی طرف پہنچی ۔ انشاء اللہ تعالیٰ یہاں سے کوچ کر کے کابل کے درے کے آگے نزدیک پہنچ کر کے توقف کرے گی اور یہ سنا جاتا ہے کہ درانیوں کا لشکر بھی کابل سے چلا ہے ۔ تس بیچھے شکر گڑھ کے قلعہ دار کی بھیجی ہوئی رسد لشکر میں آئی ۔ حکم ہوا کوتوال کے پاس پہنچادو ۔ اور کوتوال سے کہہ دو کہ

جو قزاق لشکر کے بنیوں کے بیلون کی غارتگری کے جرم میں گرفتار آئے ہیں انہیں ہاتھ کان ناک کاٹ کر چھوڑ دے۔ اتنے میں خبر آئی کہ لشکر کے سردار یار محمد کے استقبال کو روانہ ہوئے فرمایا کہ بناتی خیمہ زردوزی کام کا محمد حیات خان کے باغ میں کھڑا کرو اور کران صاحب کو حکم ہوا کہ یار محمد خان کے آتے ہوئے سلامی کی توپیں چھوڑیو۔ دسویں تاریخ جرنیل دیوان چند نے عرض کیا کہ یار محمد خان مقامگاہ سے سوار ہوئے حضور میں آتے ہیں۔ مجھے اور عزیز الدین خان کو رخصت کے وقت ایک ایک لبادہ پر زر سمور کا دیا ہے۔ تھوڑی دیر بعد یار محمد خان خیمے میں آئے۔ سلامی کی توپیں چھوٹیں۔ مہاراج نے زر کار کرسی سے اٹھ کر معانقہ کر یار محمد خان کو بٹھایا۔ چار گھڑی تک کابل اور اٹنائے راہ کے دوران کا حال استفسار کیا اور اپنی سرکار کے کارپردازوں سے نذر دلوائی۔ اور اکیس کشتیان پوشا کی کپڑے کی دو خوانچے جواہر کے ساتھ تواضع کیا۔ یار محمد دوسرے خیمے میں جوان کے رہنے کے لئے کھڑا ہوا تھا۔ سوار ہو گئے اور خزانے کے گماشتے کو حکم ہوا کہ پندرہ ہزار روپے ضیافت کے پہنچا دو۔ یار محمد نے گماشتے کو تین پارچہ کا خاتم دیا بعد اس کے یار محمد خان کے وکیل نے عرض کیا کہ مہاراجہ بہادر بھی یار محمد خان کے خیمے میں رونق افزا ہوں۔ مہاراج نے جواب دیا ہم کیون نہ جاویں گے۔ مہاراج نے سردارون کو حکم بھیجا کہ لشکر پشاور کو کوچ کرے اور آپ یار محمد خان کے خیمے کی طرف متوجہ ہوئے یار محمد خان کے ساتھ سردار پیشوائی کر کے مہاراج کو خیمے میں لے گئے۔ دیر تک آپس میں اختلاط کی باتیں ہوا کیں۔ یار محمد خان نے چودہ لبادے سمور کے اور دو گھوڑے تیز رفتار۔ تین خچر بیش قیمتی وار گزرانے اور ایک تلوار بہت نادر نذر کی اور دو ہزار روپے مہاراج کے شاگرد پیشہ کو انعام دئے۔ مہاراجہ وہاں سے سوار ہو رستے میں زرباشی کرتے ہوئے اپنے خیمے میں داخل ہوئے چودھویں تاریخ کو وہاں سے کوچ ہوا۔ چودہ کوس کی مسافت طے کر کے پشاور سے ادھر دس کوس پر خیمے میں رونق افزا ہوئے اور یار محمد خان نے بھی اسی جگہ ڈیرا کیا۔

خبر مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ بہادر وائی لاہور

بملاحظہ اخبار منقوش خاطر گردید کہ مہاراجہ مدوح از سندور گذشتہ پنجم ربیع الثانی بکوچھائے متواترہ کروہی این طرف پشاور برخیاں نصرت فرجام زیب وزینت بخشیدند۔ یار محمد خان ناظم پشاور دوروز پیشتر برسم استقبال از پشاور در اٹنائے راہ بشرف ملاقات مہاراجہ بہادر ذخیرہ اندوز مسرت شادمانی شدہ ہم رکاب گردید۔ وروز ملاقات رسم استقبال

سرداران از جانب موری گشت و در لشکر مہاراجہ توپ ہائے سلامی یار محمد خان سرشدند۔
 بہت ویک کشتی پارچہ پوشاکی باد و خوانجہ جواہر از طرف مہاراجہ و چہار دہ لبادہ سمور
 بایک تیغ آبدار و دور اس صبا سرعت و سہ راس اشتر تیز قدم از جانب یار محمد خان تواضع
 شد۔ و مہاراجہ بہادر پانزدہ ہزار روپیہ رسم ضیافت فرستادند و در منزل دو کرویہی پشاور
 معتمد ان دوست محمد خان رسیدہ خط آقائے خود بایک صد بہنکی میوہ و دیگر ہدایا
 گزرائید۔ معروض داشتند کہ دوست محمد خان ہم عنقریب و بلشکر فیروزی اثر میرسد
 و نر مندرج بود کہ از فوج مہاراج کہ از پیشتر بیرون خیبر خیمہ زن بود با سواران حاکم
 درہ خیبر دہ کرویہی جلال آباد بر رخ کابل رسیدہ و بسرعت عازم کابل است و لشکر درانیان
 ہم از کابل بمقابلہ اینان برآمدہ و مہاراجہ پروانہ بنام قلعہ دار اٹک بدین مضمون از اثنائے
 راہ نوشتہ اند کہ خود را بر سبیل استقبال باز بنوک خانہ بلشکر برساند۔

There is hardly any need to point out differences in these two versions.

Before considering some features of this Urdu news-sheet of four pages, it will be helpful to have an idea of the various forces at play which ultimately determined the short course that its life was destined to run.

The British Government was fully aware of the power that the native press could wield and was anxious to regulate it. W.B. Bayley, in his note above-mentioned, writes : " No engine indeed can be conceived more powerful and effectual for diffusing useful knowledge amongst the population of this country than a press circulating cheaply and periodically articles of intelligence, calculated to instruct and improve the public mind under the guidance of judicious and properly qualified conductors, and in exact proportion must be the evils of an ill-regulated and licentious press." The methods devised for the purpose were the Press Regulations, 1823, buying a certain number of copies of the newspapers and giving concession in the postal fee.

The British malcontents employed the native papers to vent their own malice against persons in authority. Such a development the Government was determined to stop. The note says : " It is obvious, however, that the editors of the papers in the native languages have already been and will be liable to the influence of their European friends and patrons and that in the progress of the free native press of India, the pages of the native newspapers may become the channel of spreading throughout the country such reports and strictures and doctrines as the bigotry, self-interest, disappointment or malignity of European English subjects may choose to circulate. On the contrary, if superintended with prudence and under the restraint of legal authority the native newspapers may be made the instrument of extraordinary and extensive benefit in disseminating useful knowledge, in correcting prejudices and in facilitating the

accomplishment of those measures which may be directed by Government, with a view to the improvement of our institutions and to the promotion of happiness, prosperity and civilisation amongst the numerous and rapidly increasing population of British India."

The Persian newspapers, and Urdu newspapers in a small way, attracted a fairly wide notice and actually evoked protests from various Indian princes. On this point the note remarks: "The apathy and want of curiosity of the natives have prevented any very extensive circulation of the newspapers. Still, the attention of natives of rank and education in many distant parts of India has been roused to the contemplation of this portentous novelty and a family so remote from the Presidency as that of the King of Delhi, have officially expressed desire to be furnished with the Persian newspapers."

The above quotations clearly indicate the problems with which the Government was faced and also how it intended to regulate and, if possible, use the press for better purposes. In the brief history of the *Jām-i-Jehān Numa*, we find how a fairly decent news-sheet deteriorated into a cheap propaganda organ in order to enjoy postal concessions and sell a number of copies to the Government. It is not mere coincidence that the paper started its serial publication of the history of England in March, 1826, and was granted postal concession in October, 1826. This serial, which had a definite bias, ran for about a year and almost killed the paper. That was a bad bargain indeed. The paper lost its prestige and popularity and sheer lack of patronage ultimately led to its early demise in 1828.

The objects of the Urdu *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* were identical with those of its Persian counterpart, namely to publish articles of news from English papers, to procure and make known intelligence of all that passed at the principal cities of Hindustan whether foreign or within the Company's territories. Readers were also expected to send in their contributions in news items or articles.

The *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* benefited considerably from the experience which its editor had gained in handling material for the Persian counterpart. Articles and news items appeared in this paper about the King of Oudh and Maharaja Ranjit Singh which could not pass unnoticed. The King of Oudh did make official protests. W.B. Bayley writes: "The articles respecting Oudh have been from the beginning filled with complaints and abuse of the existing system of Government, virulent attacks upon the minister who is called a low unworthy menial, and gross charges of folly and oppression directed against the king himself." All this falls within the purview of the Foreign Relations Act of 1932, and any paper publishing such stuff today is sure to find itself in trouble. The Urdu news-sheet remained entirely free from such virulent attacks, and even in cases of censure it preferred to make a suggestion in between the lines.

The newspaper consisted of four pages, 8×11 inches. Each page was divided into two columns. In the right ear of the first page were the words "اردو زبان میں" followed by the number of the issue and date. The last

page ended with the line :

” کلکتہ مقام کے بیچ مسین پریس چہاہہ خانے میں چہاہا کیا ،،

Judging this news-sheet from the journalistic point of view, the absence of the date-line strikes us as most surprising. In accordance with the new fashion developed by the *Daily Mail*, the place and date and at times a number of places and dates are mentioned in the body of the paper. The contemporary English newspapers published in India had the date-line.

The lead of the story is invariably something like this معلوم ہوا۔ But in those days, that seems to have been a fairly reliable source, for we find the Chief Secretary much worried about awkward but true stories published in papers which he had received through official channels.

The use of headline and paragraph was unknown. All reports relating to certain areas are jumbled together under a main heading like ” لکھنؤ کی خبر “ ” یونا کی خبر “ ” At times, it becomes difficult to find out where a new story starts. In those days, readers perhaps bestowed more attention on the newspapers than we do today. The Persian papers are a little better in the arrangement and presentation of news stories.

At times, there are good humorous touches. The report about an elephant of Raja Gaekwar which had run amuck, killed six persons and wounded many others, finished off in these words :

قیاس میں آتا ہے کہ یہ ہاتھی راجہ پربت سنگھ کے ہاتھی کی نسل سے ہوگا جس کی بھومین مرزا سودا نے قصیدہ لکھا۔

The reports about the celebration of festivals have always poetic touches. The high-flown language in which details of various ceremonies are given includes words like these :

” لکھنے سے کیا فائدہ - سننے والے کب سچ مانتے ہیں ،،

Poems were also given space. The following Ghazal appearing in the issue dated April 18, 1827, will not be without interest :

غزل مرسلہ مستر ڈاکستا

کل ہم تمہارے کوچے میں آئے چلے گئے	ہے ہزار اشک بہائے چلے گئے
کیون دل سے شاد ہووین نہ ہم دوستو سنو	وے جاتے جاتے ہم کو بلاتے چلے گئے
کچھ رنج و غم کا حال نہ پوچھو کہ کیا ہوا	الفت کو ہم تو یارو نبھائے چلے گئے
وہ باغبان حسن جو آئے تو کل ادھر	وہ تخم درد دل میں جائے چلے گئے
ٹک طرف میرے دیکھ کے جھٹ چتونو نکو پھر	وہ آپ ہنس کے ہم کو رولائے چلے گئے
ہم ہی فقط ہیں دل جو گنوائے ہیں ورنہ سب	آکر جہاں میں کچھ تو کائے چلے گئے
کل اس پری کے بزم میں سب مل کے بر ملا	تیری غزل ڈاکستا گائے چلے گئے

Pcst Script.—The date March 29, 1823, on which *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* in Urdu is above stated to have started publication is incorrect. This date was worked out on the basis of Mr. Bayley's assertion in his famous note that *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* in Persian first appeared on March 28, 1822. The difference between the serial numbers of these Persian and Urdu editions is 52 which gives the date mentioned above.

But it is so strange that Mr. Bayley was wrong in his statement. It is contradicted by the first issue of Raja Ram Mohan Roy's Persian weekly, *Mir'at-ul-Akhhbār*, published on April 20, 1822 which states, "The Editor informs the public that although so many newspapers have been published in this city to gratify their readers, yet there is *none in Persian* for the information of those who are well versed in that language, and do not understand English, particularly the people of Upper Hindoostan, he has therefore undertaken to publish a Persian newspaper every week."

This point is further clarified by a report entitled "Hindoostanee paper, *Jām-i-Jehān Numa*" published in the Bengali weekly, *Sawmoody*, dated April 19, 1822. A reference to the issues of *Calcutta Journal* dated May 8, 1822, and June 22, 1822, solves the mystery. *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* started as a Hindoostanee weekly but its eighth issue dated May 16, 1822, contained a portion of material in Persian language. By and by, Persian ousted Hisndoostanee so that by the time (October 10, 1822) Mr. Bayley wrote his note, *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* had become a purely Persian paper. Later on, *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* again started an Urdu news-sheet the history of which is given above.

The facts as they now emerge are that *Jām-i-Jehān Numa* in Urdu appeared for the first time on March 28, 1822. Its Persian supplement was started on May 16, 1822.

ASLAM SIDDIQI.

THE DEATH OF HAIDAR 'ALI

THE death of Nawāb Haidar 'Alī Khān was an important event in the history of South India. Nearly all contemporary authorities agree that it occurred on December 7th, 1782, at Narsingh Rayanapet, near Chittoor. There is however some confusion regarding this date as the news of the Nawāb's death was kept secret for military reasons. Tipū was at that time conducting operations against Col. Humbeston on the Malabar Coast ; his presence was absolutely necessary before the sad news could be announced.

Throughout 1782 Haidar 'Alī was in indifferent health. He had for a long time been suffering from cancer in his back.¹ Two years earlier, too, he was seriously ill while conducting operations on the Coromendal Coast. Haidar tried many remedies, consulted many Hakīms, Vaidś and even French physicians,² but without success. He had come to Chittoor to spend the Muḥarram.

It was Purnaiya who suggested that the news of Haidar 'Alī's death should be kept secret till Tipū's arrival.³ Kishen Rao, the other minister, agreed, and therefore soon after Haidar 'Alī's death the body was embalmed and was secretly sent to Kolar⁴ as one of the chests carrying valuable things. Meanwhile courtiers were sent to Tipū asking him to return immediately.

In spite of these precautions rumours broke out. Haidar 'Alī's serious illness had already aroused the suspicions of the people about his death. In a letter from Fort St. George dated January 28th it was stated : " On

1. An entry dated December 15, 1782 in *Memoirs of the late War in Asia* (p. 109) says : " He (Haidar 'Alī) died of an ulcer in his back which had inflicted him for seven years."

2. Wilks : *Historical Sketches of South India*, p. 167.

3. *Ibid.*, 168.

4. At Kolar is the mausoleum of Fateḥ Muḥammad, father of Haidar 'Alī, who was born at Budikota, seven miles off that place, the vicinity having been held by Fateḥ Muḥammad on a service tenure. Muḥammad 'Alī, grandfather of Haidar 'Alī, and other members of the family were buried in the same tomb. (Bowring : *Eastern Experiences*). It was originally intended to bury Haidar 'Alī also there, but Tipū decided differently and the body was removed to Seringapatam where it was interred in Lāl Bāgh.

the 10th December 1782 a letter from the Commanding Officer at Tripassore, dated the 8th, mentioned that the current report of those parts was that, about 5 or 6 days ago, Hyder Ally went with his army to Chittore, there to celebrate a feast, and that he was since dead of the violent discharge of a Boil on his Back."¹ If Haidar died on December 7th, then the Commanding Officer at Tripassore (or Tiruppathur) came to have the news almost immediately, or probably he relied upon the rumour that must have become current in consequence of Haidar's serious illness. Macartney also wrote to the Governor-General on December 6th, that "Hyder some days since had moved from Maymundulum to Chittoor, where it is said he will pass the feast. By the most authentic account he is in a very declining state of health. It is indeed pretty confidently asserted among the black people that he is actually dead, but I do not give credit to it."² Three days after Macartney wrote again to the Governor-General enclosing a copy of a letter from Nawāb Wālājāh of Carnatic giving additional strength to the rumours of Haidar 'Alī's death. Nawāb Wālājāh's informant was one Faqīr Muḥammad, a commandant under Haidar 'Alī but formerly in the service of the Nawāb. He gave December 7th or 1st of Muḥarram as the date. Macartney in his letter commented that this event, if confirmed, should be used to the best advantage of the Company and himself promised that "every effort shall be made by me to turn so important an event to the best account."³

More information poured in as days passed. One Col. Malcolm wrote to Lord Macartney on December 21st that "his *dubash*⁴, who was taken prisoner by the enemy the last time the army marched to Vellore and made his escape yesterday at two in the morning from Conjeeveram and has just returned from there, says, that Hyder died fifteen days ago and that Hyder before he died had written to Tipu Sahib and one of his principal Sardars not to trust the French but to establish an alliance with the English before he quitted Carnatic."⁵ A more detailed account was sent to Major-General Stuart by one Murād 'Alī, described as 'Amaldār of Tripatore⁶ and General Stuart was one who least believed the news. Forwarding this letter to Sir Eyre Coote he made no comments on the news contained therein, implying that he regarded it as a mere rumour without foundation. The 'Amaldār's letter was in Persian, and translated by one B. Clove it read: "Praise be to God for his benefits. The accursed Naik departed from this life on Thursday 28th Zee Hudge (4th December at 3 p.m. and from the expectation of Tippoo's arrival, matters were kept secret for three days and on the night of 1st Muḥarrum (6th of De-

1. Love: *Vestiges of Old Madras Records*, Volume III, p. 241.

2. *Secret Consultation*, December 31, 1782, No. 1-B, (Imperial Record Department).

3. *Ibid.*, January 6th, 1783, No. 1.

4. Interpreter, one knowing two languages.

5. *Secret Consultation*, January 10th 1783, No. 4.

6. Tirupattur, sub-division and taluk in Salem district.

cember) his corpse was forwarded to Kolar."¹ Murād 'Alī 'Amaldār of Tiruppattur wrote his letter on Muḥarram 2nd 1197 and while all other authorities agree that Ḥaidar 'Alī died on Muḥarram 1st (December 6th-7th) his letter suggests December 4th 1782 as the date on which Ḥaidar 'Alī died and December 7th as the date when his body was removed to Kolar. The source of information of the Commanding Officer of Tripasore and of Lord Macartney is perhaps the same as of this 'Amaldār of Tiruppattur, for their dates regarding Ḥaidar 'Alī's death agree and imply that it occurred on December 4th 1782. It may be pointed out here that the Tārīkh inscribed on Ḥaidar 'Alī's tomb i.e. *Ḥaidar 'Alī Khān Bahādur*, only gives 1195 Hijri as the year of death, while December 7th, 1782 corresponds to Muḥarram 1st 1197 A.H. and December 4th to 28th Dhil-Hajj 1196 A.H.²

Meanwhile Tipū's arrival was being anxiously awaited at the Court. Abū Muḥammad Chaubdar had instantly sent word to Tipū informing him that the dead body was being taken to Kolar.³ Almost all the chiefs who were taken into confidence remained faithful to Tipū excepting one Muḥammad Amīr. He formed a project with Shams-ud-Dīn Bakhshī to install 'Abdul-Karīm, Ḥaidar's second son on the throne. A French officer called Boudeuot was also stated to have joined in this plot. This conspiracy however came very soon to the knowledge of the authorities and they dealt severely with the conspirators.⁴ Moreover Tipū's own personal popularity with the chiefs, the officers of the army and the soldiers had made his succession to the throne a certainty. He was undoubtedly much superior a person to his younger brother 'Abdul Karīm, whom some chiefs were reported to be supporting. One Faṭḥ Muḥammad Sepoy, who had managed to reach the Camp of Ḥaidar 'Alī to have intelligence for the British, wrote that, "from conversation with his relations he could perceive that the army in general had the highest opinion of Tippoo's Humanity, and Abilities to command them and were highly confident that they would succeed while he remained at the head, but that their idea of Curream Shāh was very different as they imagined he had neither experience nor good sense sufficient to guide him successfully in an important situation and that as far as he could judge there does not seem to be any room for the most distant hope that Tippoo will meet with any rival of consequence."⁵ Indeed there was not the ghost of a chance for any one else against Tipū, whose reputation as a prince was of the highest order.

The news of Ḥaidar 'Alī's death was kept secret simply for military reasons. It was a great opportunity for the British to strike the Mysorian

1. Enclosure to General Stuart's letter to Sir Eyre Coote (*Sec. Cons.*, January 10, 1783, No. 3).

2. See Brown's *Ephemeris* or Dr. Wüstenfeld's *Vergleichen-Tabellen der Muhammedanischen und Christlichen Zeitrechnung*.

3. Forrest: *Selections from Select Committee Proceedings*, Volume III, p. 916.

4. Wilks: *Historical Sketches of South India*.

5. *Secret Consultation*, January 10th, 1783.

army at a time when its leader was dead and his successor was far away. General Stuart, who alone was in a position to take such a step, was reluctant to believe the news received by him two days after Haidar Ali's death. When the Madras Government urged such an action he answered his immediate superiors that he did not believe that Haidar was dead, and if he were, the army would be ready for every action in proper time.¹ When pressed further for action he pleaded that the army was not in a state to embark on any undertaking against the enemy. This excuse was even more provocative, for on November 17th, 1782, the Madras Council had passed a resolution that "the army on its present establishment ought to be at all times ready to move," and General Stuart had assured the members that "upon any real emergency, the army might and must move and would be ready to do so." Wilks' comments are bitter on this pledge given by Stuart, and he describes it as "obviously lax and imprudent, under the circumstances of famine which divided the army and its equipments during the monsoon; but which either ought not to have been given, or ought to have been effectually redeemed on the real emergency of the death of Hyder."²

Sir Eyre Coote, who was at this time in Bengal recouping his shattered health, also lamented bitterly that at such an opportunity the army was unprepared for action. In a minute on the military proceedings of Fort St. George he wrote: "It needs not the assistance of argument to prove, how little my recommendation of keeping the army ready for immediate service has been attended to, its not having moved, at so important and favourable a crisis for obtaining advantages, as the death of Hyder Ali Cawn, is an unfortunate testimony thereof. Even the appearance of an army in the field on that event, would have produced the most salutary and beneficial effects. The dissensions incident to such an occurrence amongst the dependents of an usurped government, and the universal discontent which had been long known to reign amongst Hyder's troops, as well from personal dislike as from an aversion to the service which had now become in its nature one of great danger and fatigue, without the least prospect of either present or future advantage, would by an immediate advance of our army towards them, have been heightened to a part which in all probability would have terminated in the dispersion and final ruin of the dispirited remains of Hyder's Force. The bad consequences arising from the loss of this glorious opportunity are self-evident."³ Considering the exaggerated hopes entertained by Sir Eyre Coote, his bitterness is understandable. Because, when told of the news of Haidar 'Ali's death he had joyfully exclaimed: "It opens to us the fairest prospect of securing to the Mother Country the permanent and undisturbed possession of these Eastern dominions."⁴

1. Wilks: *Historical Sketches of South India*, p. 174.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

3. *Secret Consultation*, February 3, 1783, No. 5.

4. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1783.

Before any action could be taken by the British army Tipū reached the camp of his father. He had received his first news on the afternoon of December 11th and he left Malabar Coast on December 12th. On his way he met Arshad Bēg Khān and asked him to remain on the defensive at Palagautcherry. He reached the Pennar river, where his father's army was waiting for him on December 31st and next day he assumed the control of affairs. No ostentatious ceremonies were held on this occasion as a mark of respect to the late Nawāb.

At this time some chiefs, who were probably in the pay of the English advised Tipū to enter into an alliance with the East India Company. Even before he had reached his father's camp some attendants of Haidar 'Alī came to him and thus counselled him : "Collect your scattered forces at Colar and despatch a person with a letter of peace to the heads of the English army and if the Nawab Walajah desires anything as a recompence for the destruction of his Kingdom, settle matters by agreement and live contented in your Kingdom." A rumour was also spread that Haidar 'Alī had left instructions for Tipū to seek an alliance with the English. It was stated that Tipū had found, when he was employed in paying the last rites to his father's body, a small scrap of paper in one corner of Haidar's turban which contained the following words : "I have gained nothing by the war with the English, but am now alas ! no longer alive. If you, through fear of disturbances in your kingdom, repair thither without having previously concluded peace with the English, they will certainly follow you and carry the war into your country. On this account, it is better first to make peace on whatever terms you can procure, and then go to your own country."¹ These instructions ended by asking Tipū to establish contact with Srinavas Rao, Wakīl of Sir Eyre Coote, with a view to making negotiations with the English. But Tipū was not to be taken in by such machinations. He did not conclude peace until the English asked for it and at that time (the Treaty of Mangalore) he appeared as a conqueror.²

In the political field of India the passing away of Haidar 'Alī was a very important event. He was looked upon as a bulwark of strength against the British. Indian princes of that time, though notoriously devoid of patriotism, could count upon him as a sure ally whenever they could combine to form an alliance against the British. In fact such an alliance was being canvassed at the courts of the Pēshwā and the Nizām just before Haidar 'Alī's death. Nānā had not yet signed the Treaty of Salbai and delayed it till December 20th, after he had received intelligence of the death of Haidar 'Alī.³ Among Indian rulers perhaps Nawāb Wālājāh alone found greatest satisfaction in the passing away of Haidar 'Alī.

IRSHAD HUSAIN BAQAI.

1. Forrest : *Selections from Select Committee Proceedings*, Volume III, p. 916.

2. *Cambridge History of India*, Volume V, p. 333.

3. Forrest : *Selections from State Papers (Maratha Series)*, Volume I, Introduction, p. XXIII.

DEVIL'S DELUSION

TALBIS-IBLIS OF ABU'L-FARAJ IBN AL-JAWZI

(Continued from p. 79 of the January 1947 Issue)

ACCOUNT OF THE WAY WHEREIN THE DEVIL DELUDES THE ŠŪFĪS IN THEIR VIEWS ON KNOWLEDGE¹

YOU should know that these people, having neglected study, and in accordance with their doctrines restricted themselves to ascetic practice, have not restrained themselves from talking about the different branches of knowledge, giving utterance to their fancies, and committing gross errors. At times they talk of Qur'ān-interpretation, at others of Tradition, of jurisprudence, etc., subordinating these subjects to the implications of their particular form of knowledge. But God, to whom be glory, does not leave any age without persons to maintain His Code, refute the fabricators, and expose errors.

Some specimens of what they say about the Qur'ān

We have been told by Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Qazzāz after Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Thābit² how the latter had been told by Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Bajalī that he had heard Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Khuldī say : I was in the presence of our Shaikh al-Junaid when he was asked by Ibn Kaisan³ about the word of God (LXXXVII, 6) *We shall make thee read and thou shalt not forget*; Junaid said "thou shalt not forget to act thereby." To a further question about the words (VII, 168) *and they have studied what is therein* Junaid replied that it meant "they neglected to act thereby." Ibn Kaisan said : May God not break thy mouthpiece!⁴

I would observe : as for his gloss "thou shalt not forget," it is groundless and clearly erroneous ; for he interprets the text as a prohibition, whereas it is a statement, "thou art not about to forget." Had it been a

1. Continued from p. 353 of the Arabic text as a selection comprising pp. 351-3 was published in No. 4, 1937.

2. The story is from *Kitāb Baghdād*, VII, 246.

3. The work quoted adds "the grammarian."

4. Expression of admiration, for which the Prophet is quoted.

prohibition, the verb would have been in the jussive mood. Hence this gloss is contrary to the consensus of scholars. The same is the case with the other text *and they have studied what is therein*, where the verb *darasu* comes from the infinitive *dars*, meaning to read, as in III, 73, not from *durus*, which means to be destroyed.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī a tradition going back to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Miqṣam, according to which the latter said: I was present when Abū Bakr ash-Shiblī was asked the meaning of the text (L, 36) *Verily there is therein a reminder to him that hath a heart*, and replied "to him whose heart is God."

We have been told by 'Umar b. Zafar a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. Jarīr¹ according to which the latter said: I heard Abu'l-'Abbās b. 'Aṭā,² when asked the sense of the text (XX, 41) *And we delivered thee from distress and tried thee severely*, reply "We saved thee from distress about thy people and tempted thee with Ourselves away from all else." This, I would observe, is an outrage on God's Book, and to ascribe being tempted with the love of Him to His interlocutor,³ and to make love of Him tempt, is atrocious.

We have been told by Abū Maṣṣūr al-Qazzāz a tradition going back to Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh ar-Rāzī,⁴ according to which the latter said: I heard Abu'l-'Abbās b. 'Aṭā say in explanation of the text (LVI, 88) *And if he is of those brought nigh, then comfort and abundance and a Garden of delight*, "the comfort is gazing on God's face; the abundance is listening to His speech; and the Garden of delight is not being screened therein from God." This, I would observe, is a fanciful utterance opposed to the sayings of the commentators. And indeed Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī compiled out of their comments on the Qur'ān (most of them illicit prattle) some two volumes to which he gave the title "Truths of Interpretation." He quotes from them with reference to *The Opening of the Book*⁵ the assertion: "It is only so called as consisting in the first discourses which We have addressed to you.⁶ If you put this into practice, well and good; otherwise you will forfeit the choice sayings which follow."

I would observe that this is quite wrong, since the commentators are agreed that the "Opening" was not the first Sūrah revealed. Then *Amen* uttered by a man means according to him "directing ourselves towards Thee"; which also is quite wrong, since the word does not come from the group *Amm* for if it did, it would be *Ammin*.

1. Apparently the historian Ṭabarī is meant.

2. Probably Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sahl b. 'Aṭā, died 309 or 311; account of him in *Lawāqih al-Anwār*, I, 125-128.

3. Moses, who is addressed in the passage.

4. Was in Baghdad in 311. Notice of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, V, 437.

5. Name of the first Sūrah.

6. The sequel shows that the sentence refers to the Deity.

On the text (II, 79) *and if they come to you captive he says* : According to Abū 'Uthmān¹ "drowned in sins"; according to Al-Wāsitī² "drowned in the sight of their acts"; according to Junaid "bound in the affairs of this world"; *ye would ransom them* unto the breaking off of these ties. I would observe that the text is a remonstrance, the sense being "if you capture them, you take ransom for them, whereas if you fight with them, you slaughter them": and these people interpret it as a eulogy!

Muḥammad b. 'Alī³ glossed (II, 222) *God saveth the repentant* "from their repentance." An-Nūrī⁴ glossed (II, 246) *God grasps* and expands "i.e. He grasps thee with *Him* and expands thee to *Him*."⁵ And he glossed (III, 91) "*and whoso enters it shall be safe*" i.e. from the suggestions of his mind and the insinuations of Satan." This is exceedingly bad, since the text, though worked as a statement, has the sense of a command, the full force being "grant safety to any one who enters the sanctuary." These people interpret it as a statement, but they cannot make their interpretation correct, since many a man who enters the sanctuary is not safe from suggestions and insinuations.

He also states that Abū Turāb explained the text (IV, 35) *If ye avoid the capital offences which ye have been forbidden* of false pretences. Further that Sahl explained the *near neighbour* (of IV, 40) as "the heart," the *distant neighbour* as the soul, and the *son of the road* as the limbs. He also quotes Abū Bakr al-Warrāq⁶ for the comment on (XII, 24) *she desired him and he desired her* "both desires were hers; Joseph did not desire her." This, I must observe, contradicts the plain statement of the Qur'ān. The words (XII, 31) *this is not a human being* according to Muḥammad b. 'Alī mean "this is not a suitable person to invite to intimacy." Az-Zinjānī⁷ asserted that the thunder is angels' cries and the lightning the sighing of their hearts, and the rain their tears. He (the author cited) further states that al-Ḥusain commented on (XIII, 42) *and God's is the plotting altogether* thus: "there is no more conspicuous plotting therein than that of the Deity with His servants, when He causes them to fancy that there is a path to Him somehow,⁸ or that the created can be coupled with the uncreated."

I would observe that anyone who considers the meaning of this will know that it is pure infidelity, since it indicates that it (God's plotting) is a sort of frivolous sport. The Ḥusain meant is, however, al-Hallāj, whom such a comment suits. And on (XV, 72) *la 'amruka*⁹ he comments "i.e. by peopling thy inner self with beholding Us."

1. Sa'id b. Ismā'il al-Hīrī, died 298. Notice of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, IX 99-102.

2. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Mūsā, died after 320. Notice of him in *Lawāqih al-Anwār*, I, 132.

3. Abū 'Abdāllah at-Tirmidhī, of the 3rd Century. Notice of him in *Qushairī*, I, 164.

4. Abū'l-Ḥusain Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, died 295. Notice of him in *Lawāqih al-Anwār*, I, 115.

5. Apparently the fault found is in the grammar.

6. His name was Muḥammad b. 'Umar. Account of him in *Lawāqih al-Anwār*, I, 120, without dates.

7. His *Kunyah* is given in the *Luma* as Abū 'Amr.

8. Or perhaps "by a mystical state."

9. Ordinarily rendered "by thy life," addressed by the Deity to the Prophet.

And indeed the whole book is composed of similar stuff; it was my idea to reproduce much of it, but I decided that it would be a waste of time to write out what was either infidelity or erroneous or nonsensical. It is all in the "esoteric style" which we have been describing, and if anyone wants a general idea of its contents, this is a specimen; if any one wants more, let him look at the book itself.

Abū Naṣr as-Sarrāj mentions in the *Luma*¹ that the Ṣūfīs elicit certain ideas from the Qur'ān, such as from (XII, 108, *I summon unto God in perspicacity*, of which al-Wāsiṭī asserts the sense to be "I do not see myself," and ash-Shiblī says in explanation of XVIII, 17,² "Wert thou to survey all that is beside Us, thou wouldst turn away therefrom, fleeing unto Us." I would observe that this is not admissible, since the Divine Speaker only meant the Seven Sleepers. Thus as-Sarrāj calls these comments "elicitations" in his book!

Abū Hāmid at-Tūsī³ in his Chapter *Censure of Wealth* comments thus on the text (XIV, 38) *preserve me and my sons from worshipping idols*: "He means gold and silver, since the prophetic rank is too exalted to admit of the fear that they might worship gods and idols; so by their worship he must mean love of them and being deceived by them." This, I may observe, is not said by any of the commentators. And indeed Shu'aib says (VII, 87) *And it is not for us to return to it*⁴ *unless God our Lord so will*; and it is common knowledge that inclination to polytheism is excluded in the case of prophet by their infallibility, not because it is impossible. Further, Abraham in the former text couples with himself persons who might conceivably become polytheists and unbelievers and so may well introduce himself among them saying *preserve me and my sons*; it is well known that the Arabs are his sons, and most of them were idolatrous.

We have been told by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. 'Abd al-Khālīq a tradition going back to Abū Ḥaṣṣ b. Shāhīn⁵ according to which the latter said: Certain of the Ṣūfīs have said unlawful things about the Qur'ān itself, e.g. on the text (III, 187) *Verily in the creation of the heavens and the earth and the alternation of night and day there are signs to those that have brains* glossing "signs to Me," thus attaching to God what He attached to "those that have brains," which is altering the Qur'ān; and on (XXI, 81) *And to Solomon the wind*, "and Solomon to Me."⁶

We have been told by Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Khalaf after Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī that Abū Ḥamzah al-Khurāsānī said: Some people

1. The passage to which the author refers occurs on p. 109 of Nicholson's edition.

2. The words "in explanation of the text (*Wert thou to survey them, thou wouldst turn away from them in flight*) have evidently dropped out of the text. Ash-Shiblī's comment is quoted in the *Luma*, p. 112.

3. Ghazzālī, *Ihyā*, III, 771, line 12.

4. Idolatry.

5. Died 385. His name was 'Umar b. Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān. Notices of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, XI, 260, and *Ṭabaqāt al-Huffāz*, XII, 75.

6. I.e. "we subjected."

will be stopped¹ in Paradise, being told (LXIX, 24) *Eat and drink in comfort for that which ye sent before you in past days*; God diverting them from Himself by food and drink. No plot could surpass this, and no woe could be more terrible.

I would observe: Consider, God guide you, this folly, and the designation of God's bounty as a plot! According to this person's doctrine the blessed prophets do not eat or drink, but are exclusively occupied with God. What audacity to use such evil words! Is it permissible to attribute "plotting" to God in the ordinary meaning of the term? "Plotting" and "deception" as applied to the Deity mean only that He repays those who plot and deceive. I am truly amazed that these persons, who are so scrupulous about a morsel or an expression, indulge in such licence in the interpretation of the Qur'an.

We have been told by 'Alī b. 'Ubaidallāh, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad a tradition going back to Jundub² according to which the latter said: The Prophet said: Whoso speaks about the Qur'an according to his own notion errs even if he speak aright.

We have been told by Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad a tradition going back to Sa'id b. Jubair³ after Ibn 'Abbās, according to which the prophet said: Whoso speaks about the Qur'an according to his own notion had better prepare for himself a place in Hell.

There has also been related to us a story about some of them, dealing with the "plotting," which it shocks me to report, only by doing so I am calling attention to the atrocity of these ignorant people's fancies. We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabīb a tradition going back to Abū 'Abdallāh b. Khafīf⁴ according to which the latter said: I heard Ruwaim⁵ say: One night in Syria⁶ there was an assembly of Shaikhs, who said: We have never experienced so agreeable a night, so come let us discuss some question so that our night may not be wasted. They said: Let us talk about Love, since that is the people's mainstay.⁷ Each proceeded to speak according to his view. Among them was 'Amr b. 'Uthmān al-Makkī,⁸ who had to go out to the court of the house. It was a moonlit night, and he found a slip of parchment with writing on it, which he took and brought to the others. Friends, he said, you may keep still, for here is your reply. Look at the contents of this message. It was found to contain the words: A plotter, a plotter, and you all profess to love Him. They parted, some of them putting on pilgrim attire, and only met at the Feast.

1. i.e. from full consummation.

2. Died during the civil war of Ibn az-Zubair (64-73). Notice of him in the *Tahdhib*, II, 118.

3. Executed by al-Ḥajjāj in 95. Notice of him in the same work, IV, 11.

4. Muḥammad aḍ-Ḍabbī, died 371. Notice of him in *Lawāqih al-Anwār*, I, 160.

5. Ibn Aḥmad; his kunyah was doubtful. Died 330. Notice of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, VIII, 430. See also *Table-talk*, part II, p. 180.

6. Or, perhaps, Damascus.

7. i.e. the basis of Sufism.

8. Died 291. Notice of him in *Lawāqih al-Anwār*, I, 117.

I would observe that this is an improbable story, and Ibn Khafif is untrustworthy. If it is true, then Satan must have thrown down that parchment, though these people falsely supposed it to be a message from God. We have explained that the meaning of plotting as ascribed to God is repaying for plotting. To apply the term to Him generally is worse than ignorance and worse than folly.

We have been told by Ibn Zafar a tradition going back to al-Khuldī, according to which the latter said : I heard Ruwaim say : God has hidden certain things in others : He has hidden His plotting in His knowledge ; His deception in His kindness ; His punishments in the category of His miracles.

This is confusion and audacity of the same sort as before.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a tradition going back to al-Ḥasan b. 'Alawaihi¹ according to which the latter said : Abū Yazīd went to visit a brother² of his, and when he got to the river Oxus, the banks of the river came together for him. He said : O Lord, what is this secret plot ? By Thy might, I have not served Thee for this ! So he turned back and did not cross. I also, said as-Sahlakī,³ heard the aforementioned⁴ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad relate how Abū Yazīd said : Whoso knows God becomes a janitor to Paradise, and Paradise becomes a misfortune to him.

It is, I would observe, terrible audacity to attribute plotting to God, and to make of Paradise, which is the ultimate desire, a misfortune. If it be a misfortune to "those who know," what must it be like to others ! The source of all this is ignorance and misunderstanding.

We have been told by Ibn Ḥabīb a tradition going back to Aḥmad b. al-'Abbās al-Muḥallabī according to which the latter said : I heard Ṭaifūr (Abū Yazīd) say : Those who know, when they visit the Deity in the next world, are of two classes : one, who visit Him when and where they will ; another, who visit Him once, and never again. How so ? he was asked. He replied : When those who know see Him for the first time, He makes for them a market, wherein is no buying or selling, only forms of men and women ; any one of them who enters that market never again visits the Deity. Abū Yazīd further said : He deceives thee with the market in this world, and with the market in the next world ; so thou art always a slave of the market.

I would observe that calling Paradise a deception and a cause of exclusion from the Deity is gross ignorance. The "market" will be appointed for them as a reward, not as a deception ; if permission be accorded then to take what is in the market, and they are afterwards punished by being forbidden to visit, the reward will have become a punishment. And whence does he learn that whoso selects anything out of the market will

1. Al-Qaṭṭān, died 298.

2. Probably means a friend, or fellow-Ṣūfī.

3. One of the transmitters of the last tradition ; the vocalization of his name is uncertain.

4. The person mentioned was Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm.

not visit the Deity again nor ever see Him? We implore God's protection from this confusion, this arbitrary assertion, and making statements about mysteries known only to a prophet.

Whence, indeed, does he know them, and what becomes of such sayings as that of Abū Hurairah, the transmitter of traditions, to Sa'id b. al-Musayyib: May God bring us together in the market of Paradise! Do you suppose that he desired to be punished with distance from the Deity? Nay, it is these people who are distant from knowledge, and whose satisfaction with their vain fancies has involved them in this confusion. A man ought to know that thoughts and imaginings are the fruits of his knowledge, so that if a man knows, his thoughts will be sound, being the fruits of knowledge, whereas if he be ignorant the fruits of his ignorance will be uniformly erroneous.

I saw in the handwriting of Ibn 'Uqail: "Abū Yazīd, passing by a Jewish graveyard, said: What are these that Thou shouldst punish them? A handful of bones, whose doom has overtaken them! Forgive them!"

I would observe that this is a display of ignorance. The expression "a handful of bones" is one of contempt for the human being, for a Believer too when he dies becomes a handful of bones. "Whose doom has overtaken them" the same was Pharaoh's case. The prayer "Forgive them" displays ignorance of the Code: the Deity has stated that association of others with Himself will not be forgiven to one who dies in unbelief (IV, 51). If this person's intercession would be accepted, then that of Abraham for his father would have been accepted (LX, 4), and that of the Prophet Muḥammad for his mother.¹ God protect us from ignorance!

We have been told by Abu'l-Waqt 'Abd al-Awwal b. 'Isa a tradition going back to Abū Naṣr as-Sarrāj,² to the effect that Ibn Salīm used to say: Abū Yazīd, passing by a Jewish graveyard, said "Excusable," and passing by a Muslim graveyard said "Dupes." Of this as-Sarrāj offers the following explanation. Probably, he says, considering the damnation which had been predestined for them from eternity without any action of their own, and how God had made His wrath their portion, he said "They are excusable."³

I would observe that as-Sarrāj's explanation is improper, since it would involve that neither Pharaoh nor anyone else was to be punished.

Now some specimens of what they say about tradition and other matters. We have been told by Abū Maṣṣūr al-Qazzāz a tradition going back to 'Abdallāh son of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, according to which the latter said:⁴ Abū Turāb an-Nakhshabī⁵ came to my father, who began saying,

1. This refers to a tradition in the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, V, 355, according to which the Prophet was seen weeping, and explained that he had been asking permission to pray for his mother, and been refused.

2. The story is taken from the *Luma'*, pp. 391, 392. This author charges Ibn Salīm with undue hostility to Abū Yazīd.

3. Text corrected from the *Luma'*.

4. This story comes from *Kitāb Baghdād*, XII, 316; its author is mentioned in the series of transmitters.

5. 'Askar b. al-Ḥusain, died 245.

So-and-so is weak, So-and-so is trustworthy : Abū Turāb said, Shaikh, do not malign the learned. Turning to him, my father said : Nay, this is counsel, not slander.

We have been told by Yahya b. 'Alī al-Mudabbir a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-'Abbāsī, according to which the latter said : We were with 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Abī Hātim,¹ who was reading out to us his *Book of Discrediting and Approving*,² and said : I shall reveal the characters of the learned, showing which of them is trustworthy, and which untrustworthy. Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusain³ said to him : I am ashamed of you,⁴ Abū Muḥammad ; how many of these people a century or two centuries ago have come to rest in Paradise, while you, here on earth, malign their names ! 'Abd ar-Raḥmān burst into tears, and said : Abū Ya'qūb, had I heard this saying before I composed this book, I should never have composed it.

I would observe : God forgive Ibn Hātim ! Had he been a jurist, he would have replied to him as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal replied to Abū Turāb : Were it not for "discrediting and approving," how would the genuine be distinguished from the spurious ? Further, the fact of these people being in Paradise does not prevent our mentioning them with their appropriate descriptions ; to call this maligning is improper language. Besides, if a man does not know the principles of "discrediting and approving," how can his words give a certificate of veracity ? Yūsuf had better had occupied himself with the wonders narrated of him than with this sort of talk.⁵

We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabīb a tradition going back to Abu'l 'Abbās b. 'Atā,⁶ according to which the latter said : Whoso knows God refrains from bringing his needs before Him, knowing that God is the One who knows about his affairs.

This, I would observe, bars the door against petition and prayer, and is a display of ignorance.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Khairūn a tradition said to have been read to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ahwāzī⁷ as follows : I heard Abū Bakr Dulaf the Ṣūfī (or, he may have said ash-Shiblī) say, when asked by a lad why he said "God" instead of saying

1. His father's name was Muḥammad b. Idrīs ; he died 327. Notices of him in *Shajarat adh-Dhahab*, II, 308 and *Lisān al-Mizān*, III, 432. In the latter work it is stated that there is an exhaustive biography of him in the *Kitāb Baghdād*, whose author is the transmitter here ; I have not been able to find it in the printed edition.

2. i.e. of transmitters of Traditions.

3. A Ṣūfī whose orthodoxy was doubted, died 304. Account of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, XIV, 314-319.

4. This seems to be the sense, but the syntax is unusual.

5. In the *Kitāb Baghdād*, l.c. there is a story of a letter descending from heaven declaring Yūsuf innocent of the charges brought against him.

6. His name was Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ādamī, died 309. Accounts of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, V, 26-30 and *Lawāḍiqh al-Anwār*, I, 125-128.

7. If this person be the one of that name of whom there is an account in *Kitāb Baghdād*, II, 218-219, who lived 345-428, he cannot have heard Shiblī himself, as the latter died in 344.

"There is no god but God"; I am ashamed of putting something positive after a negation. The lad said he wanted a stronger plea than that. Ash-Shiblī replied: I am afraid of being taken while uttering the negation and never getting to the affirmation.¹

I would observe: Consider this subtlety! The Prophet used to enjoin the utterance of "There is no god but God," and encourage it. In both *Ṣaḥīḥ* it is recorded that he used to say at the termination of each regular prayer, "There is no god but God only; He hath no associate," and when he rose up for the nightly prayer, "There is no god but Thou;" and he mentioned the great reward earned by one who utters "There is no god but God." Consider then this defiance of the Code, and choice of something which the Prophet did not choose!

We have been told by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī a tradition going back to 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī as-Sarrāj² according to which the latter said: I have been informed how Abu'l-Ḥusain an-Nūrī was charged with saying, when he heard a Mu'adhdhin calling to prayer, "May some deadly poison penetrate him," and when he heard a dog bark, "I wait upon Thy service and upon aiding Thy cause";³ being asked about this, he replied: I resent this Mu'adhdhin's mentioning God negligently, taking pay for doing so, whereas otherwise he would not have called to prayer, and for this reason I cursed him; whilst the dog makes mention of God without hypocrisy. For God says (XXII, 46) *Nought is there but chants His praise.*

I would observe: Consider, my friends (God keep us all from error!) this juristic subtlety, and elicitation of the true path!

We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabīb a tradition going back to Abū Ya'qūb al-Kharrāṭ, according to which the latter had been told as follows by an-Nūrī: Seeing a man take hold of his own beard I said to him: Remove your hand from God's beard! The matter was brought to the notice of the Caliph, search was made for me, and I was arrested. When I appeared before the Caliph, he said to me: I have been told that when a dog barked you said "I wait upon Thy service and upon aiding Thy cause," but that when the Mu'adhdhin uttered the call to prayer you said "May he be poisoned." Yes, I said, God says *Nought is there but chants His praise*, so I said "I wait upon Thy service," because the dog had made mention of God. As for the Mu'adhdhin, he being steeped in sin and negligent of God makes mention of Him. The Caliph proceeded to ask about my saying to the man: Remove your hand from God's beard. I said: True, is not the man, his beard, and everything both in this world and in the next God's?

I would observe: It is ignorance which has plunged these people into this confusion. What led the man to fancy that an attribute of possession is a personal attribute?⁴

1. I.e. he might die with the words "There is no god" on his lips.

2. This story does not seem to be found in this author's *Luma'*.

3. Formula preceding the recitation of the *Fātiḥah*. Translation according to Lane.

4. The meaning seems to be: to say that a beard belongs to God is very different from saying that He is bearded.

We have been told by Ibn Ḥabīb a tradition going back to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz¹ according to which the latter said: I heard ash-Shiblī say when asked about knowledge: I tell you, one who says Allāh knows not Allāh; by Allāh had they known Him they would not have said it.

The transmitter of the above (Ibn Bakuyah) proceeds: And I heard Abu'l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Baradānī say: I heard ash-Shiblī say one day to a man who to his question as to his name replied, Adam: Wretch, do you know what Adam did? He sold his Lord for a mouthful. Further, he used to say: Praise to Him who has given me the excuse of melancholia.²

The same transmitter proceeds: And I heard Bakran b. Aḥmad al-Jīlī say: Ash-Shiblī had a companion, who informed him that he wished to repent. Ash-Shiblī said to him: Sell your property, pay your debts, and divorce your wife. The man did so. Then he said to him: Make orphans of your children by causing them to despair of having any connexion with you. The man agreed. Then he produced some scraps which he had collected, and bade the man throw them before the poor³ and eat with them.

We have been told by Abu'l-Muẓaffar 'Abd al-Mun'im b. 'Abd al-Karīm that his father had informed him as follows: I heard, he said, one of the "poor" say: I heard Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Harraḡānī say, "There is no god but God" from the interior of the heart, "Muḥammad is God's apostle" without thinking.⁴

We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabīb a tradition going back to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Halfā'ī⁵ according to which the latter said: Ash-Shiblī, seeing a young lad in the public bath without a bathing dress, said to him: My lad, cover your nakedness. The lad replied: Be quiet, foolish man. If you are upon the truth, you will witness nothing but the truth; if you are upon the false, you will witness nothing but the false. For the truth is occupied with truth, and falsehood with falsehood.⁶

We have been told by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭāhir a tradition going back to 'Alī b. al-Muḥassin at-Tanūkhī, which he had from his father.⁷ I was told, he said, the following by Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd ar-Raḥīm b. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣirafī the jurist. I was present, he said, in Shīrāz, at the court of the Qādī of the place, Abū Sa'd Bishr b. al-Ḥasan ad-Dāwūdī, when there came before him a Ṣūfī man, and a Ṣūfī woman. Now Sufism is there very rampant, he observed; it is said that the men and women who follow that system are in thousands. The woman demanded the help of

1. Called Abū Bakr al-Washsha, died 301. Notice of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, V, 56.

2. Apparently the meaning is that this ailment would excuse moral defects.

3. Perhaps this should rather be "the dervishes."

4. The text has been amended, though not certainly. Since we have a series of anecdotes about ash-Shiblī, it is likely that some words have been lost.

5. Probably this *nisbah* is corrupt.

6. The lad evidently accepted the extreme consequences of pantheism.

7. The story is from the *Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, Part II, Section 113.

the Qāḍī against her husband, and when they presented themselves she said to him : Qāḍī, this husband of mine wants to divorce me, which he has no right to do ; will you please stop him ? The Qāḍī Abū Sa'd, who disapproved of the Ṣūfī systems, showed surprise, then said to her : How do you mean that he has no right to do this ? She said : Because when he married me his intent on me was stable, and now he states that his intent has ceased from me, whereas my intent on him is stable and has not ceased. He must wait till my intent has ceased from him even as his intent has ceased from me. Abū Sa'd said to me : What do you think of this jurisprudence ? He then reconciled the parties and they went away without divorce.

Abū Ḥāmid aṭ-Ṭūsī in his "Revival"¹ states that one of them said : "Lordship contains a mystery by the revelation of which prophethood would be annulled ; prophethood contains a mystery by the divulging of which knowledge would be annulled ; and those who know God possess a mystery whereby, if they were to disclose it, the commandments would be annulled."

I would observe : Consider, my brethren, this offensive nonsense, and the allegation that the letter of the Code contradicts its inner meaning.

Abū Ḥāmid says :² A young son of one of the Ṣūfīs was lost, and it was suggested to the father to ask God to restore him. The Ṣūfī answered : Resistance on my part to God's decree would be more painful to me than the loss of my child.

I would observe : I have long wondered how Abū Ḥāmid can relate these utterances with approval and consent, though he was aware that prayer and petition are not resistance.

Aḥmad al-Ghazzālī³ says : A Jew presented himself to the Ṣūfī Abū Sa'id b. Abī'l-Khair⁴ saying : I wish to become a Muslim at thy hand. Do not wish it, said Abū Sa'id. The people gathered together saying : Shaikh, do you forbid him to accept Islam ? Abū Sa'id then said to the man : You wish this decidedly ? The man said : I do. Abū Sa'id said : You give up yourself and your possessions ? The man said : I do. This, said Abū Sa'id, is what I mean by *Islam* (abandonment); now convey him to the Shaikh Abū Ḥāmid,⁵ to learn the "no, no" of the hypocrites, meaning the formula "There is no god but God."

I would observe that the impropriety of this language is too obvious for censure ; it is indeed most atrocious.

A story of discouraging conversion to Islam similar to this was told us by Abū Maṣṣūr al-Qazzāz on the authority of Abū Bakr b. Thābit⁶

1. *Iḥyā*, I, 81, line 24.

2. *Iḥyā*, IV, 273, line 7, where it is added that the boy was not heard of for three days.

3. Clearly a different person from the famous Ghazzālī.

4. Famous ascetic, 357-440. A Persian account of his sayings and doings called *Asrār at-Tauḥīd* was published by Zhukovski, St. Petersburg, 1899.

5. A Shaikh Abū Ḥāmid Dostan is brought into connexion with Abū Sa'id in the work quoted, p. 339.

6. It is told in *Kitāb Baghdād*, VII, 352. The text has been corrected thence.

who had it on the authority of various members of the Masargis family. Al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain (he says) were brothers, sons of 'Īsa b. Masargis, who rode with him, and whose beauty and equipment struck people with amazement. Having agreed to adopt Islam they went to call on Ḥafṣ b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān in order to accept it at his hand. He said to them: 'You are among the most distinguished of the Christians. Now 'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak¹ has gone on pilgrimage this year, and if you were to accept Islam at his hand this would win you more honour among the Muslims, and increase your dignity and importance, since he is admittedly Shaikh of the East and the West. So they departed, but al-Ḥusain fell ill and died as a Christian before the arrival of Ibn al-Mubārak; on his arrival al-Ḥasan accepted Islam.

I would observe that this disaster was brought on by sheer ignorance, and the amount of the man's knowledge may be gauged thereby. Had he known anything at all, he would have told them to accept Islam at once, since that may not be delayed one moment. Still the fact that Abū Sa'īd said to the Jew what he did is more extraordinary, since the latter wanted to accept it.

Abū Naṣr as-Sarrāj in his book *Lum'a* (traits of the Ṣūfīs)² says Sahl b. 'Abdallāh used to say to any of his friends who was ailing: When you want to complain say *Auh*, which is one of the names of God, and will comfort the Believer; do not say *Aukh*, for that is one of Satan's names.³

These then are specimens of these people's language and juristic attainments; they indicate how little they know, how they misunderstand, and how frequently they err. Now I have heard Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī al-Muqrī recite a tradition going back to Muḥammad son of Muḥammad b. Īdrīs ash-Shāfi'ī, according to which he had heard his father say: I associated with the Ṣūfīs for ten years, and got nothing from them but these two maxims: Time is a sword; and the best protection is incapacity.

D.S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(To be continued).

1. 218-281, traditionalist, but famous in many other ways. His biography in *Kitāb Baghdād*, X, 152-169, is one of the longest in the work.

2. Ed. Nicholson, p. 203, whence the text has been corrected.

3. In the list of divine names given in *Qūt al-Qulūb*, I, 11, the Hebrew *Yahu* comes near Sahl's name; the source of this name for Satan is obscure.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

I. University Convocation :

AT the Convocation of the Osmania University on 16th February, after the regular award of degrees, certificates and medals to various students of the University who were declared successful in the University examinations and recommended by the Deans of their respective faculties, the following honorary degrees were conferred :— (a) LL.D. on Sir John Sargent, (b) D.Litt. on Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, and (c) D.Sc. on Sir C.V. Raman. The Convocation Address was delivered by Sir John Sargent, Educational Adviser to the Government of India. It dealt mainly with his happy undergraduate life at Oxford and the influence of environment at a residential University in forming character. At the conclusion he wished that when the call to action will come to the students of the Osmania University they “ will hear it and answer it worthily.”

II. Names of Foreign Scientists who visited Hyderabad during January and February 1947 :

(a) U.S.A.:—(1) Prof. E.N. Harvey, Prof. of Biology, Princeton University ; (2) Dr. Oscar Riddle, Prof. of Experimental Evolution, Carnegie Institute ; (3) Dr. Harlow Shapley, Director, Harvard College Observatory ; (4) Prof. A.F. Blakeslee, Director, Genetic Experimental Station, Smith College ; (5) Dr. W. Edwards Denning, Sampling Adviser, Bureau of the Budget, Washington.

(b) Britain :—(1) Sir C.G. Darwin, Director, National Physical Laboratory ; (2) Sir Arthur Fleming, Director of Research Metropolitan Vickers Electrical Co. ; (3) Prof. H.M. Fox, Prof. of Zoology, Bedford College, London ; (4) Prof. W. Brown, Prof. of Plant Pathology, Imperial College of Science and Technology, London ; (5) Sir Harold Spencer Jones, Astronomer Royal, England ; (6) Prof. P.B. White, National Institute of Medical Research, London.

(c) *Canada* :— (1) Dr. Robert W. Boyle, Director of the National Research Laboratories, Ottawa ; (2) Dr. W.F. Hanna, Plant Pathologist, Dominion Research Laboratory ; (3) Dr. T.L. Tanton, Senior Geologist Geological Survey of Canada ; (4) Prof. R.B. Thomson, Emeritus Prof. of Botany, University of Toronto.

(d) *France* :— (1) Prof. Jacques Hadamard, Emeritus Prof. of Mathematics, College de France.

(e) *Russia* :— Prof. P. Volgin, Vice-President, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences ; (2) Prof. U. Omarov, Prof. of Physics, Tashkent University ; (3) Prof. L. Pavlovsky, Prof. of Biology, Leningrad University.

Sir H.S. Jones and S. Shapley visited the Nizamiah Observatory on 14th January and discussed with its staff schemes of further development.

Some of the Foreign Scientists delivered semitechnical or popular lectures also at various institutions of the Osmania University.

Prof. J. Hadamard's series of six special lectures on *Scientific Determinism and Huygens's Principle* continued from 5th February to the 11th ; the 1st and 3rd lectures were held at the Nizam College and the remaining four at the Osmania University.

III. *The Diamond Jubilee of the Nizam College :*

It was inaugurated by His Exalted Highness the Nizam on 19th February ; there was a Garden Fete the same evening. Extensive programmes of interesting events followed on subsequent dates, such as Urdu and English debates, Variety Show, Cricket, Tennis, Football and Hockey Festival Matches, ending finally with Sports and Dinner on the 23rd February.

IV. *Inauguration of Hyderabad Legislative Assembly :*

This took place at the Town Hall, Hyderabad, on 17th February, with a gracious message from H.E.H. the Nizam, and was followed by appropriate speeches from the President of the Executive Council and the President of the Assembly.

V. *Lunar Auroræ :*

" *Sky and Telescope*, (September, 1946), Harvard, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. contains a short note on the above subject which deals with a suggestion made by Prof. Mohd. A.R. Khan, Hyderabad, in *Popular Astronomy* of June. This suggestion is that auroral phenomena would occur on the portion of the Moon's surface that is lighted up by earthshine should there be any appreciable atmosphere on our satellite."—*Nature*, London, Vol. 158, No. 4025, December 21, 1946, p. 907.

The subject is further discussed in *Popular Astronomy* of October 1946, by G. Herzberg of the Yerkes Observatory, Williams Bay, Wisconsin, U.S.A.

M.A.R.K.

DECCAN

Bahā'ullāh and the New Era :

VERY recently the Bahā'ī Publishing Committee, Poona, has published the *Bahā'ullāh and the New Era*. The Bahā'ī Religion or the Religion of Love was founded by two well-known exponents of Iran. Bāb and Bahā'ullāh, the former playing the Baptist to the latter. Bahā'ullāh considered himself to be the promised Messiah. An account of the life and teachings of the founder is here given and the general principles of the system of thought and conduct are also sketched. Bahā'ullāh was a martyr to persecution but his life reveals love for mankind and of God. The most heroic part of his life is revealed in his fervent appeals to the eminent statesmen and crowned heads of the West in the nineteenth century to hearken to the voice of God. His son 'Abdul Bahā, who was his successor to the seat, carried on the work of acquainting the world with writings and 'prophesies' of his father-founder. The Bahā'ī religion has now many followers who professedly seek to live the life of love of man without any difference of race and preach the doctrine of inner purity and consecration to the love of God. This publication also contains the extracts of the writings and other works of Bahā'ullāh. To cite just one passage: "O son of Being! Love me that I may love thee. If thou lovest Me not, My love can in no wise reach thee. Know this O servant. O son of wondrous Vision! I have breathed within thee a breath of My own Spirit that thou mayest be My lover. Why hast thou forsaken Me and sought a beloved other than Me (95)." This book may be taken to be an authoritative history of the Bahā'ī Faith.

Muslim Coins from Navsari (Gujarat) :

Dr. J.M. Unvala writes in the course of some *Numismatic Notes* in the latest issue of the *Journal* of the Numismatic Society of India (VII, pts. 1, 11) that "while repairing the private road of the town of Navsari to the Tower of Silence, fifteen bullion coins of the Sultans of Delhi were found scattered in loose earth. They are interesting from the standpoint of the local history of Navsari, where such finds are extremely rare." Three Khalji (of 'Alāu'd-Dīn and Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh) and three Tughlaq (of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughlaq and Muḥammad Tughlaq)

are worthy of notice. It will be more interesting to note here authoritatively that Navsari has been a much haunted place by the Musalmans from very early days. It is mentioned by the Arab geographer Dimishqī who has given much attention to Gujarat and he says Navsari is a third city, farther Sopara and it was then a big Gulf. Besides, even to this day the Jum'a Masjid of Navsari contains one important inscription of Muḥammad Tughlaq's reign which shows that a fort was prepared by Malik Maqbūl during his reign. Details of Malik Maqbūl's activities in Gujarat during the reign of Muḥammad Tughlaq are given in the *Fīrōz Shāhī* of Barni (pp. 512-13). In this respect the historical importance of Navsari will be obvious.

Some Unique Coins found in Bihar :

Mr. S.A. Shere has described some coins in his Patna museum (*vide* the above referred to *Numismatic Journal*). They concern the Sultāns of Bengal and Bahmani Sultāns of Gulbarga. One coin of 'Ala'ud-Dīn Husain Shāh of Bengal bears Muḥammadābād as mint on it although it is not in perfect condition. It was necessary that it must have been carefully identified in the survey map of India. One more coin of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh of Bengal is described, whom Mr. Shere regards as one of the eighteen sons of Sultān 'Alāu'd-Dīn Shāh of Bengal. Its reverse bears the legend :

السلطان الفاتح الكامرو وكته وجانگرو اريسه علاؤالد نيا والدين ابو المظفر

with which we are concerned here and it shows that he was the conqueror of places like Kamru (Kamrup), Kamtah, Jajnagar and Orissa. Really it is an extraordinary find with so many mint names on one coin. It reflects that he had conquered these places and thus gave their names on his coins in commemorating his victory over these places. It was a very important point for the writer on coins to work out this problem.

Fathābād as a Mint Town of the Bahmani Sultāns :

Capt. P.S. Tarapore of Hyderabad Deccan says (in the above referred to *Numismatic Journal*) that only a few but extremely rare Bahmani silver *tankas* with the mint-name Fathābād فتح آباد are known. According to him this mint Fathābād is only found on Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī's coins ranging from 761 to 766 which are in his collection. Fathābād, the modern Dhārūr, is situated in Bir district of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions. But by quoting the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* (p. 17) he has concluded that this Fathābād is no other than that of Daulatabad or Deogir, and not Dhārūr in Bir district. The substance of this passage of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* runs thus :

"It is related in the account of Sultān 'Alā'ud-Dīn Bahman Shāh that when Qēr Khān obtained Kotur Jagir, laid siege to Kalyani. After taking Kalyani he wrote to the Sultān giving him news of his victory, who being much pleased with the victory ordered the drum of rejoicing to be beaten in the city of Daulatābād, called Fathābād. The rejoicings were continued for one week." It is just possible that 'Alā'ud-Dīn out of jealousy against the Tughlaqs might have given this name of Fathābād to Daulatābād which was originally given by Muḥammad Tughlaq. It will, no doubt, create a greater interest to know that the same Dhārūr was also named Fathābād during the Nizām Shāhī regime as this also has been mentioned by the author of the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* (p. 446). During the reign of Murtaḍa Nizām Shāh (A.H. 972-996) Dhārūr was captured and Farhād Khān and Changēz Jahān were appointed to keep order in the city. When the Sultān Murtaḍa Nizām Shāh himself entered that lofty fort, he renamed it Fathābād? It was not Shāhjahān who had renamed Dhārūr as Fathābād. *Bādshāh Nāma* and other Mughal histories unanimously mention that Dhārūr was already called Fathābād.

Mint Sultānpūr :

Mr. Hurmuz Kaus has described one important coin with a necessary illustration (*vide* the above referred to *Numismatic Journal*). It might create a controversy. It is inscribed thus:— obverse عدل محمد شاه reverse حضرت سلطانپور Mr. Hurmuz attributes this coin to Muḥammad Tughlaq but we advise him to see it once again very carefully. He will come to know that it in reality belongs to Muḥammad Shāh 'Alā'ud-Dīn Khalji and not Muḥammad Tughlaq. The coins of 'Alā'ud-Dīn Khalji generally bear the same inscriptions. Mr. Hurmuz takes this mint Sultānpūr noted on this copper coin as Warangal which was also renamed Sultānpūr. But this Sultānpūr of this coin is different from that of Warangal and it is certainly in the north which is also found on Balban's coins.

An Ivory Box of Chānd Bibi :

Baroda State Museum Bulletin (II, pt. 2) contains an article on this heading by Dr. Herman Goetz, the curator of the Baroda Museum. He has illustrated his article with an illustration of the top of an ivory box which bears three figures in three separate insets as a decorative panel. The figure in the middle which looks to be female figure, Dr. Goetz takes as the portrait of Chānd Bibī and thus attributes this ivory box to her. He says the figure on the top is of Ibrāhīm II of Bijāpūr, while he was young; and the third one at the bottom, according to the writer, must be of the prime minister, Kāmil Khān. It is very difficult to agree to the writer's views unless we have some inscriptional evidence or some reference from history of the court.

Calligraphy :

To link up our activities in this respect we draw the attention of the readers of *Islamic Culture* to its issue of the July, 1944 in which we had noted the specimens of calligraphy of great calligraphists like Arghu'l-Kāmlī and 'Abdullā aṣ-Ṣayrafī, who were the pupils of the great calligraphist Yāqūt Musta'simī (d. 698 A.H.), particularly of the latter in the Kutub Khāna Āṣafiya, Hyderabad. Fortunately we have come across some other similar specimens of great calligraphists upon whom the development of Muslim calligraphy depends much. These specimens were found in the exhibition at Delhi which was held there in connection with the Silver Jubilee of Jāmi'a-i-Millia, Delhi. We understand that the most important feature of this exhibition was the Islamic calligraphy which was presented there, both through rare and unique Arabic and Persian manuscripts found in different collections of India and Arabic and Persian inscriptions extant on Indo-Muslim monuments ranging from A.H. 592. Accordingly one Arabic small MS. exhibited there from the State Library of Rāmpūr was calligraphed by Ibn Muqlah (d. 328 A.H.) who greatly inspired almost all the subsequent Muslim calligraphists. He was undoubtedly the originator of the *Kūfī* style of calligraphy and the author of the مقدمة في صناعة الخط. He was the minister of the 'Abbāsi Khalifa Muqtadir-billāh and was beheaded during his reign. The MS transcribed by him under notice here from the State Library of Rāmpūr bears this colophon (in three lines).

عمل ابن المقله

تمت بحمد الله ومنه والصلوة على رسوله محمد وآله اجمعين

اللهم لكاتبه ولقارئه لمن قال آمين يا اله العالمين وثلاث مائة

Another MS of the holy Qur'ān was exhibited there by some person which is wrongly attributed to Yāqūt Musta'simī. Although one Qur'ān calligraphed by him is, we understand, in one of the prominent collections of Hyderabad. One more important MS from the State Library of Rāmpūr is worthy of notice here. It is calligraphed and illuminated by 'Abdullāh aṣ-Ṣayrafī. Its colophon is :—

اللهم صلى على نبي الرحمة وسفيح الامة وامام الائمة محمد وآله الطيبين الطاهرين وسلم

كتبه العبد المستغفر عبد الله الصيرفي في سنة احدى وعشرين وسبع مائه حامدا لله تعالى
ومصليا مسلما

We are justified to say that Indian collections are very rich in remnants of Muslim culture.

Reconversion to Hinduism :

Prof. Dr. A.S. Altekar, head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University, has recently written one

article under the above heading, which we have come across in the *Hindu*, Madras, Sunday, January 5, 1947. He has made a historical survey, being inspired by the incidents that have occurred in Bihar and Bengal. We are surprised to see that a man like Dr. Altekar gave a proof of narrow-mindedness, because from a university teacher such irresponsible writings, which might lead to create bitter communal feelings are not expected. In reality he is appearing in the capacity of a great advocate and tries to conclude that 'reconversion' is permissible. He means that those Hindus who once have been converted to another religion can be reconverted to Hinduism, although Hindu religion does not allow them. He says: "It is a matter of some satisfaction that the terrible calamity of the Hindus of Eastern Bengal has roused the Hindu community to a proper sense of realism and duty. Had we adopted this view a thousand years earlier, the present Hindu-Muslim problem would not have arisen at all. The Muslim population of India would not have risen to more than a crore. "After discussing the pros and cons of the problem he also makes a historical survey and throughout he has used words 'conversion by force and fraud' which have diverted our attention; particularly when he refers to history books like Balādhuri's *Futūḥ-u'l-Buldān*, 'Utbi's *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī*, etc, which have been not properly interpreted by him. Dr. Altekar's historical master-piece requires careful study by every Muslim who has studied Indo-Muslim history, not with a view to bring about communal hatred, rather with a view to create communal harmony. Because we are certain that always such problems of conversion are misunderstood. We propose to deal this problem in detail somewhere else; however, it is necessary that we should not hesitate to quote here one incident of the earliest voluntary conversion of a great Hindu scholar Brahman particularly in Bengal about which Dr. Altekar has drawn our attention. We are grateful to our learned friend Qādī Ahmad Miān Akhtar of Junagadh who has very kindly supplied us with the following original Arabic and Persian text, from his own library relating to this voluntary conversion. The Arabic extract is from the *المراة المعاني في ادراك العالم الانساني Kashf-uz-Zunūn*, Vol. II, p. 414 by Muḥammad Rukn-u'd-Dīn Samarqandī, alias Ibnū'l-'Umaid? (A.H. 540-615/A.D. 1145-1218), which is a translation of the Sanskrit work *Amrutkund* into Arabic and the same was later translated into Persian by the saint Mohd. Ghauth of Gwalior d. 970 A.H./1562 A.D. under the name of *بحر الحياه*. Its introduction shows that one great learned Brahman named Bhojar came to the Jum'a Masjid of Kāmṛūp and offered himself to the Qādī to embrace Islam. The Arabic extract runs thus:—

«فان للهند كتاب معتبر معروف عند حکماء و علمائها وهو یسمى انبرت کند (امرت کند)

یعنی حوض ماء الحیات فلما افتتحو المسلمین بلاد الهند و ظهر فیها علم الاسلام بلغ الخبر الی

کامر (کامروپ) وهی اقصی بلاد الهند و فیها علماؤها و حکماؤها فخرج واحد منهم لطلب المناظرة مع علماء الاسلام واسمه بهوجر برهن جوکی معناه بالعزیه مر تاض عالم حتی وصل الی اکنوت (لکهنوتی؟) فی وقت السلطان علی مرد فی تبرکرا فدخل الجامع یوم الجمعة فسال عن العلماء فاشاروا الی محل القاضی الامام رکن الدین محمد السمرقندی فقال من امامکم فقالوا محمد صلی الله علیه وسلم رسول الله - قال فی الروح هو من امر ربی فقال صدقتم هذا الذی وجدناه فی مصحف ابراهیمان وهما ابراهیم وموسی علیهما السلام فاسلم وتعلم علوم الاسلام حتی اجازوا له العلماء الفتوی فعرض هو هذا الکتاب علی القاضی المذکور علیه الرحمة فتعجب من ذلك وعمل فیہ حتی وصل مرتبتهم فنقله من الهند (یة) الی الفارسیة ومن الفارسیة الی العربیة وهو عشرة ابواب یأتی ذکرها فی هذا الکتاب وبقی الکتاب فی الاسلام الی یومنا هذا - لما وقفت علی هذا الکتاب وابصرت عجایبه واشتقت الی معرفة حقیقته فلم اجد استادا حتی وصل؟ جوکی من بلاد کامر واسمه انبهوا ناته و اسلم هنالك وهو یری هذا الکتاب بعینه عن المؤلف المتقدم ذکره فقرات علیه هذا الکتاب بعینه کما کان بلسان الهندیة خمسون بیتا فی عشرة ابواب فاخبرنی بعجره و بجره اعنی صوابه وقال علوم هؤلاء القوم لا تفهم من الکتاب الا من قلب الی قلب فاجاز لی ان ارویہ عنه کاقراته علیه وسمعت علیه فاشار من اشارته حتم وطاعته حکم الی ان نقله من الهندیة الی العربیة فلیبت دعوته قلبته المرید وشرعت فی مطاوعته شبیه العبید فوثبت ما حفظته من معانیه وترکت ما یشکله من مبانیه من اوله الی آخره وسمیته کتاب مرآة المعانی لادراک العالم الانسانی وهو عشرة ابواب یأتی ذکرها والله الموفق -

Extract from the MS. Leiden Or. 723 (3) Fol. 29a-47a (Catalogus Codicum Orientalium, III, p. 164 sq. No. 1205).

There is one MS بحر الحیاة which is the Persian translation of the above Arabic work in the library of Pīr Muḥammad Shāh of Aḥmadābād, No. 223. The relevant Persian extract is as follows:

جنین می گوید بنده ضعیف ونحیف خاکروب درگاه فلک اشتباه حضرت غوث الثقلین مرشد الخافقین (حضرت غوث گویاری) حسین گویاری ابن محمد سارنی حسینی خادم محمد بن خطیر الدین عطاری اول این کتاب عجیب وغریب را بزبان هندوی امرت کند نام بود یعنی حوض الحیات و سبب ظاهر شدن این کتاب میان اهل اسلام آن بود که چون سلطان علاؤ الدین بلاد بنگاله فتح کرد و اسلام آشکارا شد خبر بکا مروپ رسید مردی از علماء معتبر آن ولایت کا ما نام بود در علم جوگ مهارت کمال داشت بطلب مناظره با علماء اسلام در شهر لکهنوتی رسید بوز جمعه در مسجد جامع آمد و از اهل اسلام نشان مجلس علمای

کرده‌ام اشارت بمجلس قاضی رکن الدین سمرقندی رحمه الله علیه کردند در آن مجلس رسید پرسید شما کرامی پرستید گفتند ما خدا می پرستیم گفتا امام شما کیست گفتند محمد رسول الله صلی الله علیه وسلم وآله و صحبه و بارک وسلم گفتا که امام شما در بیان روح چه گفته گفتند روح را امر پروردگار فرموده گفت تحقیق است من نیز در کتب بر مهاویشن و مهین چنین یافتیم بعد آن مرد اسلام آورد و در تحصیل علم دین مشغول گشت تا ب مدت عنقریب در علمی مشارالیه گشت و مفتی شد - بعد ازان عمل این کتاب بقاضی رکن الدین تمامی عرض نمود ایشان از زبان هندی بسی باب عربی کردند شخصی بده باب فارسی نیز کرده بود ولی الفاظ نامربوط بهندی مخلوط نبشته بمشابه که افهام مردمان و اوام همگان ازان الفاظ بمعنی مقصود نرسیدی و چون حضرت غوث الدین و حاکم الکوین در ولایت کامروپ خود رفتند و چند سال تحصیل و تحقیق این علم بواجبی کرده بودند بالتماس از ساکنان قصبه بهروج به بنده فرمودند که درین کتاب اکثر علوم طرح شده و اغلب کلمات نامربوط افتاده از سر املاکن بدان سبب هرچه از زبان گوهر نشان ایشان صادر می شد در قلم آورده اسم این کتاب بحر الحیات نهاده شد “

This Persian version has already been published in Madras in A.H. 1310 at the press Faizu'l-Karim. But this extract is taken from the MS. at Ahmadābād. We are sure that these extracts will also be useful in many other ways. In both Arabic and Persian extracts noted above, the name of the Sultān of the period during whose reign this incident took place, is mentioned thus 'Ali Mard(an) علی مرد and 'Alā'ud-Dīn علاؤ الدین respectively. When we carefully put these two names together side by side, we come to the conclusion that this is one and the same person whose full name was 'Alā'ud-Dīn 'Alī Mardān. According to the *Arabic History of Gujarat* (pp. 598-60), which is at present available, he was called 'Alā'ud-Dīn 'Alī Mārdan al-Khaljī, the son of Husām'ud-Dīn 'Iwāḍ al-Khaljī who was deputed at Devkot (Bengal) by Qutb'ud-Dīn Aibak (A.H. 602-706).

Indian Historical Records Commission :

The twenty-third Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission took place at Indore during the last week of December 1946. Thirty-five papers, based on unpublished documents were read on different aspects of Indian history. Only the following, as noted below in brief, dealt with Indo-Muslim history :

The Abolition of the Titular Dignity of the Nawab of the Karnatak :

D.B. Srinivasachari's paper was based on so far unknown English records. The last titular Nawab of the Karnatak, Muḥammad Ghauth,

died in 1855, leaving no child ; and the heir-at-law, alike by Muhammadan and English usage, was his father's younger brother, A'zam Jāh, who promptly applied for the succession. A'zam Jāh had acted as regent for his nephew Muḥammad Ghauth, during his minority from 1825-1842. The governor of Madras had observed in Council that A'zam Jāh did not enjoy the place to which he was entitled in consideration of the position he so lately occupied in communication with the British and of that he still holds in relation to His Highness the Nawab and to his succession to the *masnad*.

A Farmān of Aurangzēb to a Zamīndār in the Province of Berar :

Dr. M.A. Chaghatā'i has described a unique Farmān of Aurangzēb 'Ālamgīr from the Poona Record Office. This Farmān is in favour of one Bal Bhaddar Singh, son of Bharat Singh. He is given the Zamīndārī of the Ta'alluqa Islāmtēk which is a supplement to Islāmgadh in the province of Berar. Bal Bhaddar Singh in lieu of this Zamīndārī shall have to pay a *pēshkash* of rupees ten thousand annually to the government treasury.

A Letter from the Maratha Agent with the Mughal Wazīr Ṣafdar Jang 1751) :

This letter was addressed by Damodhar Mahadeo Hingane, the Maratha Agent with the Nawāb Wazīr at Allahabad, to his younger brother Purshottam, who was with the Sardars (Sindhia and Holkar), at Mau Shamsābād, near Farrukhābād, and dealt with the agreement between the Sardars and the Wazīr. Mr. D.V. Gokhale describes that this letter is nearly two or three foolscap pages in length, written in Modi script and Marathi language.

Tārīkh-i-Hāmid Khān : contributed by Prof. Muḥibbu'l-Ḥasan.

This history deals with Ḥaidar 'Alī and his son Tipū Sulṭān down to the Treaty of Serangapatam (1206 A.H./1792 A.D.). It is named as *Tārīkh-i-Hāmid Khān* after its author one Ḥāmid Khān, who was Mīr Munshī of George Cherry, the private secretary of Lord Cornwallis, and accompanied the latter in his campaign against Tipū Sulṭān. This Persian history is devoted to the family and life of Ḥaidar. But the information regarding these matters is neither reliable nor complete. It however deals with the third Mysore war.

Barni's Ideal of Muslim Monarchy : by Dr. Mahdī Ḥusain.

The writer only presented a literary translation of a leaf from the unpublished work—the *Fatāwa-i-Jahāndārī*—of Diyau'd-Dīn Baranī, in which

he depicts his ideal king of Islam. The extract also shows that the *Jizya*, as a tax, instead of being a cause of destruction, was really a blessing. For, by paying a few *tankas* the Hindus became *Dhimmīs*, the protected, and enjoyed all the privileges which protected people enjoyed. Mr. Nani Gopal Chaudhuri has given some excerpts from unpublished records relating to the trial of Muḥammad Riḍā Khān and Nā'ib Diwān of Bengal (1765-1772). The Court of Directors had asked Lord Hastings to hold an enquiry into the conduct of Muḥammad Riḍā Khān. One of the charges against him was that during the Bengal and Bihar famine of 1770 he had been guilty of oppression and had stopped the merchants' boats, loaded with rice and other provisions intended for the supply of Murshadābād. Mr. Chaudhuri has reproduced some replies from Muḥammad Riḍā to these charges.

Historical Contents of three Scrap-Books or Bayāḍ : by S.H. 'Askari.

First is compiled by Dā'ūd 'Alī Khān and contains two diaries. They cover periods from 1728 to 1749 and relate the diarist's journey from eastern India to the Holy Places in Arabia. Second Bayāḍ of Shāh Muḥammad 'Alī, the son of Dā'ūd 'Alī Khān contains the poetical effusions of many historical personages. The third Bayāḍ is entitled *Anīs-u'l-Aḥbāb*, compiled by Muḥammad Mahdī which gives an account of the arrival of a Shī'a Mujtahid from Irān at Patna, in 1224 A.H.

Correspondence between two Saints of Gujarat : by Dr. I.H. Quraishi.

The correspondence between Sayyid Rukn-u'd-Dīn *alias* Rājū of Manglor and Shāh 'Ālam of Gujarat lying buried at Aḥmadābād, expounds many important points of mediæval Gujarat history.

Wazīr 'Alī and Zamān Shāh :

Mr. K.D. Bhargava says that during the last decade of the 18th century the threatened invasion of India by Zamān Shāh of Kabul hung like a dark cloud on the north-west horizon, who advanced as far as Lahore but he withdrew on 4th January 1799 because of the appearance of his rebel brother in Balkh. Wazīr 'Alī, the deposed Nawāb of Oudh had, in the meantime, negotiated with Zamān Shāh which was properly not noticed. The papers seized from the house of Wazīr 'Alī after his flight from Benares give details of the abortive negotiations which he carried on with the Afghān invader.

Some Unpublished Persian Letters of the Hostage Princes :

This short but interesting and important paper by Mr. I.H. Baqā'i brings to light the very important fact that the Princes 'Abdul Khāliq and Mu'izz-u'd-Dīn, sons of Tīpū Sultān, who were given as hostages to Lord Cornwallis, were not taken to Calcutta at all during the period of their hostageship as the *Cambridge History of India* (V, 339) professes. Mr. Baqā'i has produced original documents from Imperial Record Department of Government of India and along this fact they also mention other details of the personal dealing of Lord Cornwallis towards these princes and they were in correspondence with him.

The 'Umdat-u'l-Akhbār : by Mr. K. Sajan Lal.

This is an interesting Urdu newspaper published in Madras, by Muḥammad Akbar, the editor in the Maṭba'-i-Anwari, Madras. Mr. Sajan Lal has made some observations of the volumes 5, 7 and 8 starting from 1865 to 1870. He has given many important items from these which are particularly interesting regarding the local history of Hyderabad, Deccan.

Maharaja Abhayasingh of Jodhpur and Sarbaland of Gujarat :

Pandit B. Nath Reu says that during the reign of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh of Delhi, Maharaja Abhayasingh was appointed Governor of Gujarat and he marched against Mubārīz-u'l-Mulk Sarbaland Khān, the rebellious governor of Gujarat. The latter made over charge to the former after a great resistance. Maharaja wrote a letter about it to his ambassador at the Mughal court at Delhi which gives us all the details of the Maharaja's struggle against Mubārīz-u'l-Mulk and it throws sufficient light on some aspects which were hitherto not known to the historians.

A Note on some Grants to the Sri Sankaracharya Swami of the Kamakotipitha :

Pandit K.R. Venkatarama Ayyar has described four unpublished Persian inscriptions. The first with the seal of Sa'adat Khān confirms a previous grant which was granted (on 5th August 1725) by Daulat Khān to Sankaracharya Gossain of the village of Ponnambalam (Poona) in the Karnatak Taluk of Hyderabad, measuring 259 *chakras* of dry land free of taxes. The second with the seal of Saḍdar 'Alī confirms the same grant (on 22nd August 1742). The third and fourth record an order to all officials to afford safe passage to the great Guru Sankaracharya Swami Mahani of Kamakotipitha and his retinue and desist from collecting tolls or customs

during his travels. Mr. Venkatarama concludes that the spirit of religious toleration and respect for a highly venerated head of a sect of Hindus, as a special feature stands out prominently in these records.

M.A.C.

DELHI

Conferences :

A number of academic bodies held their annual functions in December and January in Delhi. The first was the Indian Philosophical Association which was a success owing to the tireless efforts of Dr. N.V. Banerji, Reader and Head of the Department of Philosophy in the University of Delhi. The next was the Indian Political Science Conference. The local secretary was Mr. Gurmukh Nihal Singh, Principal, Ramjas College, Delhi, who unfortunately fell ill just before the session but who, assisted by the teachers of Political Science in the University, had made all the requisite arrangements. Dr. Banerji, of the Dacca University, was the president. Those who had expected that the members would be able to discuss the political problems of India with an academic detachment were disappointed, because the presidential address and the discussions alike showed that even our academic bodies are not able to cultivate the scientific spirit. Dr. Banerji's address was an undisguised polemic in favour of a unitary government for India, showing a complete disregard for the difficulties in the way of achieving such an end or the feelings of the opponents of such a scheme. The discussions also were on the same level, and there was more emotion and sentiment in the speeches than cold reason and the atmosphere was palpably partisan. It is a pity that political scientists behave like politicians, even more circumscribed in their outlook because of lack of experience of men and affairs. The only exception was Dr. Tara Chand who spoke lucidly and with conviction, and displayed his usual grasp on the fundamentals of the problem.

Indian Science Congress :

The Indian Science Congress is a leviathan which embraces a large number of subjects. This year it was presided over by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. The choice was dictated obviously, as the Pandit himself put in his speech, by his eminence in Indian Politics and the Government of India. A special feature of the Congress was that delegations from Great Britain, Canada, China, France, the United States of America and the Soviet Union participated in its activities.

A Central Asian Scholar :

One of the Soviet delegates was M. Sultan Umarov who is the Rector of the University of Uzbekistan. He is a Physicist, but he is interested in Persian literature. He speaks Tajik Persian fluently and it was pleasure to meet a scholar of his eminence and culture. He quotes Persian classics with fluency and is equally at home in modern Persian poetry of Turkestan. His interest in Islamic architecture is also enlightened and real. He was able to narrate the cultural activities of the Central Asian Republic of the Soviet Union which showed that there is a renewed interest in the Persian and Turki classics.

Soviet Interest in Islamic Culture :

The leader of the delegation was academician Volgin who is Professor of modern history and who is a leading authority on Marxism and the Marxist interpretation of history. He gave a list of scholars in Russia working on Indo-Muslim subjects which includes such varied topics as the Durand Line, the Dīn-i-Ilāhī and the Sultanate of Delhi.

A Study of Indo-Muslim Saints :

A young scholar, Mr. Khalīq Aḥmad Nizāmī of Meerut College is doing good work on Indo-Muslim saints. He has published two articles in the *Burhān* one on Ḥaḍrat Shāh Kalīm-u'llāh of Delhi and the other on Ḥaḍrat Shāh Fakhr-ud-Dīn, also of Delhi. Both of these saints belonged to the Chishtī Silsilah. The former was a contemporary of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar and the latter was in Delhi when Shāh 'Ālam II was the reigning monarch. Such studies are important adjuncts to our knowledge of Indo-Muslim history and Mr. Nizāmī, who combines enthusiasm with ability, should continue his work.

A Catalogue of MSS and Documents :

It was mentioned in the last report that Khān Bahādūr Maulavī Zafar Hasan was preparing a catalogue of his collection. The catalogue has now been published. It shows that the Khān Bahādūr's collection is rich in historical material. This is not surprising because he has spent his life in the pursuit of historical studies, and has been an ardent collector.

Urdu Week and Ghālīb Day :

The Anglo-Arabic College celebrated a successful Urdu Week which

included a varied programme of paper-reading, lectures, a Mushā'irah and a debate. Another function, Ghālib Day was equally successful.

I.H.Q.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

THE able speech delivered by Dr. Maḥmūd Ḥasan, Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University in its annual Convocation held in the last week of November 1946, deserves to be considered seriously by at least the Muslim educationists of India. The learned Vice-Chancellor emphasized the need of introducing religious instruction in the curriculum of secondary and higher education by making the striking observations that a large number of people in India are opposed to the imparting of religious education to our young students in schools on the mistaken ground that it is responsible for the communal troubles in India. But he repudiated this notion by arguing that our quarrels are due to our own faults, our own selfish actions and spirit of self-aggrandisement, and not to religion which is used as a convenient stacking horse by self-interested and unscrupulous people. It is not possible to root out religion from India or for that matter from any other country. Therefore, it is a grave error to keep planned and controlled religious education out of our schools, for by doing so we take away the foundation on which alone character can be built ; and education without formation of character is worse than useless. His Excellency Sir Frederick Burrows, the Chancellor of the Dacca University, realized the difficulties of imparting religious education in institutions, where individuals of different communities and creeds receive instructions ; still he said, " I myself endorse Dr. Ḥasan's opinion when he said that education without the formation of character is worse than useless and that religious education is the foundation on which alone character can be built." In his speech Dr. M. Ḥasan also referred to the remarkable re-awakening, resurgence of new life, vitality and hopefulness among the Muslims of Bengal. This newly acquired energy, said the Vice-Chancellor, should be canalized, harnessed and utilized to create works of lasting benefit and glory to the country as a whole. For this he suggested that the Dacca University should become a great centre of Islamic studies and encourage and develop the study, not only of the important orthodox Islamic subjects like Qur'ānic Exegesis, Islamic Philosophy, Fiqh, Ḥadīth, etc. but also undertake a thorough investigation and study of the contributions of Muslims to the development of art, letters and science in the world. And this study should be undertaken not for the purpose of strengthening the pride of Muslims in their past achievements, but to stimulate them to come forward and take their place in the vanguard of the world's onward march in the present and the future.

We wish the above suggestions could be really implemented into practice by the authorities of the Dacca University.

The flavour and temper of Urdu language, which has, of course, grown the medium of maintaining cultural concord and harmony between the Muslims living in different parts of India, have not yet attracted the bulk of the Muslim population of Bengal. Consequently the Muslim litterateurs and poets of the so-called Eastern Pakistan, instead of being the stewards of the lingua franca of Muslim India, are still transmitting the treasures of their minds and pouring out the contents of their hearts in the provincial tongue. And as the latter language has not attained wide acceptance, so the Muslims of other provinces find themselves quite in the dark as regards the literary activities of their co-religionists of Bengal, who have recently been lodged in a highly vital political position of the country. A glimmer in this darkness is however found in Professor Sayyid Sajjād Husain's article *New Voices in Bengali Poetry*, published in the *Morning News* of Calcutta. We would like to crave the indulgence of the author of the above article for acquainting our readers with some of its details. The learned contributor observes that the number of Muslim writers in Bengal is still comparatively small. In poetry their contributions even apart from Nadhr-ul-Islām have by no means been insignificant and the rising generation of writers in this province includes several Muslims whose work is full of promise. The chief problem which operates as a discouragement to Muslim writers is that they have not as yet evolved a literary diction of their own in which they could interpret Muslim life and sentiments. Nadhr-ul-Islām, the only poet who achieved a brilliant personal solution of the difficulty, has had many imitators but the followers lack his genius and their work necessarily remains extremely unsatisfactory. Two consequences follow. Either they give up the attempt to become the literary spokesmen of their own people and join the ranks of a more or less non-descript class of intellectuals who affect a non-communal outlook; or they degenerate into fifth-rate authors whose compositions have in all ages constituted the rubbish heap of literature. Muslim Bengal can have no use of either class. The poetry or literature in which its own life is not reflected interests it as much, or as little as the poetry of Shakespeare which it cannot claim as its own. Nor does it wish to be represented in the literary world by crude and immature productions to which it cannot point with pride. It has been felt by many that these literary crudities are explained by the lack of a national self-consciousness among Muslim writers and it has also been predicted that the growth of such a self-consciousness would speedily lead to a magnificent literary efflorescence. How far this prediction will prove true remains to be seen. There are at least a number of poets whose development Muslim Bengal will watch with hope and anxiety. They have sought to strike a new note and are trying to forge a head. Will they succeed or will they too fall like many of their predecessors? On the answer to this question depends Muslim Bengal's literary destiny in the immediate future. Of these poets, the following may be considered the most representative :

(1) Farrukh Ahmad:—He began as the imitator of Nadhr-ul-Islām and appeared even as an imitator, to have done some original work. He realizes, perhaps more than any other Muslim poet that the success of a Muslim writer will be in the ultimate analysis to be measured by his ability to interpret the life and ideals of his own people. In the earlier writings of Farrukh Ahmad, some of which appeared in his book called 'Sat Sagarer Majhi' (the Sailor of the Seven Seas), one notices an undeniable vigour, liveliness, a conscious desire to identify himself with the traditions of his nation.

(2) Ahsan Habib started as a modernist. His modernist verse lacks in originality, and though not thoroughly bad, is indistinguishable from the work of his Hindu contemporaries. His recent writings, however, have shown a surprising and delightful change. He has lately published some studies of rustic characters, which reveal a deep insight into certain aspects of Muslim life and are also technically entirely new.

(3) Ghulam Quddus is a communist and his work reflects, as in the case of a communist it must the convictions of his party. He tends also occasionally to be slovenly in form. But it cannot be denied that his work possesses a strength of its own, and where the convictions of his party coincide with his own feelings, his verse becomes illuminated by an inner fire.

(4) Abu'l-Husain pretends to be a thoroughbred modernist but has not any convictions to express. He has however outgrown the imitative stage and derives his inspirations from Hindu masters of modernism like Shudhindea Dutta.

(5) Sayyid 'Alī Hasan seems at heart to cherish a secret admiration for modernists and at the same time displays an awareness of his position as a Muslim. The quality of his mind is evidenced by his matter as well as by his diction in which he has sought, not always happily, to blend opposing elements.

(6) Maṭī'-ul-Islām is not a modernist. He has modelled himself more or less on the poets of the age of Tagore, confining his attention mainly to the writing of good verses.

The Muslim Artists Exhibition organized by the Muslim Welfare and Cultural Development Centre was held at Islamia College, Calcutta, in the last week of December 1946. It was inaugurated by Dr. 'Itrat Husain Zubayri, who delivered a very illuminating and scholarly address on the occasion, during the course of which he asserted that it is his firm conviction that Muslims have a great contribution to make to the renaissance of Indian arts and literature. But they can only make that contribution if they are true to their traditions of Islamic art and culture. Their integral development can only take place within the circumference of their own artistic tradition. Dr. I.H. Zubayri remarked further that the cultural destiny of India lies in realizing the diversity of its pattern and the richest and most diverse is the culture of Islam in India. Islam has given grace and geometrical simplicity to Indian architecture. It

brought with it a wealth of decorative art in carpets, in fabrics, in pottery to India which was unknown to the Hindus. Indian painting also owes a great deal to the inspiration of Muslim culture. The forms of Indian painting before the 13th century were mainly frescoe painting in temples and Buddhist monasteries, caves like Ellora and Ajanta. They are remarkable in their execution as well as form but they are not paintings in the strict sense of the term. Portrait painting, the animal designs which often form a part of landscape, and the deliniation of home and family life, and the grandeur of the court, and the ease and light-heartedness of hunting scenes, Indian paintings owe all these motifs to the Muslims and especially to the Mughals. The first oriental paintings which attracted the attention of a great European painter were those of the Mughal school. Rembrandt is believed to have been the first painter in the West who was sufficiently attracted by Indian paintings. He made copies of some pictures that had reached Holland from the East. These were the portraits of members of the imperial Mughal family of Delhi. It was after the Crusades and through the culture of the commercial cities like Genoa, Pisa and Venice that Muslim decorative motifs found their way into European paintings. Even Arabic letters with their majestic flow and sweep design were used for decorative purposes in painting as in a famous painting of the Italian artist Giotto of the figure of Christ in the Resurrection of Lazarus in the Arena Chapel at Padua. Dr. I.H. Zubayri laid emphasis on the fact that when Islamic ideas and motifs have fertilized even distant European paintings there is no reason why a new school of Islamic painting should not rise in our own times. He concluded his address with the advice that our past is great in its artistic achievements and we are conscious of the delicacy and simplicity of Mughal paintings, but those modes of expression should not only be revived, but we should strike out fresh models of thought not only in painting but also in architecture, decorative arts in harmony with the great traditions of Muslim achievements, in the various domains of fine arts. In the Exhibition about fifteen provincial artists of fairly outstanding calibre sent in their works, which numbered about one hundred in all. Zain-ul-Ābedīn's caricature in colours and pencils of the famine of 1943 received much applause. Qamar-ul-Ḥasan portrayed the disastrous Midnapore flood which preceded the famine of 1943. In it the pathos of carrion feed of human flesh was well-depicted. Saif-ud-Dīn's style of Cezanne was greatly appreciated. Miss Amīna Aḥmad's water-coloured portraiture of a 'Kashmiri Lady' and a 'Kashmiri Jama'dār' attracted much the visitor's attention. Her painting 'Mother and Child' had already been awarded a prize at the Delhi Art Exhibition.

A four-hundred year old coin has been discovered in a village in the Balipara Frontier tract in Assam along with a brass bracelet and an earthen pot. It bears Persian inscriptions of Naṣīr-ud-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh, who ruled Bengal in the sixteenth century. The coin has been presented to the Assam Provincial Museum by Rai Bahadur Dwarka Nath Das of Char-duar.

The Government of Bengal has contemplated a scheme to award pensions to meritorious and talented authors, who are advanced in age and are handicapped by financial circumstances. We are glad to note that such pensions have already been awarded to poet Kaiqubād of District Dacca, Maulawī 'Abdul Karīm of District Chittagong and Pandit Harikrishna of District Birbhum. We hope the other Provincial Governments and Native States will follow this noble precedence.

The Indo-Iranian Society of Calcutta which we mentioned in one of our previous reports, has brought out three issues of its quarterly Journal *Indo-Iranica*. We propose to make comments on some of its articles in our next publication.

The ninth session of the Indian History Congress was held at Patna on the 27th, the 28th and the 29th December 1946. The Reception Committee, under the chairmanship of the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, tried to give the delegates and visitors of the Congress all possible historical information of Bihar in a well-written monograph *Introduction to Bihar*. The glory of the Muslim rule in Patna was also recalled in this booklet by describing the following historical sites and archæological remains :

(1) Muradpore :—This is the main thoroughfare and heart of Patna, named after Mīrzā Murād, son of Mīrzā Rustum Šūfavi. Mīrzā Rustum Šafavī, a great-grandson of Shāh Ismā'il of Persia and father-in-law of Jahāngīr's son Parvīz, succeeded the latter as Governor of Bihar and was its last Governor under Jahāngīr. His eldest son, Mīrzā Murād, son-in-law of Mīrzā 'Abdur-Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān, settled down at Patna and built a mansion on the bank of the Ganges. His tomb, within the compound of the Patna General Hospital, is still held in reverence.

(2) Pathar kī Masjid :—It was built by Nazarkhewshgī, an officer of Prince Parvīz, son of Jahāngīr and Governor of Bihar in 1626. An inscription on the eastern face of the mosque states that the wood and stone used in the construction of the mosque were taken from the fort and temple of Majhauri, probably the well-known Rajput State in Gorakhpur district.

(3) The Mausoleum of Nawāb Haibat Jung :—Mīrzā Muḥammad Hāshim, Nawāb Zain-ud-Dīn Khān, Haibat Jung, the nephew and son-in-law of Nawāb 'Aliwardī Khān and father of Sirāj-ud-Daulah and Governor of Bihar (1740-48) was murdered at Patna in 1748 by the Afghans of Darbhanga. His remains were buried by Sayyid Isphahānī, the city Kotwal. His mausoleum, situated in Moḥalla Begumpur of Patna City (south of the railway station), on a land purchased by himself appears to have been built during the Deputy Governorship of the Bengali Raja Janki Ram under 'Aliwardī's orders. It stands in an extensive garden, and the two-storied gateway is now in a delapidated condition. Attached to it there is a mosque, inscriptional stone of which is now missing. The tomb stands on a square platform and is made of white marble and black

basalt. The most beautiful part of the whole structure is the fine perforated stone screen which enclosed the tomb.

(4) **Fakhr-ud-Daulah's Mosque**:—Called after Fakhr-ud-Daulah, Governor of Bihar (1727-32). It is situated on the main road in Patna City. It was built in 1788, perhaps by his wife who is called Begam Şāheba, in the inscription on the mosque. Its cupolas were marked for chastity of design.

(5) **Saif Khān's Madrasa**:—Saif Khān, Governor of Bihar (1628-32), built a Madrasa on the bank of the Ganges near Khwāja Kalān Moḥalla in Patna City. It is the most beautiful of all mosques in Patna. It bears an inscription, the chronogram of which yields the date 1039 A.H./1629 A.D. This Arabic college continued to be an important centre of learning as late as the middle of the 18th century. Its Principal was regarded as an authority on Muslim Law. It is said to have had 3 quarters for professors and seats for 136 students. The rooms were all single-seated with hemispherical domed roofs. The two-storied gateway is now in ruins. Some of the cloisters in the surrounding wall are still intact. A few beautiful copulas, each standing on slender foot pillar of stone and traces of glazed tiles, can be seen at present.

(6) **'Azīm-ush-Shān's Mosque**:—This mosque was built by Prince 'Azīm-ush-Shān, grandson of Aurangzēb, and Governor of Bihar in the early eighteenth century. It is situated on the river front in the Khwāja Moḥalla.

(7) **Chihil-Sutūn**:—This famous palace of forty pillars, immediately to the west of the Mosque and Madrasa of Saif Khān, appears to have been originally built during the time of Shāh Jahān. It was rebuilt by Nawāb Haibat Jung. It was here that Farrukh Siyar and Shāh 'Ālam II first proclaimed themselves as Emperors and 'Aliwardī as Deputy-Governor of Bihar had the Rohilla Captain, 'Abdul Karīm, murdered in his presence. Again it was here that Haibat Jung too was murdered by the Rohilla Afghans of Darbhanga (January 1748). A police station stands on the site of this building.

(8) **Shēr Shāh's Mosque**:—It was built by Shēr Shāh in 1545 in Hājī Ganj Moḥalla. Its walls are very thick. There are four small copulas on the four corners and one large copula at the centre.

(9) **Mausoleum of the father of Nawāb Burhān-ul-Mulk**:—Father of Sa'ādat Khān Burhān-ul-Mulk, the founder-Viceroy of Oudh, and the maternal grandfather of Şardār Jung, had come to Patna and died sometime before the latter's arrival in the city. Along with some other relations, he was buried in Moḥalla Dholpur (Dawalpura), south of the mosque of Shēr Shāh. The remains of the mausoleum containing their tombs, including a fine stone-screen enclosure, are still visible.

(10) **Ja'far Khān's garden**:—This historic garden, situated east of the Patna City, was laid out by Ja'far Khān, Governor of Bihar (1651-6). It was a place of great public importance. Here the coronation of Emperor Farrukh Siyar was celebrated, Darbārs were held and ambassadors were

received. The ruins of the enclosing walls are still visible, but the beautiful tower is no more.

The inaugural ceremony of the above Indian History Congress was performed by the Hon'ble Prime Minister of Bihar, and the plenary session was presided over by Mr. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, Professor of History and Archæology, University of Madras. His presidential address was, of course, full of treasures of knowledge and wisdom. But at one place the learned president observed: "The advent of Islam at the close of the 12th century indeed threatened to break up the unity of India for a time, as it threatens to do again in our own day." The observation cannot be called innocent and harmless, and it was exploited by a certain section of the local press for purposes of political propaganda. Such remarks, as are likely to be contentious and controversial, must, we think, be judiciously avoided in a meeting, where academicians gather together in a congenial atmosphere, to make a scientific approach of revealing the past as it was. The Section III (Early Mediæval India from 1206 to 1526 A.D.) and Section IV (Late Mediæval India from 1526 to 1764 A.D.) were presided over by Mr. Shaikh 'Abdur-Rashid of Muslim University, Aligarh and Dr. Parmathanath Saran of the Benares University respectively. A good number of papers of our interest were submitted in both these sections. They are:

(1) *The Siege of Champanur-Pawagadh by Sultān Mahmūd I Bagada in A.D. 1482-84*, by H. Goetz, Baroda. It described the siege of Champaner-Pawagadh, which brought the strongest fortress of Gujarat into the possession of the Sultāns of Ahmedabad and led to the foundation of their second capital.

(2) *Baghela Dynasty of Rewa under the Lodi Sultāns*, by Akhtar Husain Nizāmī, M.A., Lecturer in History, Durbar College, Rewa. Bhaidachandra, a contemporary of Bahlol Lodi and Sikandar Lodi was a powerful ruler. As he was allied to the Sharqī kings of Jaunpūr, he invited the hostility of the Lodi Sultāns who were engaged in a life-and-death struggle with their Sharqī adversaries. In this game of power-politics between Delhi and Jaunpūr, the Baghelas of Bhatha-Gahora played an important part. Bhaidachandra actively supported the cause of Sultān Husain Shāh Sharqī and invited three Lodi expeditions to his country one under Bahlol and the rest under Sikandar, the last falling in the reign of his son and successor Salivahana.

(3) *Jajnagar from Epigraphic and Literary Sources of Orissa and Bengal*, by P. Acharya, B.Sc., State Archæologist, Mayurbhanj State. In this paper Jajnagar has been identified with Jaipur on the Baitarani in Orissa which was one of the capitals of Orissa during the Ganga period.

(4) *A Coin from Ellore* by V. Lakshminarayana, M.A., Lecturer in History, Sir C. Ramalinga Reddy Municipal College, Ellore. This described a coin of Qutb-ud-Dīn Mubārak Shāh of the Khilji dynasty.

(5) *Husain Shāh, the last of the Sharqī: An estimate* by Dr. A. Halīm M.A. Ph.D., Lecturer in History, Muslim University, Aligarh.

(6) *Bābur's Post-War Settlement in the Doab, Malwa and Bihar*, by Dr. S.K. Benerji, Lucknow University.

(7) *Maharaja Abhaya Singh and the Mughal Court Tactics*, by Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Rea, Jodhpur. The paper was based on a letter of Maharaja Abhaya Singh which shows what other successors, apart from the defeat inflicted on Sarbaland Khān were achieved by him and to what extent the said Maharaja was disappointed by the intrigues of the Imperial Court.

(8) *Piratical Activities in Jahāngīr's Times*, by Professor S.P. Sangar, D.A.V. College, Lahore. The writer is of opinion that the Mughal Emperors of India failed to realize the importance of a strong naval power. This was a serious flaw which was exploited by European merchants, trading in India.

(9) *Mīr Jumla's Administration in the Karnatak*, by Professor Jagdish Narain Sarkar, Patna College, Patna. This gave a critical account of Mīr Jumla's administrative methods, village administration, governorship, sources of revenue, justice, postal system and military organization in the Karnatak.

(10) *Letters of Shaikh Ahmad*, by Hasan Murtaza, Deputy Magistrate (Patna). The article briefly indicated the historical significance of letters of Shaikh Ahmad popularly known as Imām-i-Rabbānī, Renewer of the Second Millennium of the Hijri Era, and leader of the Puritan Revival of Mughal India, who carried on correspondence with the great chiefs and nobles of the Mughal Empire.

Some other papers in other sections were : (a) *Timūr Shāh and an Indian Imperial Prince*; (b) *A Proposed Scheme for the Future Constitution of India on New and Non-Communal Lines*; (c) *Some Documents relating to the Mausoleum of Manmoon-Bhānja at Jaruha, Hajipur* by Khān Sāheb S. Hasan 'Askari, Patna College, Patna; (d) *Comparison of Haidar 'Alī and Tīpū Sultān with the Urartus*, by K.N.V. Sastri, Mysore University; (e) *The History of the Khānqāh of Shaikh Kabir-ud-Dīn of Patna*, by K. Sajan Lāl.

The session of the Indian History Congress was followed by the annual convocation of the Patna University. It was addressed by Mr. P.N. Banerjee, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. He came to speak on this solemn occasion as a messenger of 'loving greetings' and 'pilgrims' of the 'best wishes' of his province. In consonance with the dignified role he assumed, it is but quite natural to suggest here that he could have very prudently and most wisely tried to delete out of his address sentences like "The Muslim conquest of the thirteenth century swept like a tornado over Bihar. It looked as though the lamp of learning and culture would go out! These care-free soldiers of fortune (i.e. the Islamic conquerors of Bihar) sacked the monasteries, crushed the stupas and wrecked the idols!" He however acknowledged the debts of Bihar to Muslim rulers, scholars and saints by making some glowing and tangible references, which were couched laconically in the following words :

"Bihar gave birth to Shēr Shāh, one of the greatest rulers of India. His road, later on styled as the Grand Trunk Road, has carried armies, has borne on its back the hoofs of camels (?) and horses, the wheels of chariots, of bullock-carts and of motor-trucks all these centuries. He left behind a great administrative system. It has guided alike Akbar and his British successors. Let us not forget that Shēr Shāh punished his son for his offence against a Hindu woman. In the domain of science and culture, the legacy left by Muslim scholars, savants and divines in Bihar is a rich heritage. Maulānā Moḥibbullāh's thesis on Logic (*Sullam-ul-'Ulūm*) and his work on Jurisprudence (*Musallam-uth-Thubūt*) rivetted the attention of scholars throughout India for a century and more. Maulānā Yahyā's treatment of Epistemology created new basic principles in Islamic Jurisprudence. Bihar cannot forget the services rendered by Shaikh Budh, the physician, Makhdūm Sharaf-ud-Dīn, the great divine, Ghulām Husain Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān, the historians, and Mullā 'Abdul-Karīm and Mullā Shafī', the Jurists. Patna today is justly proud of one of the most delightful of all libraries in India, the Khudā Bakhsh Library."

We gloss over the cultural activities of the U.P. in this issue for we have already covered the limited space at our disposal.

S.S.

NORHT-WESTERN INDIA

New Publications :

AMONG the recent publications of Sh. Mohammad Ashraf, special mention is due to the masterly work of Dr. M. Ḥamīdullāh, *The Muslim Conduct of State*, which has now been published after a thorough revision by the author. Our readers will remember that the work originally appeared serially in this Journal during the years 1941 and 1942. As Professor H.A.R. Gibb has justly remarked, "the subject as a whole is one that has been little investigated and that demanded much original research as well as special qualifications in both legal and Arabic studies on the part of the researcher. Dr. Ḥamīdullāh's... range of sources is exceedingly wide and the position, which is well arranged, clear and thorough, covers the whole ground adequately." We, accordingly heartily welcome Dr. Ḥamīdullāh's important work in its revised form.

SH.I.

FOREIGN

SPAIN

Notes on Spanish Orientalists in the Spanish Civil War :

THROUGH the courtesy of Father P. Luciano Rubio we learn the sad news of the fate of certain Spanish scholars during the Civil War. A volume entitled *Martires Agustinos de El Escorial* (Madrid, 1945) has

been published by Father Carlos Vicuna, giving accounts of the murder of many scholars of the Augustine order. Amongst these was Father Julian Zarco Cuevas, the Director of the Escorial Library which has a valuable and famous collection of Arabic MSS, and Father Melchor Martinez Antuna who was professor in the University of Madrid. Born in San Juan de Arenas (Asturias) near Oviedo in 1889, Father Antuna met his death at the early age, for an orientalist, of 47, in a massacre of Escorial personnel by Government supporters on the 30th November, 1936. He had been working on a complete catalogue of the Escorial Arabic MSS dealing with history and geography, and had corrected many mistakes in the catalogue of Escorial Arabic MSS which was published by H. Derenbourg and E. Levi-Provenca (1884 & 1928). Father Antuna had published many articles on Spanish-Islamic history in *Religion e Cultura*, *Ciudad de Dios*, and *Al-Andalus*, among the more important of which are: *Sevilla y sus Monumentos árabes*, *El canciller de Cordoba Almodàfar, contra los cristianos*, *Conquista de Quesada y Alcaudete por Mohámed II de Granada*, *Ordenanza de un cadí granadino para los habitantes del valle de Lecrín*, *Campanas de los Almohades en Espana*, *El polígrafo granadino Abenjatib*. Perhaps the best known of his studies was the edition of part of Ibn Haiyān's *al-Muktabis*, actually published after his death (*Ibn Haiyān, al-Muktabis, tome troisième, chronique du règne du calife Umayyade 'Abd Allāh à Cordoue*, texte arabe public pour la première fois d'après le MSS de la Bodléienne avec une introduction par le P. Melchor M. Antuna. (Textes rel. à l'histoire de l'Occident Musulmane, III, Paris, 1937).

While the custodians of the Escorial Library were in Spanish (Republican) Government prisoners for a period, in some cases, of two and a half years, about 4,000 volumes disappeared from the Escorial which was moreover in a very bad condition when they returned, as it had been a barracks for the supporters of the Republican Government. The missing volumes included all the illuminated Latin MSS many of the Spanish ones, and all those in Arabic. It seems that they had been removed by a Commission set up by the Spanish (Republican) but fortunately after peace was restored, all but 23 MSS were recovered. Some of the missing MSS are Arabic, but few are of any importance. Father Rubio after his liberation from prison, is now in charge of the Arabic MSS at the Escorial, and is preparing for publication the *Lubāb al-Muḥaṣṣal fī Uṣūl ad-Dīn* of Ibn-Khaldūn.

Throughout the years of the Second World War scholars will have remarked that *Al-Andalus* has continued its programme of publication and has maintained that high standard of scholarship for which it is well known.

Hispano-Moresque Pottery in Scotland :

In the recently opened museum of the Abbey of Melrose, famous for its associations with Sir Walter Scott, there is now on exhibition a

dish of Hispano-Moresque ware which was found in excavations on part of the Abbey site. This is quite an important discovery as it marks one of the most northerly points for the discovery of this ware in Britain. It may be recalled also that this part of the country is associated with Michael Scott, the mediæval scholar who studied in the universities of Arab Spain.

R.B.S.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

TWO QUEENS OF BAGHDAD by Nabia Abbott; published by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago-37, Illinois; \$3.50.

THIS is a very readable account of two great women in the history of early Islam, one who bore the great 'Abbasid, Hārūn ar-Rashīd and the other who became his wife. Khaizurān is almost unknown to the lay reader, but Zubaida is a household word with the millions who belong to the faith of Islam, and it is well that Miss Abbott, who is the Associate Professor of Islamic Studies at the Oriental Institution of the University of Chicago, should have brought out this book. As the learned author rightly says, both Khaizurān and Zubaida exercised a great influence over the politics of the Islamic State of the eighth and the ninth centuries, and the measure of that influence is bound to interest all students of the history of the period.

As we know, this was the most resplendent period of the 'Abbasid era. Wealth knew no bounds. Khaizurān's privy purse amounted to nearly 20 crores of dirhams which must be multiplied at least ten times to give a correct estimate according to modern values, while millions of gold and silver pieces are said to have been dispensed at the marriage of Mā'mūn with Būrān, the daughter of the Wazīr Ḥasan b. Sahl, and we are astounded to learn that Hārūn left a legacy of 90 crore dirhams in cash, the

value of which would reach the almost astronomical figure of 90,00,00,00,000 rupees according to modern exchange. Naturally poetry, music, dance, industry and trade, architecture, art in all its aspects was the order of the day. While the arts of peace were developed to the full, the Muslim was in the vanguard of the glory of war as well, and Hārūn's marriage to Zubaida in 782 almost coincided with his great treaty with the Empress Irene of Byzantium under which the Eastern Roman Empire became a vassal State of the 'Abbasid Caliphate.

There is, without doubt a description of these and many other matters of State in the book before us, but, woman as the authoress is, she lays a far greater stress on the private lives of the Caliphs and her two heroines whose joint period covers nine reigns from the middle of the eighth and the middle of the ninth centuries, and the impression which is left in the minds of the readers who may have skipped the last chapter, "In the Hall of Fame would be one of murder, intrigue, promiscuous intercourse, endless series of concubines and *demi-mondaines*, and rank immorality. One need not be apologetic over all this, for it was an appanage of the great opulence of the period. But we must be realists not anachronists. We are treading the road of the eighth century and we have only to cross into Europe to know that promiscuousness and obvious immorality there did not even have the blanket of

legality to cover it. Then again Miss Abbott has only succeeded in discovering "Dr. Jekyll" in the great personages of the day, and, perhaps in the enthusiasm for her own womanhood, made the life within the haram more important than the public life of her two heroines. One cannot blame her for that, but it is only one side of the picture. Historical personages have a public aspect of their lives, and if history were to be re-written in which their private moralities and immoralities, their personal whims, their inner-most thoughts which were at times human, at other times bestial, were to be given greater stress than their public acts, then, however theatrical and cinematic the history would be it would not have much importance to the history of a people.

The book is fully documented but the reliable, the less reliable and unreliable stories have been roped together to connect Miss Abbott's narrative. A chapter might well have been devoted to the authorities so that the reader should have known what to believe and what not to believe. Even tales such as the number of 'Abbāsah's children has been introduced in the body of the book although its veracity is doubted in the footnote.

Perhaps the high watermark of the book is reached in the last chapter of the work entitled "In the Hall of Fame," and there, strange though it may seem, the authoress has entirely ignored the burden of her description in previous chapters. She ends thus:

"When in the last scene the Grim Reaper makes his call, Zubaida, the Handmaiden of the Almighty, having spent her golden talents to give a cup of water to the least of Allah's pilgrims, is gratefully believed by these to have entered into the joy of her Lord. She is gone but not forgotten. It matters little if her remains rest in that tomb outside East Baghdad that goes by her name or in some other spot, be it ever so humble or ever so great. The spirit of this generous woman of royal romance and splendor, of tact and vision, of head and heart, is confined to no one single spot on earth. Her

place is secure in Islam's Hall of Fame for as long as Allah's hosts of pilgrims progress down the Zubaidah Road to their goals of Mecca and Arafat, there to quench a physical thirst at her springs and satisfy a spiritual one at Islam's Holiest of Holies and Allah's Mount of Mercy. Within and without Islam, her memory lives so long as history continues to instruct and the Arabian Nights continue to entertain. Cleopatra! Zenobia! Zubaidah! Magic names these to set the fancy free to work and play in the realms of history, legend, and romance."

H.K.S.

BRITISH ORIENTALISTS; by A. J. Arberry; with 8 plates in colour and 20 other illustrations; 4sh.; William Collins, London, 1943.

THIS is a brilliant though brief study of an aspect of British enterprise and scholarship which deserves to be better known to the civilized world. Dr. Arberry himself is an Orientalist in the best tradition of those indefatigable British scholars, who have rendered highly meritorious services by making the literature and learning of the East available to the West. Moving from West to East, the learned author treats first of the Arabs, the Persians and the Turks, omitting Hebrew as a dead language and leaving Egyptology and Assyriology for the archæologist. He then passes over to India with its innumerable languages and a long and chequered history, and finally comes to Indonesia and the Far East. The languages and literatures of more than half the human race, and of several great civilizations, thus fall within the scope of this book. Although the volume under review is intended rather to treat of the personalities and accomplishments of those British men and women who have made these languages and literatures their special study or favourite diversion, it nevertheless considers briefly the value of that vast material which has engaged the attention of

so many keen intellects. Macaulay once wrote that the whole of Oriental literature was not worth a single shelf of the classics of Europe. We welcome Dr. Arberry's book as providing an eloquent refutation of this malicious and ignorant misrepresentation of facts.

The reader of this fascinating book travels across the greater part of the globe and sees how men born in various stations and in different parts of the British Isles have gone forth to study the cultures of many old and brilliant civilizations or have attempted to apprehend these cultures in the seclusion of their libraries. All honour is due to these gifted men, who have forged bonds of that international understanding which alone can form the foundation of a better world and a more lasting peace.

A fairly large number of colour plates and other illustrations enhance the interest and value of the book.

Sh.I.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL ASPECTS OF IMAM GHAZALI'S THOUGHTS by M. Umaruddin, *Irshad Book Depot, Aligarh*; pp. 193; price not given.

AS the author explains in his Introduction, the book under review "Comprises of a number of research papers read before different sessions of the All-India Philosophical Congress and other learned societies and published in well-known journals of the country." It consists of seven chapters which are as follows: (1) Al-Ghazali, with special reference to his inner development, (2) Psychological basis of al-Ghazali's Religious Philosophy, (3) The relation of knowledge and morality in the ethical system of al-Ghazali, (4) The exposition of al-Ghazali's views on the problem of the freedom of Will, (5) Al-Ghazali's approach to the ultimate reality with special reference to the relation of Thought and Intuition in his and Iqbal's systems, (6) Idea of Love in the Philosophy of al-Ghazali, (7)

Al-Ghazali on the Vision of God. Al-Ghazali's views on 'Child Education are given in an appendix. We do not understand why the author thought it necessary to place this chapter in appendix. There are three more appendices: (1) Suhrawardi Muqtal's philosophical position according to the works of his youth. This is written in collaboration with Professor Dr. Spies, Professor of Arabic, Aligarh Muslim University, (2) Review of the Doctrines of Sufis (Abū Baḥr al-Kalābādhī's *Kitāb at-Ta'arraf li Madḥ al-Ahl at-Taṣawwuf*, translated by Arthur John Arberry, (3) Muslim Philosophy: Its scope and meaning. It is difficult to understand how these appendices can find a place in a book on al-Ghazali and the fundamental aspects of his thoughts. They form excellent chapters of book on the History of Muslim Philosophy which the author is engaged in writing for the use of his students in Aligarh University.

Each paper deals with one fundamental idea of al-Ghazali's philosophy and the apparent independence of the chapters is only superficial "its necessity being occasioned by the long duration of time taken to cover the entire thesis of the book and the academic engagements of the writer."

Al-Ghazali is indeed one of the greatest personalities in Islam and ranks with the greatest thinkers of the world. He was, according to MacDonald, "The greatest certainly the most sympathetic figure in the history of Islam" and the "equal of Augustine in philosophical and theological importance." He achieved a great success in freeing Islam from the foreign encrustations. He shattered the hold of alien thought and culture on the minds of the Muslims. He subjected to a severe test the existing sects and systems and pointed out their inconsistencies and contradictions and presented Islam in its pristine glory and native glamour. Al-Ghazali is indeed the truest, acutest philosopher that Islam has ever known! But as the author, has truly pointed out, Ghazali's philosophical system is not wholly laid down in one single work. 'I is scattered in thousands of pages, clothed

in anecdotes, sayings, aphorisms, similes, metaphors and allegories." This method of treatment has been a perpetual source of error for the students of Ghazali.

In preparing the book under review the author has indeed taken great pains in collecting the necessary material. He has created problems and tried to discover their solutions in the writings of Ghazali. He has succeeded in giving a lucid exposition of his subjects. His analysis is clear and well-arranged. But the book is merely expository, not critical—it is a history rather than a critique. The author has merely attempted to summarize, not to estimate the doctrines of Ghazali. He seems to be a warm and enthusiastic follower of the great Imam.

M.V.D.

NEW HISTORY OF THE MARATHAS, VOL I, by G. S. Sardesai, B.A.; published by K.B. Dhawale for Phœnix Publication; pp. 363; Bombay; price Rs. 10.

THE first history of the Marathas was published by Capt. James Grant Duff in three volumes, as far back as 1826. For a long time Grant Duff was considered as an authority on the Maratha period.

Historical research work in India has made a tremendous progress during the present century, and a vast mass of material in shape of published and unpublished records has been brought to light, and yet immense material which happens to be in the Marathi language has not been utilized. Of late scholars have contributed monographs on Sivaji the Peshwas, etc.

It is to the credit of Prof. Sardesai that he has utilized the vast material in the Marathi language. For this work he gave the best part of his life. To him it is a labour of love. He has patiently sifted the vast mass of evidence and condensed it into three volumes, of which the book under review is the first volume. His style is lucid. His intimate knowledge of Maharashtra and the Maratha history, gives a special zest and an authoritative value of his statements and conclusions.

The book is well written and well published. The author is to be congratulated on this most scholarly and scientific contribution to the history of the Marathas, which will, no doubt, long be the standard work on the Marathas. A short and select bibliography would have enhanced the value of the book.

We hope, soon to see the other two volumes of the New History of the Marathas.

K.S.L.

BOOKS, PERIODICALS, ETC., RECEIVED

1. *Random Selections*; published by Kusum Nair for National Information and Publications, Ltd., 74-Laxmi Building, Sir Phirozeshah Mehta Road, Fort, Bombay; Rs. 2-8-0.

2. *Conflict*, by Amir Ali; published by Kusum Nair for National Information and Publications, Ltd., Bombay; Rs. 3-8-0.

3. *Cabinet Mission and After*; compiled and published by Sh. Md. Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazaar, Lahore; Rs. 6-0-0.

4. *The Development of Islamic Culture in India*, by Dr. I.H. Qureshi; published by Sh. Md. Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazaar, Lahore; Rs. 0-6-0.

5. *Power Resources of Pakistan*, by Ali Ahmed Fazel; published by Sh. Md. Ashraf, Lahore; Rs. 0-6-0.

6. *The Government of Iraq*, by Dr. Majid Khadduri ; published by the New Publishers, Iraq.

7. *A Concise Catalogue of Manuscripts and Mughal Official Documents Belonging to Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, O.B.E.*, with an introduction by C.H. Shaikh, Superintendent of Education in Baluchistan, Quetta.

8. *Free World*, an international Magazine for the United Nations ; published monthly by Free World, Inc., 144, Bleecker St., New York, 12, N.Y ; \$. 0.50.

9. *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. XX, No. I ; published twice annually by the Royal India Society, 3-Victoria St., London, S.W. 1 ; £. 0-5-0.

10. *The Tenth Annual Report of the Y.M.M.A. & Iqbal Library and Reading Room*, Mattancherry, Cochin ; printed at the Fazal Printing Bureau, Br. Cochin.

CORRIGENDA

Vol. XVIII, No. II
(April, 1944).

Page 171

for Al-Baṭṭāni read Al-Battāni.

„ 172

„ Ibn al-Haithan read
Ibn al-Haitham.

Vol. XXI, No. I
(January 1947)

Page 80 14th line : Add 'a' between 'of' and 'distinguished.

„ 81 1st „ For 'Institution' read 'Intuition.'

„ 83 20th „ For 1931 read 1913.

„ 26th For 'administration' read 'administrative.'

ED., I.C.

NOTICE.

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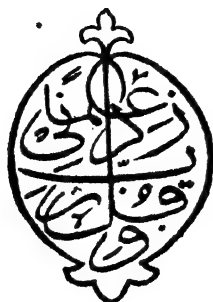
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[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân]

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS IN MUGHAL INDIA : AN APPRECIATION	
—Y. KRISHAN, Esq.	215
II. GULCHĪN	
—DR. A. J. ARBERRY	231
III. MĪR GESŪ KHĀN, AKBAR'S FAUJDĀR OF KOL (ALIGARH) 1563-83	
—DR. A. HALIM	243
IV. 'ALĀ'-UD-DĪN KHILJĪ'S MONGOL POLICY	
—PROF. DHARAM PAL	255
V. IBN KHALDŪN AND ISLAMIC MYSTICISM	
—MIYA SYRIER	264
VI. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES	303
HYDERABAD	
DECCAN	
DELHI	
NORTH-EASTERN INDIA	
NORTH-WESTERN INDIA	
VII. NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW	323

EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS IN MUGHAL INDIA: AN APPRECIATION¹

THE beginnings of relations between India and the Western world are shrouded in the mists of antiquity and date back to the pre-Christian era. The striking resemblance between the Indus valley civilization and the civilizations of Babylon and Egypt and the discovery of certain articles of Indus valley origin in Egypt, Sumer, Akkad and Babylon point to a vigorous contact between them. The Boghaz Keui and Hittite inscriptions postulate a similar intercourse or migration. Alexander gave a further impetus to this intercourse by temporarily ensuring the safety of land routes. The discovery of the monsoons by a Greek sailor Hippalus worked a revolution in trade routes and quickened the tempo of intercourse. Indian pepper spices, Chinese and Indian silks, Indian cotton fabrics and cosmetics were in great demand in the Roman world, and pepper was thus popularised by the Romans in Europe. It was pepper rather than gold which attracted Europeans to India and Constantinople and later Venice and Genoa in the Middle Ages became rich emporiums of oriental trade. The rise of the Turkish power in the Mediterranean cut off the then known sea- and land-routes to India. But our country continued to exercise fascination over the European mind. It was in search of a new sea-route to India that Columbus stumbled upon America. This was an additional reason for the shifting of the centre of gravity from the Mediterranean to Western European, and the European countries on the Atlantic seaboard sprang into importance. So it was not without reason that travellers who came to India were mostly Portuguese, English, Dutch and French.²

The Cape route to India was discovered in the year 1498. While the hope of serving God by spreading the "truth" among "infidels" made

1. I am indebted to my friend Mr. Raj Kumar Malhotra, M.A. (Hons.), for having permitted me to use his thesis: *Social & Religious Conditions in India as described for Foreign Visitors*.

2. The Jesuits were an international order; Father Ridolf was a Neapolitan; Monserrate, a Spaniard; Xavier and Pinheiro, Portuguese. From England came Fitch, Midnall, Hawkins, Roe, Finch, Terry, Coryat, Herbert, Ovington, Fryer and Marshall. France sent Pyrard de Laval, Tavernier, Bernier and Thevenot. Palsaert was a Dutch factor Manrique an Augustinian missionary; Manucci a Venetian.

many a missionary travel to India, it was the spirit of enquiry and enterprise brought in by the Renaissance and the growth of commercial capitalism in the 16th and 17th centuries that made European nations go a-hunting for oriental lands and markets. At the same time there developed among Western European peoples a great avidity for travel literature and for information about oriental lands. Thus the writings of these travellers did much to satisfy, while at the same time these writings form a record of their activities in India as missionaries, traders and travellers, and give us a first-hand account of conditions in this country.

Before we attempt an evaluation of the work of the European travellers and missionaries, we must bear in mind their limitations and the handicaps under which they laboured. The travellers were handicapped by ignorance of the language, laws, customs, and institutions of the country, by the very immensity of the land and the diversity of its population, by an alien, inchoate synthetic culture still in process of evolution as a result of the impact and fusion of Islam and Hinduism. Naturally a host of factors have to be taken into account in assessing their evidence ; the areas of the country they visited and the time and duration of their visit ; their linguistic equipment, their opportunities and personal experiences in contact with the court and the people ; and above all their education, mental equipment or powers of observation and their prejudices—what may be called the personal equation.

Only the travels of Fitch, Tavernier, Bernier and Manucci covered practically the whole of India. The knowledge of Monserrate and Xavier Terry, Hawkins, Roe and Pelsaert was confined to Western India and the court at Agra. Some who wrote about India never visited the country and many remained confined to the ports. Linschooten, for instance, had first-hand information about Goa only ; Valle spent his year and a half in Surat and on the Malabar coast ; Laval was never inside India. From their knowledge of the fringes of the Mughal Empire, they drew hasty generalisations. The statement of Linschooten that " Delhi is very cold and had snow and ice like the Netherlands " reveals his profound ignorance of the climatic conditions of India. Du Jarric and Guerreiro, though accurate, merely wrote from the reports and letters sent by missionaries in India. Only De Laet, though he never visited India, is surprisingly reliable. He was primarily a compiler and his account is based on the reports about India which he received as Director of the Dutch East India Company, and partly on the works of earlier travellers like Pelsaert, Finch, Roe and Hawkins, etc.* Many had, of course, personal and first-hand information. Monserrate saw Akbar at close quarters for about two years ; Xavier was at the court for about twenty-three years and his account is valuable inasmuch as the contemporary Persian authorities about Akbar close their accounts a few years before Akbar's death.

* Rawlinson has rightly described De Laet's *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* as " a monument of painstaking industry and storehouse of varied information."

Hawkins became a Mughal Mansabdar ; Roe stayed at Agra for two years and nine months ; Bernier first became physician to Dārā and later attached himself to Dānishmand Khān ; Manucci served under Dārā, Rājā Jai Singh, Rājā Kirat Singh and Shāh Ālam ; he carried on negotiations on behalf of the Portuguese with the Marathas and the Mughals ; finally he served under Governors, Gifford and Pitt, in Madras. Terry, Coryat and Bernier picked up Persian, while Pelsaert had some knowledge of the language spoken at Agra. Hawkins conversed with Jahangir in Turkish. Others had to rely on interpreters, which was liable to make their understanding partial. Few were men of good education and this fact explains why Fitch's account is sketchy though he traversed practically the whole of India and why he borrowed from Calsen Federici.¹ Only Roe, Coryat,² Terry,³ and Bernier were highly educated. Roe had been an M.B.P. and was "a man of solid judgement, penetration and sagacity ;"⁴ while Bernier was endowed with great "powers of accurate observation."⁵ In spite of these advantages, their passions, prejudices and proclivities prevented them from giving a faithful account of the India of their time. The fickle-mindedness of Jahāngīr, the intrigues of the Portuguese and the hostility of Muqarrab Khān and later of Prince Khurram rendered nugatory the efforts of Hawkins and Roe to conclude a commercial treaty with the Mughal. This disappointment vitiates much of their accounts. Despairing of success, Roe wrote to the Company in chagrin, "you can never expect to trade here upon capitulations that shall be permanent. We must serve time All the government depends upon the present will, where appetite only governs the lords of the Kingdome."⁶ His fulminations against the Mughal Government are understandable. Pelsaert, being a Puritan, condemned the gay life at the court. Bernier, enamoured of French institutions, when confronted with an alien system of government, dubbed it as despotic and oppressive—qualities which pale before the despotism of Louis XIV and the oppression by the French nobility in France. Many were inspired by an irrational prejudice against Indian institutions as is clear from Coryat's title "Crudities." The desire to make their narratives spicy led them to embroider their accounts with tales from their imagination and with vulgar gossip. The Italian Manucci despite his varied experiences and extensive travels was fond of "back-stair gossip"⁷ and loves to relate scandals about the court. His denunciation of Hindus and Islam and of

1. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 8.

2. Coryat was a master of the classics and kept company with Ben Jonson in England.

3. Terry was a M.A.

4. *Dictionary of National Biography*.

5. *Travels of Bernier*, Introduction, p. XX.

6. Quoted by Foster, *England's quest of Eastern Trade*, p. 286. Roe again says unjustly "the government is so uncertain, without written law, without policy, the customs mingled with barbarism, religions infinite " Roe: Letter to Prince Charles, p. 269.

7. Manucci by Irvine, (Introduction).

the Indian character is unjust. Pitt hit the bull's eye when he described his work as the history of Tom Thumb.* Some of the travellers regarded Christianity as the only true religion and could not speak of the 'Gentiles' and 'Moors' without consigning them to eternal perdition. Such men could hardly be expected to take a fair view of the conditions in India. With the exception of Bernier none tried to understand Indian religions and philosophy. The Jesuits on the other hand were impressed by the necessity of proclaiming the superiority of their own faith and the success of their mission to their own people. This led them to write in a way about Akbar which misled Dr. Smith into declaring that Akbar renounced Islam and became a Christian. Islam being the religion of the politically dominant class, the Jesuits had to contend against it in their proselytizing efforts and therefore it receives much vituperative criticism from them. Hence their accounts are only valuable as revealing an atmosphere of religious toleration under Akbar and as a chronicle of a few political events.

But the other side of the story must not be overlooked. These travellers fill important lacuna left in the chronicles of the Persian writers. The Indian annalists wrote for their own countrymen. They naturally assume familiarity on the part of their readers with the customs, manners, and institutions of the age, and so omit to describe them. On the other hand, the European travellers had no previous knowledge of the country and writing as they did for their own countrymen, they have described everything that interested them as novel. Moreover the Persian writers attached to the Royal Court went into pæans of praise about the reigning monarch. Facts concerning their royal masters were liable to suppression, exaggeration, and distortion. Naturally we cannot expect them to give as objective an account of their times as we may expect from disinterested foreigners. So broadly speaking one can safely say that of all these travellers, the works of Roe and Bernier are of real help to us in reconstructing the past; the latter can justly be called a prince among travellers.

The information given by the travellers is quite varied and covers political and religious conditions and the social and economic life of the country.

The Emperor and his daily life, his court, court etiquette and the nobility naturally fill the pages of their accounts. But we get ample material from which to reconstruct the political and administrative institutions of the country. Of course they made no conscious attempt at describing them and their partial understanding landed them into incorrect descriptions. Sometimes they could not divest themselves of their pre-conceived notions. Accustomed to a feudal structure of society, they could not but think in terms of that organisation. Since all land in their own countries was held by the king, they regarded the Mughal Emperor as the proprietor of every acre of land. "No subject in his Empire" says Terry,

* Manucci by Irvine, (Introduction).

'had land of inheritance, nor can have other title but by the King's will'¹ Obviously this is a misstatement. In India the cultivators or the tillers of the soil have always been the owners of land. Land revenue was merely a tax not a rent. Land, like any other movable property, could be bought, sold, mortgaged or inherited. Thus the cultivator was the *de facto* as well as *de jure* owner of the soil.

"the King " observed De Laet " is the sole master of the whole kingdom and gives estates at his will to his subjects or takes them away again"² It was this view of the ownership of land which led the European travellers to misunderstand the nature of the " Jagirs " or assignments. The Emperor, the travellers thought, parcelled out land among his nobles as fiefs or grants and as a natural corollary it followed that he could revoke them at will. This gave rise to the so-called doctrine of escheat which was extended to embrace even the movable effects of the nobles. But jagirs were simply a method of paying salaries. The State by granting jagirs was relieved of the onerous duty of collecting land revenue and disbursing salaries. The jagirdars or officers were frequently transferred and the jagirs changed hands. The system of revenue administration in the jagir lands was the same as in khalsa territories ; a remission or suspension of land revenue in khalsa lands had full effect in the jagirs as well. Thus the so-called escheat of the lands of the deceased Mansabdar involved no injustice to his sons and dependents, for they could have no claim to the salary of their father. The European travellers have further castigated the Mughal Emperor for " constituting himself sole heir of those who die in his service "³ that is even of the movable property of the noble. In this connection, it must be remembered that the nobles led rich and extravagant lives which left little surplus money on their hands.⁴ Sometimes they used to get advances from the State, especially when they were transferred from one charge to another or when they had to undertake an expedition with the result that they were generally in debt to the State. Thus, if a noble died, the State guarded itself against being defrauded of its legitimate claims by sealing the effects of the deceased noble. On the settlement of accounts, any surplus left was returned to the noble's heir.⁵ Neither the Muslim nor the Hindu law permitted such arbitrary confiscation as is suggested by the travellers. Far from showing callous indifference to the dependents of Omara the emperors made generous provision for the widows, sons and

1. Terry, p. 326. Bernier has also remarked "the land throughout the whole empire is considered the property of the sovereign " p. 5.

2. De Laet, p. 94.

3. Bernier, p. 163. He again remarks that the Emperor " constitutes himself heir of all the Omars or lords, and likewise of the mansabdars or inferior lords, who are in his pay " p. 204.

4. " There is no King in Europe that has so noble a court as the Governor of Gujrat, nor any that appears in public with greater magnificence." Mandelslo, p. 48.

5. Tavernier asserts that personal effects of women were not touched and the nobles left as many ornaments as they could for their wives.—Vol. I, pp. 18.

dependents of the deceased. "The king," observes Bernier, "however usually bestows a small pension on the widow and often on the family."¹ Monserrate tells us that Akbar maintained and gave liberal education to many sons of dead nobles.² On retirement from service either from old age or incapacity, a noble was given a pension.³

Zāt and Sawār in the organization of the *Manṣabdārī* system have similarly been misunderstood by the travellers. "The king," Bernier tells us, "himself regulates as well the effective number that each Omara is to maintain, as the nominal number which he need not keep, but which is also paid for, and usually forms the principal part of his salary."⁴ This led Blochmann to the erroneous conclusion that Zāt meant the number of soldiers a *Manṣabdār* was expected to keep and Sawār meant the number he actually kept. No State would tolerate being consciously defrauded in the way implied above. Zāt was merely a personal rank—to determine an officer's position in the imperial hierarchy, while Sawār was a military rank and determined the strength of a *Manṣabdār's* command. Zāt was merely a yardstick to measure a person's worth in the imperial machine. But the travellers tell us one important thing: the nobility was not hereditary. There was no nobility of blood or caste. It was a body "admitting new elements every sunrise and disjoining old limbs every sunset."⁵ "It must not be imagined that the Omaras or Lords of the Mogol's court are members of ancient families, as our nobility in France. The King being proprietor of all the lands in the empire, there can exist neither Dukedoms nor Marquisates, nor can any family be found possessed of wealth arising from a domain and living upon its own patrimony. The courtiers are often not even descendants of Omaras."⁶ As a result, foreigners and Indians, irrespective of caste, creed and nationality, manned the Imperial service.

It is with regard to the religious policy of the Mughal Emperors that we find the travellers' accounts extremely valuable. Coming from lands weltering in conflict they were surprised to find that "here every man has liberty to profess his own religion freely"⁷ and that "the Grand Mughal makes no difference in his dominions between the one sort and the other."⁸ "Akbar declared," notes Monserrate, "that it was his desire

1. Bernier, p. 212.

2. Monserrate, p. 207.

3. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 388-89.

4. Bernier, p. 212-13. He again says on the same page: A mansabdar was not to bring the number of men implied in his mansab. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 375-76.

5. Hawkins, p. 83.

6. Bernier, p. 211. Ovington also says the same thing ".... all the lands of the Indostan belong entirely to the Mogol, the Omrahs there cannot derive their titles from their Earldoms, Lordships or Mansion houses (as with us) because they are none of their property, only Tenants of will, during the Mughal's pleasure." p. 110.

7. Terry, p. 315.

8. Valle, Vol. I, p. 30.

that Christians should live freely in his empire and build their churches. No one could think this an innovation since he allowed the idolaters to live and build their temples in the empire."¹ Christians were allowed complete religious freedom, then unknown in their native lands, and sometimes the State gave them monetary help. A Christian church was built at Agra and another at Lahore, while permission to build churches at Cambay and Thatta was also granted.² Akbar granted the Jesuit Father annual allowances for their maintenance.³ In 1607 the Commemoration of the "Lord's Passion" included a public procession headed by a crucifix and the small band of Christians "moved as serenely and devoutly as though they were commemorating the triumph of Christ in the land of the most Catholic of Kings."⁴ In 1610 the Christmas festival was celebrated in Lahore with such pomp and show "as could not have been done more openly in a Christian country."⁵

Jahāngīr continued his father's policy except that he favoured converts to Islam. He allowed Christian missionaries to preach and convert freely in his empire.⁶ For distribution of alms to the Christians, he sanctioned Rs. 50 per month and allotted another sum of Rs. 30 per month for the repair and decoration of churches.⁷ About twenty persons were baptised at Agra alone. Out of respect for Hindu sentiments the sale of beef was forbidden.⁸ Jahāngīr prohibited the slaughter of animals on certain days of the week and the Jesuits could not get meat on Sundays.⁹ Only in India could Coryat with impunity contradict a Mulla in Multan, call the Prophet an impostor, and denounce Islam openly.¹⁰ Recruitment to public services was irrespective of a man's persuasion. Delle Valle was impressed by the fact that Akbar made no distinction between the "Gentiles," and the Muhammadans as regards the army and public services.¹¹ Hawkins, on the other hand, noticed that Jahāngīr reduced the number of Hindu captains and gave preference to Muslims.¹²

During the reign of Shāh Jahān there seems to have been an oscillation from this religious policy during the earlier part of his reign.

1. Monserrate, p. 47.

2. Du Jarric, p. 75.

3. Du Jarric, p. on 24; Bernier, pp. 286-87. Thevenot, p. 33. Monserrate goes on to say that Akbar entrusted to him the task of educating his second son, Murad, and the sons of some nobles, p. 52; Du Jarric, p. 24.

4. Guerreiro, pp. 31-32.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

6. Terry, p. 33.

7. Guerreiro, p. 35.

8. Monserrate, p. 184.

9. MacLagan: "The Jesuit Mission to the Emperor Akbar," *J.A.S.B.*, Part I, Vol. LXV, 1896, p. 57.

10. Coryat, p. 271. "If I had spoken this much in Turkey or Persia against Mahomet, they would have roasted me upon a spitt; but in the Mougols dominions a Christian may speak much more freely than he can in any other Mohometan country in the world."

11. Valle, Vol. I, p. 30.

12. Hawkins, pp. 106-107.

According to Peter Mundy, Shāh Jahān "had commanded that all Hindu churches made in his time should be demolished."¹ Displeased with the Jesuits, he ordered the destruction of Christian churches at Lahore and Agra.² When Hugli was taken, the captured Portuguese and their families were forcibly converted.³ The pilgrimage tax was reimposed on the Hindus.⁴

But towards the latter part of his reign Shāh Jahān's religious zeal seems to have subsided. Manrique procured permission to reconstruct the Christian churches in Sindh, which Shāh Jahān had ordered to be demolished a few years earlier.⁵ Injunctions against the slaying of animals were strictly enforced.⁶ Shāh Jahān, records Bernier, paid a pension of two thousand rupees to a Brahmin at Benares.⁷

It was during the reign of Aurangzēb that this policy of religious freedom was reversed. According to Manucci, Aurangzēb sometime after 1667 ordered every provincial governor to destroy all temples situated within his jurisdiction.⁸ Pilgrimage tax,⁹ discriminatory customs tax¹⁰ as between Hindus and Muslims, poll tax,¹¹ prohibition of religious festivals¹² followed. Aurangzēb abandoned the policy of recruitment to services irrespective of religious convictions. He issued a general order commanding that all the higher Hindu public servants at Court should be replaced by Muslims.¹³ Ovington found at Surat that the Muslims got the highest military and civil appointments only because of their religion.¹⁴ He goes on to say that "the Mughal delights much in proselytizing all the Rājās he conquers, and bringing them to the Muhammadan faith, which has much exasperated these grandees and the gentile sect of this kingdom."¹⁵ Tavernier notes that the Shi'as were not allowed to celebrate the Muharram festival.¹⁶

1. Mundy, Vol. II, p. 178.

2. Bernier, pp. 177, 287.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177.

4. Manrique, Vol. II, p. 147. In December, 1640 he reached Allahabad and got himself registered at the Customs House. He records: "Seeing that I was not a Gangetic pilgrim, they only took half a rupee from me. From the rest they took much more....."

5. Manrique, Vol. II, p. 211. His silence about the temples at Agra & Lahore ordered to be demolished earlier is, however, surprising.

6. Manrique records that with the greatest difficulty he could get punishment abated from amputation of limbs to flogging for killing peacocks in the case of a Muslim offender, Vol. II, pp. 105-15.

7. Bernier, p. 341.

8. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 154.

9. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 82, 417, Bernier, 303.

10. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 61.

11. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 233. Fryer, Vol. I, p. 275.

12. Manucci, Vol. p. 154.

13. *Ibid.*, 154.

14. Ovington, p. 140.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

16. Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 177.

In perusing these records one is struck by the complete absence of any mention of or reference to religious strife or communal riots except that of bitterness between the Shi'as and the Sunnis.¹

In regard to political events, we find that the excursions of these travellers in the realm of history are disappointing. Thus Monserrate, Finch, Roe, Mundy and Manucci have recorded fanciful stories and legends about Akbar and Bābur. But with regard to contemporary happenings their accounts are quite useful ; thus for instance Monserrate's account of Akbar's invasion of Kabul and the account of the war of succession by Bernier and Manucci.

The opinion which the European travellers formed of the social conditions prevailing in India is not a happy one. On the one hand, we have a nobility with the Emperor at its head, rolling in fabulous wealth, literally swimming in plenty, revelling in wine and music, and living a life of unbounded luxury and extravagance. They conjure up before us magnificent palaces, adorned with gold, jewels and other rarities, rich gaudy dresses, colourful pageants, exhilarating animal fights, nobles pampering themselves with the delicacies of the East, and teeming harems—a picture which reminds one of the Arabian Night. It is, in short, a picture of “lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity, superfluous pomp, inflated pride, and ornamental daintiness.”²

On the other hand, in marked contrast to this, we have the life, painted in sombre colours, of the great mass of the people. In the grim clutches of grinding poverty, unable to afford a piece of linen to cover their nudity, perpetually on the verge of starvation, and driven from the soil by the exorbitant demands of an extravagant exchequer and a tyrannical and oppressive government—such, according to Bernier, was the condition of the people of India.³ The travellers found Indians living in mean dwellings and with mean clothing. A scandalous contrast to the life of the upper classes ! But the travellers probably failed to make allowance for the climatic conditions of the country which rendered elaborate houses and clothing unnecessary. Considering the flourishing condition of numerous industries which meant a comparatively low burden on land one cannot believe that the people could be poorer than they are today.

In between the rich and the poor was the middle class whose existence Bernier denies.⁴ But the commercial community and the professional classes must have formed a large middle class, to which fresh blood was continually recruited from the sons of deceased Omaras or those nobles who fell from the Emperor's favour. The existence of a middle class was

1. Bernier, 314 ; Pelsaert, p. 78.

2. Pelsaert, p. 64.

3. Their life was “the home of stark want and the dwelling-place of bitter woe.” Pelsaert, p. 60. “The condition of the people of India,” says de Laet, “is very miserable.” p. 88. But the cost of living was so cheap that Coryat could live on 2d a day in his travels in the East. Foster, 236.

4. Bernier remarks : “In Delhi there is no middle state. A man must be of the highest rank or live miserably.”

inevitable in a country where there was no hereditary nobility. The commercial community was rich and affluent, but led a frugal and abstemious life, pushing frugality to the extremes of miserliness—a quality which has shown persistence among the present-day Bania classes.

The life of the women, too, was not very happy. The death of the husband was the greatest tragedy—as it is even today—in the life of a Hindu woman. Widow remarriage being out of the question, she had either to immolate herself or to lead a life of abysmal anguish, unending suffering and woe. Self-immolation was considered an act of chastity.¹ Failure to perform it involved social stigma.² The Mughals tried to put an end to this barbarous custom. Akbar prohibited the forcible burning of widows, making it obligatory on the intending immolators to procure written permission from the local governor.³ The governors were generally Muslims and would not easily grant permission for an act which in their eyes was a sin.⁴ But the State policy bore little fruit at first. Hawkins, who was in India from 1608 to 1613, noted that even the personal intervention of Jahāngīr did not succeed in a single case in preventing the widows from Agra from committing this sacrifice.⁵ Withington who travelled between the years 1612-1616 records that some of them did live, though not many.⁶ Pelsaert however (1620-27) definitely asserts that “there are hundreds and even thousands who do not do it and there is no such reproach as is asserted by many.”⁷ Aurangzēb totally prohibited sati.⁸ In 1689 Ovington noted, “Now it is very rare except it be some Raja’s wives that the Indian women burn at all.”⁹

Child-marriage was another social evil among the Hindus. Girls rarely exceeded the age of eight, while the boys were married at the age of fifteen or sixteen.¹⁰

To these travellers India was primarily a land of Sadhus and Fakirs¹¹ and of a people steeped in superstitions, given to fasts, penances, and pilgrimages, to a servile adoration of Yogis and Pirs—people who had a passion for making saints. Akbar and Khusrau were thus canonised, being elevated by the people to the status of saints. The Hindus in particular were organised in four rigid castes with little or no intercourse between them. They were also idolatrous and had countless numbers of gods and

1. Thevenot, p. 84.

2. Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 211.

3. Terry, p. 323; Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 210.

4. Tavernier, Vol. II, p. 210.

5. Hawkins, p. 119.

6. Withington, o. 220.

7. Pelsaert, p. 80.

8. Manucci, Vol. II, p. 97.

9. Ovington, p. 344.

10. Fitch 16, 19; Withington, 221; Thevenot, 51, 83.

11. Tavernier estimated Hindu Fakirs at 120,000, Muslim Fakirs at 80,000, p. 347.

goddesses, the chief being Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, etc.¹ Belief in transmigration and Ahimsa—which enjoined upon them to eschew meat diet and avoid injury to all life—was a feature common to all Hindus, save a small section. Thus to Ovington : “ India of all religions of the earth is the only public theatre of justice and tenderness to birds and living creatures.”² The cow and the Ganges had special sanctity. The travellers also give detailed accounts of the immoral practices of certain Brahmans and Yogis. The Dassi system was prevalent. Jagannath was notorious for this.³

The Hindu caste system was affecting the Muslims as well. Inter-marriages among the Muslim occupational castes were as impossible as among the sub-castes of the Hindus.⁴ The pig was held in abomination. The water of the Ganges was sold not only among the Hindus but also among the Muslims.⁵ The Muslims were divided into three main groups—the Sunnis, the Shi‘as and the Sufis.

The only other religious community noted by the travellers is the Parsis, who were fire-worshippers.

Besides describing the socio-religious ceremonies connected with births, marriages and deaths, and the broad religious practices and beliefs of the masses, the European travellers betray an utter ignorance of Indian religions as such. They had no knowledge of Indian philosophy and the fundamentals of its various faiths. An important religious movement like the Bhakti cult popular among the masses is completely ignored by them. In fact it is in the sphere of religion that they have blundered ; it is here that they could not divest themselves of their preconceived notions and prejudices. The natural result was the fantastic and ridiculous statements they have made. Of Muharram, one of the most important festivals observed by the Muslims, says Van Twist, “ The Muslims celebrate some other annual festivals, for instance, the festival of Janse and Jawnzee (Hasan and Hussain), in commemoration of two brothers so named, servants of Muhammad and Ali, who having travelled to the Coromandel Coast to make pilgrimage and earn absolution, were surrounded by a multitude of heathens, gentiles and Brahmans, and besieged in a

1. Manucci failed to appreciate Hindu pantheism when he says of them : “ There is not an individual among them who denies that there is a God ; still, they have so many different views on what they say of God that they are incompetent to find the truth. Some say that water is God, and they style this ‘ infallible science ;’ others, that God is a spiritual substance widely diffused. Then shortly afterwards, with hardly any discussion they will tell you that it is the air which is God, and there is none other. But as they have no fixity in their belief, they will next tell you briefly after setting forth the above statements as infallible that the sun is God ; that it has created and still creates, that it preserves and destroys all things in this world.” Vol. III., p. 3.

2. Ovington, 175.

3. Bernier, 305.

4. Terry, 316 ; Bernier, 259.

5. Baldaeus, p. 593.

fortress where they took refuge, their water being contaminated by a lizard, which Muslims consider an exceedingly unclean animal."¹ Terry observed that the Muslims usually shaved off their head "reserving only a lock on the crown for Muhammad to pull them into Heaven."² The same lock of hair on the heads of Brahman boys drew from Lord the comment that with its help they would be pulled back into the studies if they ever went astray.³ Monserrate, speaking of the Parsis, noticed that their dead bodies were dragged along the road⁴—a statement which is apparently unbelievable. Hog's flesh, according to a traveller, was consumed by Brahmans on a particular day!⁵ To proclaim the glory of his own faith, Finch asserts with the utmost gravity that Jahāngir affirmed before all his nobles that Christianity was the solemnest faith while that of Mahomet was lies and fables.⁶ Monserrate also tells us that a Christian King ruled over Delhi before the Mughals.⁷

On turning to economic conditions, we find the records of the European travellers very illuminating. They give us ample and reliable information about agricultural crops, minerals, industries, trade and commerce. Besides cultivating the traditional food crops like rice, wheat, barley, millet, Indians also grew commercial crops which have only been recently revived in our own time—cotton, indigo and sugar-cane. Among industries, cotton textiles held pride of place, providing employment on an extensive scale in which Indians reached a high degree of craftsmanship. 7000 looms were to be found at Benares.⁸ Tavernier speaks in glowing terms of the quality of Indian muslins. He tells of a turban of sixty yards being contained in a cocoanut of the size of an ostrich's egg and of so fine a material "that you would scarcely know what it was that you had in your hands."⁹ He also took to France an ounce of thread "which almost escaped the view,"¹⁰ for presentation to the Dowager Queen. Such gossamer fabrics were so transparent that the body inside was visible.¹¹ Silks were also produced. Dyeing, as an ancillary industry, was also highly developed. Terry remarks that cotton cloth was dyed or printed with a "variety of well-shaped and well-coloured flowers or figures, which are so fixed on the cloth that no water can wash them out."¹² Such a high degree of development was rendered possible by the

1. Von Twist (see *Journal of Indian History*, 1937, p. 70); Baldeau (p. 518) repeats the same story. Pelsaert and Mundy relate it with minor differences.

2. Terry, 308.

3. Lord, 321.

4. Monserrate, 7.

5. Thevenot, 81.

6. Finch, 147.

7. Monserrate, p. 34.

8. Manrique, Vol. II, p. 147.

9. Tavernier, II p. 7.

10. *Ibid.*, II, 7-8.

11. *Ibid.*, I, 56-57.

12. Terry, pp. 108-109.

patronage which the Emperor and the nobles extended to industries and the practice of presenting gifts to the Emperor. But incidentally it also shows that production was tuned to the needs of the classes rather than of the masses—to the production of luxury goods—and this fact inhibited the growth of those industries beyond a particular point, as in the West till the 15th century. Bernier notes that the lot of the artisans and craftsmen was not happy ; they were subjected to harsh treatment at the hands of officers who forced them to sell goods at low prices.¹ Workmen, observes Pelsaert, were treated as slaves, though nominally free.²

Besides metallurgy, to meet the every day needs of towns and villages, diamond-cutting,³ in which the Indians attained a high degree of skill, and the saltpetre industry, ceramics reached the high watermark of artistic development. Patna was the centre, and manufactured pottery which Manucci described as “ finer than glass, lighter than paper and highly scented.”⁴ Woodwork, ivory-work and gold-work were also cultivated.

As for the location of these industries, the travellers found cotton textiles at Benares, Patna, Jagannath and Bengal ; silks in Bengal, Assam and Patna ; the last-named town being also the centre of pottery-making.

Our foreign trade, unlike the present, consisted of manufactured goods, cottons, silks, indigo, pottery, sugar, saltpetre and pepper and spices. In fact it was in search of cloth and condiments that many of the travellers came to India. Imports were negligible as India was self-sufficient. She was paid in terms of gold and other precious metals. It is not unnatural in that age of mercantilism that we find Roe complaining, “ Europe bleedeth to enrich Asia.”⁵ The Empire of the Mughal, says Bernier, is an abyss for gold and silver.⁶

Trade was largely, as it is today, in the hands of the Hindus—Banias in Western India and Khatri in Northern India. Muslims preferred a military career to trade.⁷ Internal trade was monopolised by Indians who also took a hand in the foreign trade. They also ventured abroad. The Banias of Gujrat and Indian sailors were to be found carrying on trade in Java, Sumatra, Borneo, and the Phillipines in the East, and Persia, Arabia, and Ethiopia and East Africa in the West.⁸

Of the means of communication, India had both roads and inland

1. Bernier, 254-256.

2. Pelsaert, 60-61

3. Tavernier, II, 56 ; In the art of concealing flaws Indians were “ much more accomplished than we are.”

4. Manucci, II, p. 84 ; Marshall speaks in a similar strain, p. 414.

5. Roe, 464.

6. Bernier, 223. “ India is rich in silver,” wrote Hawkins, “ for all nations bring coyne (coin) and carry away commodities for the same, and thus coyne is burried in India and goeth not out.” p. 112.

7. Muslims preferred seeking jobs as grenadiers and corporals in the army to making fortunes by trade. Mandelslo, p. 18.

8. Jourdan, 57, 69, 95, 103, 104, 251, 310, 311. Lancaster 74, 117.

navigation. But the roads were not safe, especially that from Gujrat to Delhi which had to pass through the desert. This amply explains the rapid decline in commercial intercourse when, after 1707, insecurity increased as a result of administrative chaos. But in land navigation was much more extensively used than it is today. Fitch travelled from Agra to Bengal in a fleet of 180 boats.¹ The Ganges was the grand commercial highway—the life-line of commerce—as it passed through the most thickly populated and fertile districts and the industrial region of India, and on its banks were situated the commercial towns like Benares, Patna, Cossimbazar and Raj Mahal. The Indian bottom-ships were no mere lighters or ketches but had a capacity of 300 to 400 tons each.²

Besides, Indians also participated in the coastal trade. The natural result was that India had a flourishing ship-building industry, coming down from Hindu times. Indian ships were superior to those of the Western nations, especially because India had plenty of teak wood which is eminently suited to withstand the effects of saline water. Pyrard tells us that all vessels built for the king of Spain for use in Eastern waters were built in India.³

It is sad to reflect that the Mughal Emperors were indifferent to sea-power and the European pirates played havoc with our shipping. They forced Indians to export Indian goods in European vessels.⁴ The English adventurers forced the Indian traders to exchange Indian merchandise for their unwanted goods at prices arbitrarily fixed by themselves.⁵ The Dutch swarmed over the East Indies, where Indian trade was strangled. The Danes were a menace to Indian trade on the Coromandel and Bengal coasts between the years 1642 and 1674, when they were forced to mend their ways.⁶

Piracy combined with the inimical policy of the East India Company later ruined our ship-building industry and overseas trade. Pelsaert candidly admits: "All merchants from whatever country they came complain most bitterly. Portuguese, Moslems and Hindus all concur in putting the blame for this state of things entirely on the English and on us (the Dutch), saying that we are the scourges of the sea and of their prosperity. . . . The leading merchants tell us they heartily wish we had never come to their country. They point to the number of ships

1. Fitch, 18.

2. Mundy, II, 87-88. He also noticed ships for the transport of the Emperor's household: "There were boats with a large number of rooms on their decks capable of carrying a prettie village with all their inhabitants and goods."

3. Pyrard de Laval, Part I, Vol. 2, 182.

4. The Portuguese enforced what was euphemistically called the 'pass-port,' for which a fee had to be paid and which prevented trade in commodities in which the Portuguese were interested. Any ship infringing the rules of this 'permit' was a lawful prize. They confiscated the cargo and the crew was held to ransom.

5. Nicholas Danton in Lancaster's *Voyages*, pp. 200-207; H. Middleton in Purchas, III, 192-193.

6. Bowry, 182-190; Ovington, 415.

that used to sail from Surat alone. every year four or five of the King's Great Ships. (two for Achin, two for Hormuz, two for Bantam, Macasar and those parts), besides smaller ships owned by individual merchants, coming and going in large numbers. Now-a-days the total is very small. " *

The information furnished by these European travellers is varied and extensive. It covers government and administration, social customs and institutions, religious practices and beliefs, and trade, industry and the economic conditions of the people. Manucci, Bernier, Roe, Hawkins and Terry entered the Mughal service or otherwise attended the Mughal court and were intimately acquainted with it. Naturally they furnish us with detailed information about the Imperial court, courtly etiquette, ceremonial functions and festivals. True it is that today, when historical values have changed, when institutions and movements are more important than the petty, minute and tedious details of the life of a man however eminent, we naturally ask of what use are the minute details of the Emperor's life and his court. Yet even this mass of trifling details can yield surprisingly rich results if intelligently interpreted. For instance, we find that the practice of making presents to the Emperor at the time of audience—which seemed vexatious to the travellers—must have led to the development of luxury trades and have given employment to numerous people. The elaborate etiquette that was enforced in the court and the various duties which the nobles at the metropolis had to carry out in the service of the Emperor, were intended to bring home to the nobles the authority of the Emperor. The frequent transfer of governors was a constant reminder to officials as well as to the people that the governor was not their only officer; there were others above him. The extravagant imperial establishment and colourful pageants were not without meaning. Like Henry VIII in England, the Eastern monarchs had learnt earlier that trappings of magnificence or the so-called 'oriental' pageantry was not a mere satisfaction of regal vanity, for 'august majesty' inspired awe in the masses of the people. Even where the travellers have made incorrect statements, they can be of some help in reconstructing political history by a cautious handling of the material in juxtaposition with contemporary Indian evidence. But the same cannot be said of their observations on the religious beliefs of the people. Here they strike us as mere superficial observers who never tried to dive deep into the matter. And their attitude is quite understandable when we remember that they regarded their own religious convictions as gospel truth and men of a different persuasion as heretics and pagans.

The contemporary Indian authorities are pitifully deficient in information about the social and economic life of the people. We can certainly reconstruct the political life of those times from them; but for the social and economic life we must turn to the records of the European travellers

* Pelsaert, 39-40.

which contain a wealth of information for the lack of which our knowledge about Mughal India would be poor and partial indeed. To us Indians, even their descriptions of social practices and institutions appear commonplace since they are so well known, and are so strongly ingrained in the Indian social texture which has changed little through the course of centuries. But their observations about economic matters are illuminating and invaluable. Thus while political material needs to be handled with the utmost discrimination and merely supplements the contemporary Indian authorities who form our chief sources for political government, history and administration, in the economic and social sphere the travellers' accounts are of prime importance.

Y. KRISHAN.

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GULCHIN

DR. M. ISHAQUE'S large anthology of modern Persian poetry¹ reveals the very considerable developments which have taken place in this branch of literature since E. G. Browne wrote his pioneering work *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia* (Cambridge, 1914). A review just published by Dr. A. Bausani on Dinshah J. Irani's *Poets of the Pahlavi Regime* (Bombay, 1933),² and an article on the poet 'Ārif by Dr. A. Bombaci,³ are among recent reminders of the interest which this subject arouses in Europe. During the war it fell to my lot to found and edit a cultural magazine in the Persian language, *Rūzgār-i-Nau*, which after appearing in twenty-two issues is now defunct; this was the first Persian periodical ever to be published in Great Britain, and it achieved a tolerably wide circulation and popularity in Persia. My editorial duties brought me into contact with a number of young Persian poets of considerable promise; outstanding among them is the writer whose work forms the subject of the present paper.

Majd ad-Dīn Mīr-Fakhrā'ī, who writes under the pen-name Gulchīn-i-Gīlānī, was born at Resht on 1st January, 1910 (1289 A.H.). His father, Mahdī Mīr-Fakhrā'ī, who was Head of the Finance Department in Resht at that time, after holding a number of important offices under the Persian government is now Governor of Sabzevār. Gulchīn obtained his early education at the primary school in Resht and the secondary school in Teheran; he received the Diplôme-ès-Lettres from the Dār al-Funūn, and the Licence-ès-Lettres, Philosophie et Sciences Pédagogiques from the Dānīshsarā'ay-i-'Ālī, Teheran. After matriculating at the Chelsea Polytechnic and at University College, London, he passed the First and Second M.B., B.S. He commenced his clinical studies in Manchester Royal Infirmary, but the outbreak of war interrupted these, and Gulchīn was obliged to work for his support. He became an ambulance driver in the A.R.P. (Civil Defence) under the London County Council but was later deprived of this means of livelihood when the Aliens'

1. *Sukhanvarān-i-Irān Dar 'Arṣ-i-Ḥāzīr* (Poets and Poetry of Modern Persia), 2 Vols., Calcutta, 1933, 1937.

2. 'Notizie su poeti persiani contemporanei' in *Oriente Moderno*, Vol. XXV (1946), pp. 28-41.

3. 'Il poeta nazionalista persiano 'Āref di Qazvīn,' ib., pp. 42-53.

Restriction Act was passed, and for a time faced great hardship and hunger. Subsequently Gulchīn succeeded in earning enough by journalism and translation work to enable him to resume his clinical studies at University College Hospital. He qualified in medicine, surgery, and midwifery in 1944 (L.M.S.S.A.), and the following year obtained his M.R.C.S. and L.R.C.P., and entered general practice in London. In 1946 he gained the special diploma in tropical diseases and hygiene (D.T.M. & H.); and is now once more attending University College Hospital in order to acquire more knowledge and experience of recent advances in medicine.

Such in brief is the biography to date of a young poet who has already proved that he has something of importance to contribute to Persian literature. Before leaving Persia, Gulchīn had a number of poems published in magazines and newspapers: my first acquaintance with him was in 1940, when he brought me a poem entitled باران (Rain). I was so much struck by the freshness and originality of his style and language that I sent this poem to Teheran, where it was published in the literary magazine, *Sukhan*, which had just been founded. He later brought me other poems, and in 1944 I published two of these, برگ (Leaves) and خانه تار (The Dark House), in my quarterly *Rūzgār-i-Nau*. These poems were received with great interest and appreciation in Persia, where the younger critics hailed Gulchīn as a most promising writer. The former of these two poems was printed side by side with an English translation from my own pen; I quote below some stanzas to illustrate this phase of Gulchīn's development:

باد شبگرد میکشد فریاد
 که گل و برگ و سبزه ویران باد
 با فغان پرندۀ شب خیز
 زیر اشک ستارگان بلند
 برگ و گل روی سبزه می افتند
 زرد از مشیت و سیلی پائیز
 روی چین های نازک هر برگ
 کشمکش های زندگی و مرگ
 سرگذشت خوشامد و بدرود
 خنده و اشک و ناله جان سوز
 داستان های دلکش دیروز
 یاد گار گذشته نابود

The night-bound wind in loud lament doth cry :
 "Let flower and leaf and grass in ruin lie!"

And, as the night-arising bird makes moan,
 Beneath the weeping stars in heaven's height,
 Smitten by autumn's hand, in pallid flight
 Over the grasses leaf and flower are strewn.

There, o'er the delicate folds of every leaf
 Life fights with Death in battle fiercely brief,
 The ancient tale of Welcome and Farewell ;
 Laughter, and tears, and soul-consuming sighs,
 All yesterday's delightful memories,
 Remembrance of a vanished past to tell.

The rich, melodious melancholy of this threnody to autumn recalls strongly the mood of Shelley's *Ode to the West Wind*.

O Wild West Wind, thou breath of Autumn's being,
 Thou from whose unseen presence the leaves dead
 Are driven like ghosts from an enchanter fleeing.

But whereas Shelley ends on a note of triumphant optimism :

The trumpet of a prophecy ! O Wind,
 If Winter comes, can Spring be far behind ?

Gulchīn, who was writing at a time when the whole earth was shaken by the hurricane blast of war, saw no redeeming vision of new birth.

آه بر برگ های سرگردان
 یادگار بهار و تابستان
 بامدادان چو دیده خورشید

باز گردد میان کوه و سپهر
 در چنین باغ بی گل و بی مهر
 روی این شاخه ها چه خطه اید

Ah, leaves that flutter heedlessly away,
 Last memories of spring and summer gay,
 To-morrow, when the sun's returning eye
 Peeps 'twixt the mountains and the sky above,
 Within this flowerless garden, bare of love,
 What on these branches shall it then descry ?

The mind of the poet, meditating on what the eye of the poet saw in nature in the autumn of 1944, seems to have had a vision of the wide-spread misery which the storm of war would leave in its trail ; and if the realization

had in it little of optimism, it cannot be said that the events which have followed the decision of 1945 have in anyway belied Gulchīn's dark prognostications.

Sometime in the summer of 1944 I had a talk with Gulchīn about the present tendencies in Persian poetry, and put to him the idea, which I had long had in mind, that the time had come for the old classical themes of the Persian epic to be used again, in idylls after the manner of the nineteenth and twentieth century poets of Europe. A few weeks later Gulchīn brought me a poem of 360 lines on the Suhrāb and Rustam incident. This poem, which has not yet been published, does in fact represent a distinctly new development in narrative style. The poet uses six-lined stanzas similar to those employed in 'Leaves'; the formal subject of the poem is viewed in an eternal perspective; the title of the idyll, مهر و کین (Love and Hate), symbolises the poet's intention in composing it. Gulchīn's interpretation of life is still pessimistic, as the following quotation from the beginning of this poem indicates:—

ای بشر گشت بزرگ روزگار
 با هزاران گام پائیز و بهار
 می رود سوی زمستان های نو
 تاز پیکار سیاه صلح و جنگ
 گستراند برف های سیم رنگ
 بر زمین آزمایش های تو
 چون ز نیرنگ بزرگ سرنوشت
 شد تهی از آدم و حوا بهشت
 آسمان آشفته شد گرد زمین
 با هزاران کوشش خورشید و ماه
 ابرها کردند گیتی را سیاه
 شد زمین یک رزمگاه مهر و کین
 تیغ هارا آذرخش آماده ساخت
 تندر دیوانه زد شیپور تاخت
 ریخت باران تا کشد دریا خروش
 ریخت باران تا بگرید آبشار
 ریخت باران تا ز چشم کوهسار
 چشمه خشم جهان آید بجوش

When I read these astonishing lines, it seemed to me that the eternal genius of Persian poetry had suddenly taken a long evolutionary leap forward into a future of infinite promise. With all his gifts of image and expression, his rich invention and novelty of phrase, Gulchīn does not turn his back on the classical tradition. He is no revolutionary of the kind too prevalent in world-literature today, denying entirely the values of the past, and casting about like a rudderless ship on pathless waters to find an undiscovered land : he is upon an adventure too, but he knows the old routes, and takes with him the instruments proved valid by skilled seafarers through long centuries of purposeful voyaging.

Gulchīn has some sixty poems not yet published, fifty of them written since he came to England ; it is certainly to be desired that he should in the no distant future make a volume of his poetry to date—he is still a young man, and many more volumes of poetry will yet, fate willing, come from his inventive pen, but he has already said important new things which ought not to continue unheard.

On 1 October, 1946, Gulchīn sent me a new poem, with a letter.

"In August I went through a painful physical and emotional experience. I was rewarded in September by six poems which I have collected under the title of 'The Curtain Fell.' I am sending them to you to be kind enough to have a look at them (if your time permits). If you want to have them published, you are welcome. As you will notice these poems are very different from my previous ones which you have seen. No more word painting of the External World. They are an attempt to dig into the Mind. The form is *مشوی* and not new in Persian Literature, but, I think, the style of expression is new. I especially tried to be *vague* in the first of these poems. You will find, here and there, strange combinations of words, but they are intended....."

Though the academic year was just beginning, with all the tiresome routine of interviewing and lecture-planning which that involves, the arrival of a new poem from Gulchīn was too interesting an event to be crowded out of one's attention. I read 'The Curtain Fell,' and at once set to work upon a translation. The result is here to read.

'The Curtain Fell' is, as far as I am aware, the first sequence of its kind to be written in Persian, though of course the form is not entirely novel in other languages. But there is an important feature which distinguishes Gulchīn's use of this form from its treatment in Western literature. The sequence is an application of the technique of musical composition to the art of writing ; the poet intends to compose in "movements," and to create a unity out of these "movements" similar to the unity achieved in the symphonic poem art. The Western writer is under a serious handicap in making this attempt because Western prosody is somewhat lacking in variety and definition : the Persian metres, with their firm and clearly differentiated rhythms, provide the poet with a greatly superior instrument. In creating this poetical technique, Gulchīn has opened a fresh chapter in Persian literature which may well rival all the inventions of the

past. To use old forms in a new way, to invent a new synthesis out of old materials—that is the mark of true genius.

Translation is always beset by problems, sometimes insoluble. In making this version of 'The Curtain Fell' I have attempted to reproduce in a limited way the rhythms of the original, though the fluidity of English prosody is a fatal obstacle. It has not been so difficult to imitate Gulchīn's stylistic characteristics; at the same time his disciplined use of words puts the translator very much upon his mettle. Anyhow, even the best translation is but a pale reflection of the original, and the translator can be satisfied if he achieves nothing more than a faithful rendering, without being false to the intention of his model: Gulchīn has read my translation, and was good enough to be satisfied with it. The reader is counselled however not to pay too much heed to the version, but to study the poetry of Gulchīn with the close attention it deserves.

پرده افتاد

۱ خواب

گشت يك بازى دگر آغاز	پرده افتاد پشت پرده راز
بازى سايه روشن پندار	دره و كوه مغز ناهموار
در دلت مهر ژاله ديرين	تو در آنجا چوبوى گل شيرين
گيج از مشت هاى سخت تگرگ	من در آن سايه چون گل بى برگ
دل من همچو ماه بى پرتو	پيش پاى تو پاى كوچك تو
همچو خورشيد تيره تابنده	آسمان سياه آينده
روى درياى بى نشان اميد	موج هاى دراز و تند و سفيد
باد ها در سرشك و در ناله	در رخ برگ و در لب لاله
دل آزاد و شاد من در بند	در رخ دلفريب تو لب خند
چشم تو مرگ وارسرد و بزرگ	لب تو جاى گاه بوسه گرگ
همه چيزت چو خواب هستى هيچ	موى تو موى بود تو پر بيچ

۲ خواب مستى

دلم را بهر مهتر ميرا شد	مرا يك راز پنهان ميخراشد
در آن آمدولى روشن نگرديد	سپهرى هست در جانم كه خورشيد
در آنجا باز شد كم كرد بيش	شب تار يك بك آفرينش

تو آنجائی ولی بی روشنائی
تو آنجائی چو ابرو اختر و باد
ولی گوشم کراست و دیده ام کور

* * *

مرا يك راز پنهان میخراشد
ولی مهر ترا کی میتوان دید
تهی میسازد از خون جوانی
ولی یاد امید دیدن تو
مگر اینست این معنای هستی

۳

سایه

بال من باز شد چو ابر سفید
پر زدم روی جنگل انبوه
رقم از لای ابر های گران
زیر پاهای من در آن پائین
چرخ میزد چو مست دیوانه
چرخ میزد چو کاسه سر من
ای خداوند سایه تابود

۴

درخت بزرگ

درخت بز رگیست بی شاخ و برگ
چنان زشت چون کور چون استخوان
برویش سپهر و ستاره نموش
برونش پر از لکه خاک و گرد

* * *

به مغز من است این درخت بزرگ
در این دره تار پندار من
در این خانه تنگ راز و نیاز

* * *

نراشیده از پنجه شیر و گرگ	درخت بزرگیست آری بزرگ
پر از بوم و زاغ و پر از یادگار	پر از عنکبوت و پر از مور و مار
پر از اشك خشك و پر از خون سفت	پر از کینه و مهر و ترس و شگفت

* * *

در این کله درد و رزم و شکست	به مغز من است این به مغز من است
درخشنده از اختران سیاه	در این آسمان پر از ابر آه
امید فریبنده ناپدید	فروزنده از مهر و ماه امید

•

راه

چاه است و چاله پیچ و خم و نام و ننگ من	راه است و پای خسته من کفش تنگ من
دندان شیر و گرگ و تپش های درد دل	کوه است و دره جنگل انبوه و سنگ و گل
میراندم به پیش که میراندم به پیش	رنج است و ناامیدی و میخ است و خار و نیش
از کیست بهر چیست چنین پر خطر چراست	این هستی من است و نمیدانم از کجاست
یا آریا نشانه انگشت چرك راز	این چیست درد دل من مهر است یا نیاز
این جست و خیزدم بدم موج سرخ پوش	دل چیست از برای که این جوش و این خروش
سوی گدام دریا هستند رهسپار	دردره های مغز من این رودهای مار

۶

غار

من در آنجا دست و پای من به بند	غار تاریک است کوهستان بلند
تیره مانند دو الهاس سیاه	درسپهر جان من خورشید و ماه
می چکد از اختران بر روی خاک	خون سرد آرزوی درد ناک
می تپد چیزی دما دم آه دل	در میان خون و خاک و اشك و گل

* * *

ای گریز ماه و سال خواب من	آه دل ای ساعت بی تاب من
زنگ ناهنگام وقت نادرست	سر نو شتم سر گذشت درد تست

* * *

غار تاريك است.... كو هستان بلند	دل در آنجا دست و پای دل به بند
نیست جز تنهائی پرواز باز	باز با بال و نك و چنگال راز
نیست جز خاموشی پر بانك جان	بانك نیروی خدای تا توان
*	*
ای خدا ای زاده پندار من	زاده تنهائی بیمار من
ای خدا ای پرده تاريك مرگ	افسريك ارتش بی ساز و برگ
غار تاريك است.... كو هستان بلند	با من و بادل تو در آنجا به بند

THE CURTAIN FELL*

I

SLEEP

the curtain fell....behind the veil of mystery
 moved the beginning of another mummery
 the undulations of the brain valley and hill
 the chiaroscuro playing of a fantastic will
 and thou in the midst of it sweet as a rose's scent
 and I like a rose without a leaf within that shade
 beneath the hail's flailing fists staggering flayed
 before thy foot before that little foot of thine
 my heart like to a moon lacking for light to shine
 a vast black firmament of unfulfilling days
 even as a darkened sun gleaming with shadow rays
 long long and swiftly speeding the white breakers sweep
 over the broad expanses of hope's pathless deep
 upon the petal's cheek upon the crocus' lip
 broadly the sighing winds in lamentation weep
 upon thy heart-ravishing cheek flutters a smile
 my heart free and rejoicing stands enchained the while
 upon thy lip lurking the kiss of the wolf's caress
 thine eye huge and mortally cold and comfortless
 and thy hair ah thy flaxen hair twisted and taut
 and all about thee....like the dream of being.... naught

2

ENRAPTURED DREAM

there is a hidden secret scrapes at me
 chisels my heart to thy love's conformity
 within my soul a sphere whither the sun
 entered but never in its brightness shone
 for there creation's eyelids that dark night
 opened and utterly confounded sight
 and there thou art but lacking light to see
 mine eye shall find no cognizance of thee

* This translation is printed without capital letters and without punctuation as desired by the author.
 [Ed. I. C.]

yea thou art there like star and wind and cloud
raining and trembling and lamenting loud
but ah mine ear is stopt my sight is blind
thou art so near but oh so far to find

there is a hidden secret scrapes at me
chisels my heart to thy love's conformity
yet how can it behold thy love at all
where the sun's eye is shrouded in a pall
the memory of death and life for truth
empties my heart of all the blood of youth
yet the remembered hope of seeing thee
fulfils me with renewed vitality
is being's meaning then as it would seem
the hope of seeing one enraptured dream

3

SHADE

and my wings opened out like a cloud all white
opened out time to soar unto hope's far height
pinions struck I and soared over forest dense
over plain garden valley and mountain whence
through the folds of the ponderous clouds I went
toward great suns whirling high in the firmament
far below far below like an ancient gun
neath my feet far below there the round earth spun
spun about madly a drunkard staggering
a mad drunkard and lost unto every thing
spun about like the spinning cup of my head
in the clouds' windingsheet all encircled
lord supreme of the shade of nonentity
was that the earth or was it the head of me

4

THE GREAT TREE

a great tree and branchless and leafless it stands
so dry and so parched gripped in death's icy hands
surpassingly foul like the tomb like a bone
so shrivelled as faces of dead men alone
above it the sky and the stars silent swing
below it like blood boils and bubbles the spring
without it all duststrew and dirtspread and stain
within chill and dampness and void and inane

my brain is the root whence the great tree evolves
this forest of lions hyenas and wolves
and this of my thought the dark valley and deep
and this the spread curtain of my waking sleep
and this the tight cottage of secret and prayer
and this the drawn thread of desire far and fair

a great tree it stands yea a tree hugely great
 the claws of the lions and wolves lacerate
 where spiders and emmets and snakes swarm with me
 and hootowls and ravens and ah memory
 affection and anger and wonder and fear
 and all blood congealed and a dry withered tear

my brain is the root yea it stands in my brain
 these temples of war and disaster and pain
 this broad clouded sky dark with cumulous sighs
 this broad gleaming heaven where black stars arise
 this sky broadly lighted by hope's sun and moon
 by hope bright deceitful and hope vanished soon

5

THE ROAD

there is the road and my weary foot and the narrow shoe I wear
 the well and the pit and the winding whirl and the name and shame I bear
 mountain there is and vale there is dense thicket and stone and clay
 teeth of the lion and the wolf and throb of the heart's dismay
 anguish there is and hopelessness and sting and nettle and thorn
 yet ever onward he bears me on and on by whom am I borne
 this is my being that bears me on and I know not whence it has come
 from whom it is and for what it is so fearful and dangersome
 what is this in this heart of mine is it passion or poverty
 concupiscence or the fingerprint of a dark dim mystery
 what oh what is the heart for whom so turbulent does it rave
 what is this the fall and rise breath breath of a crimson wave
 amid the valleys within my brain these rivulets serpentine
 unto what ocean hurrying down stream on these waters of mine

6

THE CAVERN

dark the cavern...and the mountainrange is high
 hand enchained and foot enfettered there am I
 in the heaven of my soul the moon and sun
 gleam like two black diamonds darkling and dun
 see the cold blood of an agonizing lust
 trickles dripping from the stars over the dust
 mid the blood and earth and tears and clay a part
 something quivers momentarily ah tis the heart

ah my heart my watch whose fingers ever creep
 ah the speeding of my months and years of sleep
 and my life is all this agony to tell
 the untimely chiming of a lying bell

dark the cavern...and the mountainrange is high
 hand and foot enfettered there my heart must lie
 naught is there save the hawk's lonely flight to see
 hawk with wing and beak and claw of mystery

naught to hear save the loud silence of the soul
the loud power of a god lacking control

o thou god thou child engendered by my thought
o thou child of my sick loneliness begot
o thou god thou death's shrouded and pallid ghost
thou commander of an unprovisioned host
dark the cavern....and the mountainrange is high
there enchained art thou and there my heart and I

A. J. ARBERRY.

MĪR GĒSŪ KHĀN, AKBAR'S FAUJDAR OF KOL (ALIGARH) 1563-83¹

FOR the people of Aligarh, the life-history of Mīr Gēsū Khān² is bound to be a topic of abiding interest. He was the Faujdār (Military Governor) of Kol (Aligarh) Sarkār for at least 20 years, and lies buried in a very beautiful mausoleum, just outside Aligarh city, between the old Delhi gate and Shāh Jamāl. The mausoleum is a protected monument and is in a fairly good state of preservation. In the following pages I have tried to give a connected account of Mīr Gēsū's life as far as I could, from authoritative sources. For reasons unknown, Mīr Gēsū has not been mentioned by Abu'l-Faḍl or Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad in the list of Akbar's nobles. He figures in Shāh Nawāz Khān's *Maasir-ul-Umara*, and has been mentioned by Blochmann in the list of nobles whose names have been included in Abu'l-Faḍl's list. Though Abu'l-Faḍl's *Akbar Nāma* is our main authority, neither Abu'l-Faḍl nor Shāh Nawāz Khān definitely say that he held the Faujdārship of Kol, but only incidentally mention that in the year of his death he held the governorship of Merta and of some Parganas of the Indo-Gangetic Do-āb. Fortunately, we have some incontrovertible epigraphic evidence in support of tradition to connect Kol with Mīr Gēsū Khān. Mīr Gēsū, described by Abu'l-Faḍl and Shāh Nawāz Khān as a Sayyid of Khurāsān, was one of the most trusted of Akbar's officers, and held the post of Bākawāl Bēg (Master of the Royal Kitchens). We do not know anything of his early life. He is first mentioned by Bābar³ as "one of the people come from Kābul"⁴ who sent to him a quatrain commemorating the victory of Kanwata containing the chronogram, "Fath-i Pādshāh-i Islām," which according to Abjad calculation yields 933/1526-27. Bābar adds that this chronogram coincided with that of Shaikh Zain, his Ṣadr (Chief Judge), and that once before these two men sent by a strange coincidence a chronogram in connexion with his victory at Dīpalpūr against Ibrāhīm Lodī, in 930/1523, in the words

1. Delivered as a Muslim University Extension Lecture on 22-11-45.

2. Variouslly spelt as Kēsū, Kīsū and Gīsī Khān.

3. Beveridge, *Bābur Nāma*, 198-99.

4. Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbar Nāma*, I, 266, says that the chronogram was sent from Kābul.

“Waṣṭ-i Shahr-i Rabī‘-ul-Awwal” (the middle of the month of Rabī‘ I). Thereafter we lose contact with the Mīr Ṣāhib during the years of revolutionary and cataclysmic changes resulting in the expulsion of the Muḡhals from India and the usurpation of Kābul by Mīrzā Kāmṛān. In Ramadān 970, April-May 1563, which corresponds to the 8th Ilāhi year, Mīr Gēsū is noticed as the Faujdār of Kol. Kol, during the middle ages, was one of the life arteries of the Delhi Empire and its governor was, so to say, the custodian of the eastern gate of Delhi, and it is not strange that Akbar should have selected a faithful servant for the post. During his governorship of Kol, he constructed some edifices (now extending from the eastern perimeter walls of Shāh Jamāl to the Khair Road in the north and the Kerbela Road in the south) which have been identified by the compiler of the N.-W. Province Gazetteer¹ as an ‘Idgāh. Dr. Harrovitz in his *Muslim Inscriptions*² seems to have followed the author of the Gazetteer. This view seems to have been taken because of the existence of an octagonal Chhatrī (canopied pavilion), commonly known as the Ātkhamba from its pillars, standing in front of the inscription now fixed in the outer eastern wall of Shams-ul-‘Ārifin Shāh Jamāl. The second, fourth and sixth hemistiches of this inscription have almost wholly corroded. It is strange that the inscription should be found in the wall of another building, but the fact is that the inscription was fixed on a canopied mosque which does not exist at present but the foundation of which can be clearly traced. The whole site and its surroundings was the garden-house of Mīr Gēsū Khān and members of his family (now the municipal graveyard), and this can be confirmed by the tradition obtaining in the locality. The octagonal canopied hall was used by the Mīr Ṣāhib as his rest-house. The translation of the inscription is as follows, and the text is given in footnote below.³

“In the reign of the victorious monarch and in the time of the faith-cherishing emperor, Jalāluddīn Muḡammad Akbar, king of kings, Muḡammad Gēsū Khān, who is the fruit of the Prophet’s heart and the pupil of ‘Alī’s eyes,⁴ constructed this building. The building was erected in the month of Ramadān, in the year of the Hijra 900 and seventy years over (i.e., 970/1563).”

During the year of the construction of the garden-mosque (970 H. corresponding to the 8th Ilāhi year) containing the inscription referred

1. Vol. II, 488.

2. *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*, 1909-1048.

3. جلال الدین محمد شاه برشاهنشان اکبر جہد خسروی غازی بدور شاه دین پرور
نہی را میوه جانست و علی را دیدہ انور بنا کرد این عمارت را محمد گیسوان خانے
زہجرت بود مسائلش نہصدو ہفتاد بالاتر مرتب شد این عمارت درمہ رمضان

4. The Mīr Ṣāhib was a Sayyid.

to above, Mīr Gēsū is noticed¹ in Nārnaul,² which then formed a part of Miwāt, acting as the 'Āmil of the Crown-lands. He seems to have been sent there on special duty to settle accounts and bring the royal revenue. But before he had performed his duties, he was taken prisoner by Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī, a favourite of the Court since the days of Humāyūn, having a long record of misdeeds. The story is as follows.

Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī was a Sayyid of Tirmiz,³ a handsome and courageous youth, but proud, arrogant and misguided. He had enlisted himself in Humāyūn's service when the latter captured Kābul, in 1554 from Mīrzā Kāmrān, and made himself a favourite of the emperor to such an extent that the latter called him his son, and condoned many of his insolent deeds. He displeased Humāyūn, soon after, in Qandahar, by killing Shēr 'Alī Bēg, one of Shāh Tahmāsp's exiled courtiers, whose only fault was that he was a Shi'ā. Kind-hearted and lenient as Humāyūn was, he did not punish him. Shāh Ma'ālī accompanied Humāyūn in his reconquest of India and is mentioned by Abu'l-Faḍl⁴ second in the list of 57 generals, and participated in the battles of Sirhind and Pānipat. He was made governor of Lahore and commissioned to stop Sikandar Sūr. He mismanaged his administration, dismissed loyal officers, laid hands on the royal revenue, and failed to stop Sikandar. He had to be replaced by Prince Akbar and given the less important governorship of Hisār Firūza instead. He resented this treatment and in the first year of Akbar's accession to the throne⁵ he rebelled, and would have been decapitated by Bairam Khān Khān Khānān but for the intercession of Akbar. He was placed in the custody of the Kotwāl of Lahore, but fled from prison soon after. In the fifth Ilāhi year, 1569 A.D. when sent by Khān Khānān to solicit Akbar's pardon at Jhajhar, he gave offence to the youthful sovereign by performing 'Kurnish' mounted.⁶ He was put in chains and sent to Mecca to atone for his misdeeds. Unfortunately the pilgrimage worked no change in him. As soon as he returned from Mecca in the 8th Ilāhi year (1570 A.D.), instead of repairing to the court, he rebelled again at the instigation of Sharfuddīn Husain Mīrza,⁷ Akbar's brother-in-law, who had fled from the court as a rebel and had established

1. Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbar Nāma*, II, 199. Niẓāmuddīn, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, p. 126.

2. The pargana of Nārnaul, formerly included in the Sarkār of the same name, formed part of the Śūba of Agrā (Ā'in II, Jarrett, p. 193-4). Nārnaul town is situated on the banks of the Chhalak Nadī, and 37 miles from Rewārī, with which it is connected by the Rewārī-Phulēra branch of the Rājputāna Railway. It is now the headquarters of the Muḥammadgarh Nizāmat, Patiala State., *J. G.* Vol. XVIII, p. 38, 1908 edition.

3. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. I, p. 380.

4. *Ibid.*, I, 342.

5. Niẓāmuddīn, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, II, 127.

6. *Maasir-i Rahimī*, Abdul Bāqī, A.S.B., I, 282.

7. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, II, 427 (A.S.B.); Ā'in, Blochmann, I, 322-23, No. 17. The Mīrzā was the holder of a rank of 5000 and married Bakhshī Bānū, Akbar's sister.

himself at Nagpur, his Jāgīr. The Mīrzā made a pact with Abu'l-Ma'ālī at Jhalāwār to the effect that the Mīrzā would help him with 300 of his best men, and that if things went well, he would join him openly, if not he would seek asylum in Kābul and bring with him Mīrzā Hakīm (Akbar's half-brother). Abu'l-Ma'ālī made a surprise sally on the Crown-lands at Hājīpūr¹ in the heart of Miwāt, which was in charge of Husain Qulī Khān.² He was foiled in his attempts by the promptness of Aḥmad Bēg and Iskandar Bēg, who attacked Abu'l-Ma'ālī from the rear, in obedience to court orders. Checked at Hājīpūr, Abu'l-Ma'ālī turned towards Nārnaul, which had been lately freed from the Crown-lands and conferred as Jāgīr on Shujā'at Khān,³ and his son Qawīm Khān. Mīr Gēsū, who was functioning as the 'Āmil of the Crown-lands at Nārnaul, did his best to send a portion of the royal treasures to the court, but failed "on account of a disagreement between the present and past agents."⁴ The whole party of officials was surprised by Abu'l-Ma'ālī one morning, with the result that Qawīm Khān saved himself by flight, Mīr Gēsū was taken prisoner, and Nārnaul town with a substantial part of the royal treasure was captured by Abu'l-Ma'ālī. The latter was not destined to enjoy his loot for a long time. Husain Qulī Khān promptly dispatched an army under Šādiq Khān⁵ and Ismā'il Qulī Khān,⁶ which succeeded in capturing, by chance, Khānzāda Muḥammad, brother of Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī, derisively styled Shāh-i-Laundān, the king of the vagabonds, within 24 miles of Nārnaul town. Malik Muḥammad was going to join his brother at that town.

From the 8th to the 16th Ilāhi year, there exists a big gap in our knowledge of Mīr Gēsū Khān. He seems to have been released as soon as Nārnaul was reconquered, for we learn from history that Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī had been driven to the Punjab and forced to seek an asylum in Kābul, where he created more history, but not till he had killed his brave pursuers Aḥmad Bēg and Iskandar Bēg in an ambush in the Punjab. In the 16th Ilāhi year, we hear of Mīr Gēsū's deputation as the governor of Bakkhar. The circumstances of his advent are as follows.

After Mīrza Shāh Husain Arghūn's death (962 H.), his empire became divided into two principal portions. Bakkhar slipped into the hands of Sultān Maḥmūd Arghūn, and Tatta into those of Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān. The latter (Mīrza 'Isā) had married Hājī Bēgum, daughter of Muqīm Mīrzā, the widow of Qāsim Khān Kobkā and afterwards, of his brother

1. Hājīpūr is placed by Abu'l-Faḍl, *Ā'in*, Jarrett, II, 191, in Alwar Sarkar.

2. *Ā'in*, I, Blochmann, p. 329-30, No. 24, under Khān Jahān Husain Qulī Khān, holder of a rank of 5000.

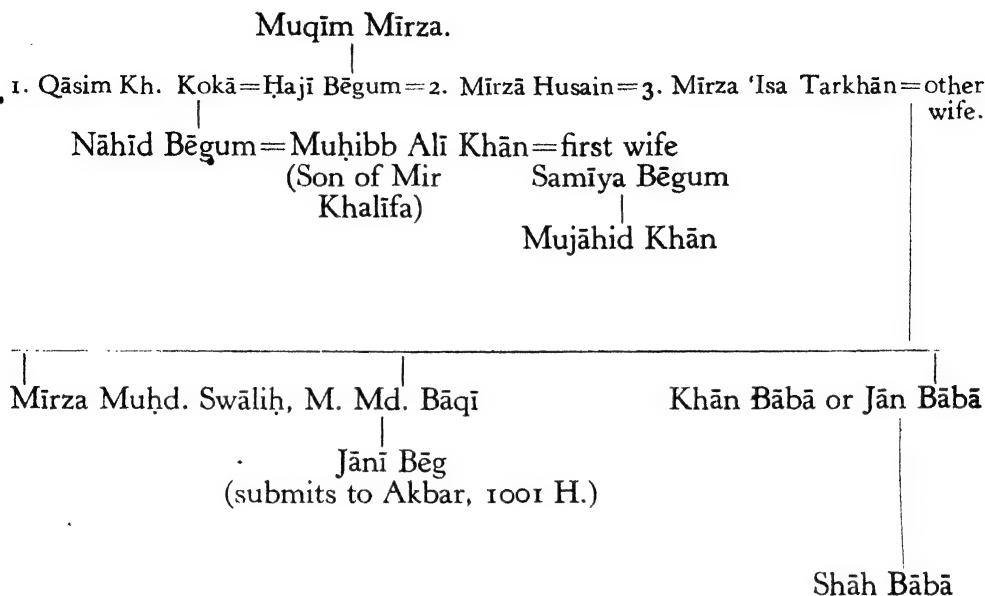
3. *Ā'in*, I, Blochmann, 371, No. 29; son of Tardī Bēg and holder of a rank of 5,000 acc. to Nizāmudḍīn.

4. *Akbar Nāma*, II, 199.

5. *Ā'in*, Blochmann, 455, No. 43; rank 4000.

6. *Ā'in*, I, Blochmann, 360, No. 46, brother of Khān Jahān Husain Qulī Khān.

Mīrzā Husain, as is shown in the genealogical table.



Qāsim Khān Kokā had sacrificed his life in trying to save Bābar who was taken captive by the Uzbēg chief 'Ubēdullāh Khān. He told his captor, pointing towards Bābar, "I am the king, why have you seized this servant of mine?" with the consequence that Bābar was free and he was decapitated instead.¹ Bābar took Qāsim Khān's family under his protection. Hājī Bēgum was allowed to marry Mīrzā Husain of Tatta and, after his death, his brother Mīrza 'Isā. Hājī Bēgum's daughter Nāhīd Bēgum was given in marriage to Muhibb 'Alī Khān (son of Mīr Khalīfa), a faithful servant of the Mughal court. Nāhīd Bēgum obtained leave to visit her mother Hājī Bēgum at Tatta. But before she arrived, Mīrzā 'Isā had died (975/1567),² and Mīrzā Bāqī who succeeded Mīrza 'Isā had imprisoned Hājī Bēgum. The latter tried to secure her release through her step-son, Khān Bābā. The plot miscarried and both Khān Bābā and Hājī Bēgum were imprisoned; the former was put to death subsequently. The aged Hājī Bēgum died in prison. Her daughter Nāhīd Bēgum escaped capture and succeeded in seeking an asylum with Sultān Maḥmūd of Bakkhar, one of whose daughters Akbar had married.³ Sultan Maḥmūd suggested to her that if she petitioned the Mughal Durbār to send her husband Muhibb 'Alī Khān with an army, he would assist him in capturing Tatta for the Mughals. Nāhīd Bēgum went to Akbar's court to solicit armed

1. *Akbar-Nāma*, II, 362.

2. *Firishta*, Newalkishore, II, 322.

3. *Daudpotā, Tārīkh-i-Sind*, 230.

assistance, with the result that the emperor commissioned the old veteran Muḥibb, who had given up a military career for a long while to lead an army for the purpose. He was permitted to take with him the kettle-drum which was an insignia of royalty and also his grandson Mujāhid Khān.¹ Before Muḥibb 'Alī came to Bakkhar to join forces with Maḥmūd, a new situation had arisen in Bakkhar itself.

Maḥmūd Khān in his dotage had entrusted the government of Bakkhar to Mubārak Khān, described by Abu'l-Faḍl as the chief of his cavalry guard (Khāsa Khail), and his son Bēg Ughlī, a drunkard and a debauchee. The latter, intent on taking into his own hands the reins of administration, entered into a conspiracy with a number of Maḥmūd's officers. The Sultān having come to know of this plot before it matured, Bēg Ughlī fled to Alwar, to his father, and represented to him that the Sultān was bent on taking their lives.² There may be some grain of truth in Abu'l-Faḍl's statement that Bēg Ughlī had amorous connexions with one of Sultān Maḥmūd's wives and that the Sultān was determined to avenge himself by extirpating the family. Anyway, Mubārak Khān decided to go to Nagaur to solicit His Majesty's help. But ultimately, he acted on the advice of some of his men who suggested a sally on Bakkhar, where he was sure to get assistance from the disaffected elements. With drums beating, Mubārak Khān made an attack on Lohāri³ fort but the rebel forces commanded by him were defeated and put to headlong flight. On Rajab 22, 980/November 29, 1572, Mubārak and Bēg Ughlī fled to Muḥibb 'Alī Khān and Mujāhid Khān, already on their way to Bakkhar, and received a warm reception. Mubārak had brought with him a force 1500 strong. When Muḥibb 'Alī came near Bakkhar, Sultān Maḥmūd sent a message that he had no need of Muḥibb Khān's help, that he was in a position to conduct the Tatta campaign unassisted, and that if the imperial army had any intention of attacking Tatta, it should do so *via* Jaisalmīr. Muḥibb, who was placed in a difficult position owing to his being accompanied by a small force, and decided instead to fight Sultān Maḥmūd Bakkhari, who had proved himself a treacherous ally dispersed the latter's forces before the fort of Matila, which he captured subsequently with his ludicrously small band of 22 men, against 2000 of his opponents.⁴ This seems to be an exaggeration for, we know from Nizāmuddīn (*Tabq.*, II, 233-4) that he was accompanied by 400 mounted soldiers which he collected in his recently acquired Jāgīr in Multan. Reinforcing his position with booty captured within Matila fort, Muḥibb

1. Abu'l-Faḍl, A. N. II, 362, identifies Mujāhid as Muḥibb's son but in A.N., III, p. 91, he corrects himself by saying that he was his daughter Samīya Bēgum's son.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, Daudpōta, 231.

3. Lohāri Bandar, a village in Karachi District, Sind, in Lat. 24.32 N, and Long. 47.28 E, on the south or left bank of the Baghi or western bank of the Indus, now falling into decay on account of the recession of the Indus. *I. G.*, Vol. VIII, 419, 1886 edn.

4. *Akbar Nāma*, II, 264.

proceeded towards Bakkhar, destroying the fleet of boats which Sultān Maḥmūd had sent to intercept the invaders, under the command of his brother's son, 'Alī Qulī Khān.¹ The Bakkhar fort, which is situated on an island formed by the river Indus, was invested, Sakkhar on the opposite bank was captured, and a bridge of boats was thrown across the river. The fort, however, held out heroically. A large number of attackers and defenders were killed. Muḥibb at last won over by bribes a large number of Maḥmūd's officers.² When the situation became hopeless, the Sultān represented to his son-in-law, the Emperor, that he would be ready to surrender the keys of the fort if the Emperor sent some other officer. Agreeing to this, His Majesty sent Mīr Gēsū Khān, who was acting at the court as Dārogha-i-Khāṣ³ of the emperor. But before Mīr Gēsū's arrival on the 12th Jāmādī, I, 982/August 30, 1574, armed with an imperial Farmān to divide Tatta equally between Muḥibb and Mujāhid and imprison Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān,⁴ Sultān Maḥmūd had died on the 8th Safar, 982 H. at the age of 84,⁵ and the fort of Bakkhar was marking time to surrender itself to the Mīr Šāḥib. At the time of Mīr Gēsū's arrival towards Bakkhar, Mujāhid Khān was engaged in the siege of Ganjāba (Ganjāwa). Samīya Bēgum Muḥibb 'Alī's daughter, resented her father's disgrace, sent some corvettes against Mīr Gēsū, and nearly captured him.⁶ Muqīm Khān Herātī, the father of the celebrated historian, Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakhshi, who was serving in Bakkhar, prevailed upon Muḥibb 'Alī and Mujāhid Khān to abandon their disloyal attitude. Mīr Gēsū thereafter came and took the keys of the fort 982/1574, about three years after the commencement of its investment.

Muḥibb and Mujāhid could not free their minds from malice. Since it was difficult for them to stay without the emperor's permission, it was mutually settled between Mīr Gēsū and Muḥibb that the latter should retire with his wife and daughter to Laherī and Mujāhid should go to Tatta. But when Muḥibb was moving with his family Mīr Gēsū made a treacherous attack towards Tatta, with a formidable river fleet, burnt his boats and forced Muḥibb to seek safety in Matila fort. Laherī was plundered by Mīr Gēsū's men, and Muḥibb's standard and kettle-drums were captured. But Samīya Bēgum, Muḥibb's daughter, fortified her house and held out for a day and a night. Mujāhid Khān arrived at a time when the defences were crumbling,⁷ and dispersed Mīr Gēsū's forces. Mujāhid held out for three months against the imperial troops commanded by Mīr Gēsū, controlling the lands east of the river Indus. When the news

1. Daudpotā's *Tār. Sind*, 233. (28).

2. *Akbar Nāma*, II, 264.

3. Bāyazid Bayat, *Tadhkira-i-Humāyun wa Akbar*.

4. Elliot, I, 240.

5. *Tār. Sind*, Daudpōta, 2433.

6. *Akbar Nāma*, III, 91.

7. *Ibid*.

reached Akbar, he became displeased with the conduct of his general, who had mismanaged things, who had failed to extirpate the rebels and had made himself disliked by the Sindhīs and the Mughals at the same time. The Emperor superseded Mīr Gēsū by Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān as the Faujdār of Bakkhar, Muḥarram, 983/ April, 1575, and Muḥibb Khan was ordered to go to court. Muḥibb was appointed Mīr-i-'Arz (Muster-Master) and in the 23rd Ilāhi year he was appointed governor of Delhi in which capacity he died, in 989/1581. Intoxicated with power, Mīr Gēsū made up his mind to hold out against Tarsūn "but at last guided by auspiciousness," he gave up the idea.¹ Mīr Maṣūm² explains the incident in greater detail. Gēsū actually defied Tarsūn Muḥammad for some time and only gave in when a memorial as to the true state of affairs in Bakkhar was drawn up by the Ulama and Sayyids to be forwarded to the imperial court. He surrendered the fort, but was not allowed to get out before he had assisted Tarsūn Muḥammad in compiling a statement regarding Sulṭān Maḥmūd's treasures and effects. Tarsūn came to Lāhore with the chief wife of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, Khwāja Sarā Rāi Singh Darbāri, and Banwālī the writer. At the time of his departure Tarsūn was appointed governor of Agra, and Sayyid Muḥammad,³ the Mīr-i-'Adl, a Sayyid of Amroha was ordered by the court to take charge of Bakkhar. Commenting on Mīr Gēsū's revolt, Abu'l-Faḍl finds fault with the country of Sind thus:— "A country which, when held for some time by a stranger, increases presumption, must have some quality in it which carries the obedient and submissive to the extreme of turbulence."⁴

Akbar soon pardoned the Mīr Ṣāḥib for his failings and misdeeds and 8 years afterwards appointed him governor of Mertha in addition to his sinecure of Kol. It was at Mertha that Mīr Gēsū died in the most tragic circumstances. It was the misfortune of the Mīr Ṣāḥib that whenever he went, he could not win the affection of the people or win the co-operation of his subordinates. At times he made himself odious. "Owing to the ignorance of business," mildly writes Abu'l-Faḍl, "he was continually having altercation with base soldiers. . . . From a bad disposition, he did not expel avarice from his heart, and did not treat them (soldiers) with frankness."⁵ On the 8th October, 1583, corresponding to the first Shawwal, 991 ('Id-ul-Fiṭr) he reproached some of his servants in a fit of intoxication. In the morning he went to the 'Idgāh heavily drunk. One of his servants came to ask for his pardon, but Mīr Gēsū ordered him to be imprisoned, whereupon Ibrāhīm Nārnaulī came with some others but Mīr Gēsū rebuked them too. Ibrāhīm drew his sword but was subsequently removed from the scene by other servants while others

1. *Ā'in*, Blochmann, p. 342-43., No. 32, holder of a rank of 5000.

2. *Akbar Nāma*, III, 91.

3. *Ā'in*, Blochmann, p. 438, No. 140.

4. *Akbar Nāma*, III, 91.

5. *Ibid.*, 414.

tried to release the servant, Mūsa, imprisoned by the Mīr Šāhib. On perceiving this, the Mīr Šāhib went to their quarters and set them on fire. The miscreants turned back to fight Mīr Gēsū and hacked him to death. Even this did not satisfy their revengeful spirit. They burnt Mīr Gēsū's dead body. Akbar was prompt to act, and punished the mischief-makers severely.¹ It appears that his charred body was carried to Kol to be buried in his garden-house, in the mausoleum which from circumstantial evidence appears to have been constructed by his son.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOMB

MĪR GĒSŪ's tomb is to be found at the eastern end of the enclosure known as Mīr Gēsū's garden, bounded by Shāh Jamāl in the west² and the Khair Road and Kerbela Road forming its northern and southern boundaries, respectively. While approaching the garden from the Kerbela Road, the visitor faces first a heap of Kankar blocks, on the site of the garden gate. On the right side of this gate there exists, of course in a much restricted space, Mīr Gēsū's masonry tank now mainly used by washermen. The gate contained a 'Bāradarī' overlooking the tank. A little ahead of the gate, on the Kerbela Road, the domed structure in the middle on the right-hand side is Mīr Gēsū's tomb. Its main east gate was rebuilt in comparatively recent years, of tiles, *with due regard to the saving of money*. The approach to the real tomb lies through a subterranean passage, as in Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, through six steps each 9 inches high. On the western side of the tomb exists a mosque measuring about 46 feet in length with walls about 7 ft. in width. The domed mausoleum with canopies all round stands on a platform measuring 21 feet on each side and six feet above ground. The structure looks like a canopied pavilion, surmounted by a semi-spherical masonry dome whose uncouth monotony has been relieved by four small minarets, one at each corner. The platform is pierced by three doors, to the east, south and north, and two carved red sandstone screens stand at each of these three sides. On the top of the platform existed the imitation graves, but the real graves are to be found in the subterranean chamber. The graves, it is significant, are three in number.

The workmanship and the design are an interesting mixture of the Hindu and Muslim styles so prominently visible in the Sayyid Lodi buildings. The use of the horizontal slabs instead of Muslim arches to support the dome, the existence of exquisitely carved brackets, the use of the lotus design,—the last two so prominently marked in the building of the Agra Fort and Akbar's tomb at Sikandra—are Hindu features.

1. *Maaṣir-ul Umara*, III, 251.

2. The garden occupies a much bigger area than is at present indicated, quite in keeping with its massive and huge gate.

The Muslim features are the dome, the four corner minarets at the base of the dome, the floral design at the base of the pillars, the exquisitely carved marble screen, and the use of coloured tiles. The beautiful brackets are exactly the same as are met with in Akbar's buildings in the Agra Fort or Fatehpūr Sikrī. This design appears to have been in common use or it may be that architects were brought from Agra for the purpose.

Of the three graves in the vaulted chamber, the one at the centre is Mīr Gēsū's, and the other of his wife's and the third, possibly that of his son Jalāluddīn Mas'ūd who seems to have been the architect of the mausoleum and had reserved space for his mother and himself both dying on the same day. It is interesting to note that Mīr Gēsū is the second governor of Kol whose dead body was brought from outside to this place for burial, the first being Shaikh Ghuran, who died at Māndū (Malwa) during Humāyūn's reign and lies buried just outside the gate of Shāh Jamāl's tomb. In the case of the Mīr Šāhib, it appears that his burnt body was brought from Mertha and deposited, according to his own will, at Kol. A little ahead of this tomb stands an octagonal pavilion surmounted by a semi-spherical masonry dome, supported not on arches but on horizontal red stone slabs in Hindu fashion. In between the bottom of the dome and the top of the pillar, red stone projections go round the structure in an octagonal manner. The platform is 2 feet above the ground and is supported by eight pillars which are octagonal at the base up to 2 feet sixteen-sided for the next two feet, and then rounded up to the top. This structure stood in front of the mosque now in ruins, at the Mihrāb of which stood the inscription discussed before. Within this garden enclosure to the north of the Ātkhamba, there exists a double-storeyed pavilion, very bold in design, and the highest structure in the locality. Its construction, design and even detail are similar to those of the Ātkhamba just mentioned, so that there cannot be any doubt that both were constructed by the same individual, *i.e.*, Mīr Gēsū. The lower storey contained a small room which possessed stone screens on three sides, and was most probably used by the Mīr Šāhib as his resting-place during the cold weather; the pavilion on the top of the room was used in the suffocating weather during the rains, and the Ātkhamba pavilion by the side of the mosque was used during the hot and dry weather. The pavilion at the top of the small winter-house is round at the top, and contains the same number of pillars, a similar flat red stone dome, and the same workmanship in the pillars as the earlier Ātkhamba.

I now close my account of Mīr Gēsū with a short analysis of his character. Mīr Ma'sūm* describes him as a severe and bad-tempered man. He was at the same time a hard drunkard, extremely unbusiness-like, cruel, avaricious and treacherous. Some Arghūn leaders who joined him at Bakkhar after deserting Muhibb 'Alī Khān were put to death by him at the suggestion of Shāh Bābā, son of Jān Bābā Tarkhān. On another

* Elliot, I, 241.

occasion Barjī Towāchī having been guilty of some fault, he had chains placed on his feet in the presence of the court. He could not distinguish himself in any battle nor behave with chivalry. He chased Muḥibb 'Alī's boats near Bakkhar and sought their destruction, in spite of the fact that the chief was travelling, after the conclusion of terms, with his wife and daughter. He did not scruple to fight against women as he did against Samīya Begum, Muḥibb 'Alī's daughter, and was defeated in the end. In 971, he preferred to become Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī's prisoner rather than risk his life by giving fight. He forfeited the love and affection of the people over whom he was appointed to rule. Yet this favourite had a place in the corner of the Emperor's heart, and the latter condoned his faults as soon as they were committed. Mīr Gēsū's life-history illustrates the fact that a court-favourite without much ability and with a reputation for mismanaging things could hold the governorship of more than one administrative districts separated from one another by hundreds of miles of trackless roads and sandy deserts. It also illustrates the extent to which wine-drinking prevailed among the aristocratic strata of the Mughal society.

Mīr Gēsū's son Jalāluddīn Mas'ūd,¹ the holder of the rank of 400, "a brave man who won several battles and had done great deeds,"² died of diarrhoea on the 8th Muḥarram, 1017/12th April, 1608, early in Jahāngīr's reign at the age of 50/60 years. He was an opium-eater and ate opium lumps like cheese, and very often from the hands of his mother. When his mother despaired of his survival, she took the opium from her son's doses, and died 2 or 3 hours after him. "It is the custom," comments Jahāngīr "among the Hindūs, that after the death of their husbands, women burn themselves, whether from love or to save the honour of their fathers, or from being ashamed before their sons-in-law, but nothing like this was ever manifested on the part of mothers, Hindū or Musalmān."³ Jalāluddīn Mas'ūd was probably the only issue of his parents.

Thus lived Mīr Gēsū, and supposing that at the time of his sending the chronogram commemorating the victory of Dīpalpūr which took place in 930 H. he was aged 20 years, he had attained, in the year of his death in 991 H. a ripe old age of over 80. This is but one more proof that the Mughal civil servicemen did not retire at the age of 55 or even 60, but remained in service till death, if not removed by the sovereign himself. Mīr Gēsū has bequeathed his name to the village of Gēsūpūr, seven miles north of Sikandrābad (Sikandrābād Pargana), Bulandshahr District, U.P. This flourishing village with more than 5000 inhabitants, will always remind us of that great court-favourite, Mīr Gēsū Khān, Akbar's Faujdār of Kol.

A. HALIM.

1. *Maaṣirul Umara*, III, 252.

2. *Tuzak*, I, Rogers, 141.

3. *Ibid.*, 142.

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‘ALĀ’-UD-DĪN KHILJĪ’S MONGOL POLICY

LOSS OF THE SCIENTIFIC FRONTIER

THE Muslim empire in India, in its early stage of expansion, enjoyed the advantage of a scientific frontier. Muḥammad Ghori succeeded in establishing an extensive empire stretching from Ghaznī to Bengal. No doubt there were weak links in the defensive armour—particularly the latent hostility of the Hindus and the active hostilities of one of the most warlike races of Northern India, the Khokhars. But in spite of these obvious shortcomings, the empire had the initial advantage of a scientific frontier since it controlled the hilly districts round about Ghaznī and the Peshawar plain and thus could prevent the foreign invasion of the country. But this advantage was lost in the time of Quṭb-ud-Dīn Aibak. Quṭb-ud-Dīn was able to expel the influential chief Yaldoz—from Ghaznī¹ but his triumph was short-lived. After a month Yaldoz managed to recover Ghaznī.² The loss of Ghaznī was a serious blow to the prestige of the Delhi empire. The unity of the empire was broken up and in the time of Iltutmish there began a triangular contest for power between Yaldoz, Qubaicha and Iltutmish. No one can tell with certainty who would have emerged triumphant out of the struggle for the rivals were fairly well matched. But the struggle was decided in favour of Iltutmish by the rise of the Mongol power in Central Asia. Chingīz Khān overran China and the countries of Western Asia. Balkh, Bokhara, Samarkand and many other flourishing cities were plundered and laid low. Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khwārizm Shāh fled towards Ghaznī.³ Yaldoz evacuated Ghaznī and fled to the Punjab.⁴ But with his weakened resources Yaldoz was not able to offer stiff resistance to Iltutmish. Iltutmish defeated him at Tarain.⁵ Yaldoz was imprisoned and put to death.⁶ The Mongol invasion thus indirectly strengthened the power of Iltutmish

1. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 135-136.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kushā*, by Juwainī, II, p. 149.

4. *Nāṣiri*, p. 171.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

since he was able to get rid of one of his formidable rivals. Chingīz occupied Ghaznī and defeated Jalāl-ud-Dīn on the banks of the Indus.¹ Jalāl-ud-Dīn fled to the Punjab and made an alliance with the Khokhars.² Jalāl-ud-Dīn thought it prudent to attack Qubaicha rather than Iltutmish.³ Jalāl-ud-Dīn's inroads into Sindh considerably weakened the power of Qubaicha,⁴ so that Iltutmish did not find much difficulty in getting rid of his second formidable rival and in bringing Sindh under his control.⁵ Thus the pressure of the Mongol invasion altered the balance of power in favour of Iltutmish. Iltutmish was soon able to consolidate his power. But the Delhi empire had to face a new problem—the defence of the frontier against the Mongol inroads. The problem bristled with difficulties. The Mongols enjoyed the strategical advantage of the control of the mountain passes, which enabled them to debouch on the plains of India. The Indus did not prove a formidable barrier, and even in the reign of Iltutmish, Chingīz sent two columns of troops under Turtai, Chugtā'i and Uktā'i to ravage the territories of Multan.⁶ Thus the loss of the scientific frontier created the problem of the defence of the north-west frontier for the Delhi Sultanate.

HUMBLE BEGINNING OF THE FRONTIER POLICY

THE Mongols soon exploited their superior strategical position. In 1241 A.D. they succeeded in capturing and destroying Lahore.⁷ In 1245 A.D. they laid siege to the fort of Ucha and it was only at the approach of a large army from Delhi that they retired.⁸ Balban was the first Muslim ruler to realise the necessity of devising an effective frontier policy. He infused vigour into the administration. He strengthened the frontier forts such as Dipalpur and Samana, made the administration half civil and half military, and avoided distant military expeditions.⁹ His wardens of the marches, especially Shēr Khān, did much to stem the tide of Mongol conquests, though in the end the Mongol pressure proved too strong and Prince Muḥammad was defeated and killed.¹⁰ The Mongols were encouraged, and in the time of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khiljī a keenly contested battle took place which was followed by a truce.¹¹ Thousands of Mongols settled down in Moghalpura, near Delhi.¹²

1. Juwainī, II, pp. 150-151.

2. *Idem.*, p. 145.

3. *Idem.*, p. 145.

4. *Idem.*, p. 146.

5. Nāṣiri, p. 173.

6. Juwainī, II, pp. 155-157.

7. Nāṣiri, p. 194.

8. *Idem.*, p. 200.

9. Barnī, pp. 50-51.

10. *Idem.*, pp. 218-219.

11. Barnī, p. 65 and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 96.

12. *Ibid.*

THE TITANIC STRUGGLE

THE full weight of the Mongol invasions was felt in the reign of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Khiljī. A titanic struggle followed between two mighty empires—the Muslim empire controlling the rich plains of India, and the Mongol empire controlling the vast military resources of Central Asia. Before the Khilji period the Mongol hordes had practically disregarded India and had turned their attention chiefly to the conquest of Persia, Southern Europe and China. But the sharp differences which occurred in the rival Mongol camps in 1251 led to a reorientation of policy. In the *quirillai* of 1251, the Chaghtā'i and Ogtā'i princes refused to acknowledge the 'Khāqānship' of Mangu and set up an independent kingdom under Qaidu in Māwarā-u'n-Nahar and Turkistan.¹ As has been ably pointed out by Prof. Ḥabīb—"This division of Mongol power saved the kingdom of Delhi, which could not have withstood a united attack of the Mongols. The 'Il-Khāns of Persia naturally paid homage to Mangu and his successors, who like them were descendants of Tului, but they were constantly at war with Mameluks of Egypt in Syria and more often than not, had the worst of it."² It was the Chaghtā'i and Ogtā'i princes of Māwarā-u'n-Nahar who invaded India several times in the reign of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Khiljī. "They were being hard pressed by the 'Khāqān' in the west and by 'Il-Khāns in the east, and this naturally made them anxious to carve out principalities for themselves elsewhere."³

MULTAN—THE BASTION OF THE DELHI SULTANATE

WHEN 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Khiljī got the throne of Delhi (in 1296 A.D.) by the treacherous murder of his uncle Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khiljī, Multan, the bastion of the Delhi Sultanate against Mongol inroads, was threatened with a serious rebellion under Arkali Khān.⁴ The rebellion was however soon brought under control.⁵ But the weakening of the frontier defences led to the inevitable result—viz., a fairly formidable Mongol expedition right down to the plains of Jullundhur.⁶

In 1298 A.D. Du'a Khān, ruler of Māwarā-u'n-Nahr, sent a large army of 100,000 Mongol soldiers to plunder the plains of the Punjab.⁷ The Mongols came by way of the Jud mountains and crossed the Jehlum and Sutlej rivers, destroying the villages of the Khokhars and the buildings of Qasur.⁸ The imperial forces under Ulugh Khān defeated them at

1. *History of the Mongols*, by Howarth, I, pp. 173-182.

2. *Khazā'in-ul-Futūḥ*, tr. by Prof. Ḥabīb (footnotes) p. 25.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Barnī*, pp. 244-249.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Barnī*, p. 250.

7. *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, (1864 edition), I, p. 102.

8. *Khazā'in-ul-Futūḥ*, op. cit. pp. 243-25.

Jaran of Manjur.¹ Barnī says that the battle took place at Jullundhur² while Firishta mentions that it took place within the confines of Lahore.³ But since the battle took place (according to Amīr Khusrau)⁴ by the side of the Sutlej, probably Jaran Manjur may be identified with Jullundhur. 'Alā'ud-Dīn, realising the necessity of strengthening the defences of Multan, deputed Zafar Khān for the conquest of Siwistan (or Sehwan).⁵ Zafar Khān defeated Saldi the Mongol commandant and brought Siwistan under his control.⁶ Saldi and his followers were brought captives to Delhi in the winter of 1299-1300 A.D.⁷

THE TRIAL OF STRENGTH

'ALĀ'-UD-DĪN did not get much time to reorganise his forces before he was called upon to face one of the most formidable invasions of India. In 1300 A.D. Qutlugh Khwāja, son of Du'a Khān, came from Māwarā-u'n-Nahr at the head of a large force.⁸ He crossed the Indus, abstained from the plunder of the plains of the Punjab and marched straight on to Delhi, thus making a bid for the throne of Delhi.⁹ This bold coup seems to have taken 'Alā'-ud-Dīn by surprise. Thousands of people from the neighbouring villages flocked to Delhi, to escape plunder and slaughter at the hands of the Mongol hordes.¹⁰ This further increased 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's administrative difficulties since it was difficult to feed and lodge the large influx of these immigrants.¹¹ At this critical moment 'Alā'-ud-Dīn held an important meeting of his council of ministers.¹² Malik 'Alā'-ul-Mulk (uncle of Barnī), the fat but influential Kotwal of Delhi, was of opinion that it would be suicidal to face the formidable Mongol army; the best plan would be to stand a siege and to tire out the patience of the Mongols. The Malik remarked that the Muslim army had merely gained an experience of fighting against the Hindu chiefs, but lacked the technique and tactics to check the Mongol hordes.¹³ 'Alā'-ud-Dīn however advocated the bolder plan of challenging the might of the Mongol hordes.¹⁴ So he placed the treasure and his harem in charge of his trusted councillor Malik 'Alā'-ul-Mulk and emerged out of the city of Sīrī on to the plains

1. *Khazā'in-ul-Futūh*,

2. *Barnī*, p. 250.

3. *Firishta*, i, p. 102.

4. *Khazā'in-ul-Futūh*, pp. 23-25.

5. *Barnī*, pp. 253-254.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Barnī*, p. 254.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.* 255.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Barnī*, pp. 255-257.

14. *Ibid.* pp. 257-258.

of Kili, where a memorable battle was fought.¹ The formidable nature of the struggle may be judged from Barnī's statement that such mighty hosts had never faced each other in any other period of Indian history.² Zafar Khān committed the same mistake as was committed by Rupert at the battle of Marston Moor. He fell upon one wing of the enemy, 'drove it pell-mell before him and chased it for several miles.'³ If this wild charge which broke the ranks of the Mongols had been followed up by a vigorous pursuit by the other commandant, Ulugh Khān, a momentous victory would have been gained. But Ulugh Khān had become jealous of the military prestige of Zafar Khān and even 'Alā'-ud-Dīn was becoming afraid of his increasing popularity.⁴ Hence treachery played its part in the tragic drama. Zafar Khān did not receive any help, with the result that the Mongol commandant Targhi, perceiving that Zafar Khān was leading the attack at the head of only a few thousand horsemen, laid a successful ambush and cut to pieces Zafar and his followers.⁵ The Mongols however were considerably impressed with the valour of Zafar and before he was surrounded and put to death he was offered the option of surrender and a high rank in the Mongol armies.⁶ But Zafar Khān did not swerve from his loyalty to 'Alā'-ud-Dīn and preferred death to dishonour.⁷ His dashing bravery, wild impetuosity and steadfast loyalty made a deep impression on the Mongols and his name almost became a legend. "They must have seen Zafar Khān," the Mongols would say whenever their cattle refused to drink water.⁸

THE SIEGE OF DELHI

'ALĀ'-UD-DĪN then turned his attention to the conquest of Rathambore and Chitor.⁹ These formidable forts taxed his resources considerably. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn embarked on a vigorous policy of conquests and thus ignored the sound tradition of Balban of avoiding distant military expeditions and husbanding the economic and military resources of the empire for the formidable struggle with the Mongols. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn had soon to pay the penalty for neglecting the essential principles of Balban's frontier policy. When Targhī, the Mongol leader, was informed by his agents that the Delhi army was engaged in the siege of Chitor, while another force under Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn Juna had returned discomfited from an unsuccessful punitive expedition into Warrangal, he availed himself of this opportunity and marching at the head of twenty or thirty thousand

1. Barnī, pp. 259-261.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. Barnī, pp. 299-302.

9. *Ibid.*

horsemen encamped on the banks of the Ganges and laid siege to Delhi.¹ With his forces scattered far and wide and completely disorganised 'Alā'-ud-Dīn found himself in a difficult situation.² He had not the forces to challenge the Mongols in open fight, and so began the siege of Delhi which lasted for two months and which nearly led to the destruction of the Muslim empire in India.³ The Mongols were masters of the situation, they controlled all the roads and lanes that led into Delhi.⁴ Some skirmishes took place but the Mongols failed to break through the defences at Sīrī which had been nastily set up by 'Alā'-ud-Dīn.⁵ However, as it was not possible to bring fuel, fodder and corn from outside, the people found themselves in the grip of famine and Barnī definitely states that if Targhī had continued the siege for another month, Delhi would have fallen.⁶ Barnī however says that the critical food situation was relieved to some extent by the fact that the Mongols sold food to the people.⁷ (What a scientific way of conducting the siege !). After a protracted siege of two months Targhī retired.⁸ Barnī considered it to be a miracle that the Mongols, who were completely masters of the environs of Delhi, should have retired without waiting for the surrender of the city.⁹ He attributed it to the prayers of pious saints.¹⁰ Probably two circumstances saved the Delhi Sultanate from destruction—(i) the protracted siege might have tired the patience of Targhī, (ii) relief parties from Multan, Dipalpur, Samana and other frontier forts might have come to the rescue of Delhi. But, whatever the reasons, Targhī's coup had been so successful that 'Alā'-ud-Dīn found himself surrounded in Delhi by the formidable Mongol armies. It gave a rude shock to 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's feelings of self-complacency ; his dreams of world conquest were shattered to pieces. He seriously turned his attention to the problem of checking the Mongol invasions. Targhī's invasion is a landmark in the history of India for it led to those far-reaching economic and administrative measures which have made 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's reign so famous.

MEASURES ADOPTED TO CHECK THE MONGOL INVASIONS

'ALĀ'-UD-DĪN made Sīrī the capital of the empire.¹¹ He built a fine palace and soon Sīrī developed into a flourishing city.¹² It enjoyed an eminent strategical position for the defence of the empire. A vigorous policy was pursued of repairing old forts and building new ones in places

1. *Barnī*, pp. 302-304.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Barnī*.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

likely to be threatened by the Mongol hordes.¹ The forts were garrisoned with troops under capable commandants.² They were supplied with efficient instruments of warfare (of all varieties) such as siege engines and catapults.³ Experienced mechanics and engineers were appointed for maintaining the forts in an efficient condition.⁴ The forts were well provisioned with corn and other necessities of life.⁵ Experienced soldiers were enlisted in special regiments to garrison the chief frontier forts such as Samana and Dipalpur.⁶ Maliks having wide administrative experience and enjoying military prestige were given Jāgirs in the threatened frontier area.⁷ After prolonged discussions with his ministers 'Alā'-ud-Dīn carried out comprehensive reforms for the organization of the army on a scientific basis.⁸ It was realised that the wild charge of the Mongol horse could not be checked by ill-disciplined levies of soldiers hastily raised. Hence a powerful standing army was raised which became an admirable instrument for carrying out comprehensive schemes for the conquest of different parts of India. It was a problem however to finance such a big army. It would have heavily taxed the resources of the empire. The way out of the difficulty was found by giving low salaries to soldiers but keeping them contented by providing them the necessities of life at fairly low rates.⁹ This was done by strictly enforcing the price control system. The pay of a soldier was fixed at 234 tankas a year, and a man with two horses was paid 78 tankas more.¹⁰ 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's food control measures were very comprehensive. The prices of all essential foodstuffs were fixed, such as wheat, barley, rice, sugar, salt, etc.¹¹ Grain was stored in royal granaries. Cultivators had to sell grain to licensed dealers.¹² Anti-profiteering and anti-hoarding measures were adopted.¹³ Government depots were opened and the system of rationing of foodstuffs was enforced.¹⁴ Similarly the prices of cloth were fixed.¹⁵ Cloth merchants were registered in the office of the controller of markets.¹⁶ Cloth could only be sold at Serai 'Adl.¹⁷ Government advanced a loan of 20 lakh tankas to the merchants to purchase cloth of excellent quality.¹⁸ The cattle market was also controlled.¹⁹ The prices of horses, cows, buffaloes, goats and servants were fixed.²⁰ The price control system worked efficiently, and if Barnī is to be believed the prices of commodities did not rise by even one Jital.²¹

1. Barnī.

2. *Ibid.*3. *Ibid.*4. *Ibid.*5. *Ibid.*6. *Ibid.*7. *Ibid.*8. *Ibid.*9. *Ibid.*10. *Ibid.*

11. Barnī.

12. *Ibid.*13. *Ibid.*14. *Ibid.*15. *Ibid.*16. *Ibid.*17. *Ibid.*18. *Ibid.*19. *Ibid.*20. *Ibid.*21. *Ibid.*

SUCCESS OF 'ALĀ'-UD-DĪN'S POLICY

THESE economic and military measures considerably strengthened the finance and military organization of the empire. Thus 'Alā'-ud-Dīn was in a better position to face the Mongol invasions. Muslim historians are unanimous in their opinion that 'Alā'-ud-Dīn inflicted crushing defeats on the Mongols, though they differ considerably in the details of the Mongol expeditions. Barnī and his followers, notably Firishta and Nizām-ud-Dīn, describe the Mongol invasions in a manner which differs considerably from the account given by Amīr Khusrau—a contemporary writer. Prof. Habib is inclined to attach great importance to the narrative of Amīr Khusrau.¹ But it is significant that Amīr Khusrau has not even mentioned the two most formidable Mongol invasions which threatened the very foundations of the Delhi Sultanate—viz., those of Targhī and Qutlugh Khwāja. In view of the fact that Amīr Khusrau was chronicling 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's conquests he might have thought it desirable to omit those invasions which did not reflect much credit on the military policy of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn. On the other hand, Barnī's account of the Mongol invasions is so graphic and detailed that we cannot doubt the veracity of this writer. But judged by the canons of historical research we are bound to attach greater importance to the account of Amīr Khusrau—a contemporary writer. Let us explain these Mongol invasions:—

(i) In 1305 a formidable Mongol invasion took place under the leadership of 'Alī Bēg, Tartaq and Targhaī.² 'Alī Bēg was reputed to be a descendant of Chingiz.³ Skirting the mountains the Mongol army, which consisted of thirty or forty thousand soldiers, reached the territory of Amroha.⁴ 'Alā'-ud-Dīn sent Malik Nā'ik, the Akbar Bēg, at the head of a large army consisting of thirty thousand horsemen.⁵ Malik Nā'ik inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mongols.⁶ Targhaī was wounded to death by an arrow but 'Alī Bēg and Tartaq were captured alive.⁷ Twenty thousand Mongol soldiers were made prisoners of war.⁸ It was a decisive victory, for not only were the Mongol leaders captured alive but nearly two-thirds of the Mongol soldiers became prisoners of war.⁹ To commemorate this splendid victory 'Alā'-ud-Dīn held a magnificent Darbār at Chautra-i-Subhānī.¹⁰ People came in such large numbers to witness the victory parade that the price of a cup of water rose to 20 jatals or half a tanka.¹¹ The captive Mongols were trampled under the feet of the elephants.¹²

1. *Khazā'in-ul-Futūh*, op. cit., footnotes, pp. 33-34.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Barnī* p. 320.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Khazā'in-ul-Futūh*, pp. 26-28.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Barnī*, p. 320.

9. *Barnī*, p. 320 and *Khazā'in*, pp. 26-28.

10. *Barnī*, p. 320-321.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

(ii) The Mongols decided to avenge this defeat. According to Amīr Khusrau a large and powerful army consisting of three contingents under Kapak, Iqbal and Tai Bu crossed the territory of Multan and began to ravage the territories of the Ravi.¹ Malik Kāfūr marched against them at the head of a large force and inflicted a crushing defeat on them.² Iqbal and Tai Bu fled away but Kapak was slain in battle.³ Barnī however mentions three different expeditions led by the Mongol commandants. He says that Kanak (or Kapak) was defeated at Khakar and taken prisoner.⁴ He was trampled under the feet of elephants along with many of his followers.⁵ A tower of their heads was raised before the Badāyūn Gate.⁶ On another occasion a large Mongol army broke into the Siwaliks and ravaged the territory.⁷ But the imperial army seized the passages of the Mongol retreat and encamped by the river side.⁸ From this strategic position the imperialists inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mongols.⁹ The third expedition was led by Iqbalmandah.¹⁰ Iqbalmandah was defeated and killed.¹¹

I am inclined to agree with the opinion of Prof. Ḥabīb that greater reliance should be placed on the account of Amīr Khusrau than on that of Barnī. It is just possible that the defeat of 'Alī Bēg and Tartaq, followed by the massacre of 20,000 prisoners of war, enraged the Mongols and they decided to advance at the head of a large army with three capable commanders commanding three contingents. It was the defeat of this powerful army which proved a decisive victory and stopped further Mongol invasions. So most probably instead of three isolated expeditions (as narrated by Barnī) a formidable Mongol invasion took place with three distinguished commanders commanding three contingents (as described by Amīr Khusrau). Khusrau's account seems more credible. Anyhow 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's policy bore fruit and the menace of the Mongol invasions was removed. Ghāzī Malik, the Warden of the Marches, proved a successful administrator and checked further punitive Mongol expeditions.¹²

DHARAM PAL.

1. *Khazd'in*, pp. 29-32.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Barnī*, pp. 321-323.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Barnī*, pp. 322-323.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

IBN KHALDUN AND ISLAMIC MYSTICISM

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

THE author of the world-renowned *Prolegomena*¹ is still something of a psychological puzzle. The dualism in his character, the many discrepancies between his ideas and his actions, the contrast between Ibn Khaldūn as a detached observer of human affairs and as an active and often intriguing participator, between his attempts at social reform and his own transgressions of social codes, his public sense and his pronounced egotism, his scientific impartiality and his very obvious personal preferences, his wide comprehension and his personal vanity, all these incongruities in a man who is at the same time a serious scholar and a highly ambitious careerist have set his biographers to a difficult task. Most of these contradictions can, however, be ascribed to the dualistic nature of all genius, and the matter left to those psychologists who study the ways of creative talent.

But one of the most interesting and enigmatic aspects of his character, namely *his attitude towards religion and religious knowledge* has practically remained not only unnoticed but also unexplained. Most biographers have observed that religion does not seem to have influenced his philosophical and historical ideas.² Schmidt³ observes rightly that, although the *Prolegomena* are full of quotations from the Qur'an these never add to the argument, or have any vital relation to the text. They simply state that things are as they are, by the will of Allah. Often also they cut short further argumentation. Frequently, just when one expects the author to come forward with his own platitudes, he breaks off with "Only Allah knows" or an equivalent pious exclamation of conventional kind. Most biographers pass over the matter with vague and rather general remarks which are, moreover, often contradictory. Thus it has been held that Ibn Khaldūn was "a strict and devout Muslim"⁴ and also that "his religiosity was of the

1. "Muqaddamat" written as a general introduction to his "Universal History," but in fact the work on which the author's fame is based. The various editions and translations are mentioned later.

2. a. o. T. j. de Boer: *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam*, Stuttgart, 1901, p. 179.

3. Nathaniel Schmidt: *Ibn Khaldūn, Historian, Sociologist and Philosopher*, New York, 1930. One of the most recent critical studies.

4. e.g., Robert Flint: *Historical Philosophy in France, French Belgium and Switzerland*, Edinburgh and London, 1893, pp. 157-171.

conventional type"¹ meaning, no doubt, that it was merely external. In reply to the first, it cannot be claimed that a religious spirit pervades his work. As for the second remark, it is not likely that a thorough observer of humanity, living in the medieval times, with their fervour for religion would take one of the most significant phenomena of this world with an unthinking nonchalance. On the whole, however, his biographers, possibly because they consider this of no importance for an estimate of his work, have not bothered themselves much with Ibn Khaldūn's personal attitude towards religion.

On the other hand, many biographers have remarked on the general character of his outlook, which is dark and gloomy. That Ibn Khaldūn is a pessimist all agree, but to bring this pessimism into causal relation with his own view of religion seems to have occurred to no one. Ibn Khaldūn's pessimism is an accepted fact. It has been generally explained as the natural reflexion of an age of decadence, and, in fact, this "fin de siècle" depression is a phenomenon only too well known to cultured historians. In addition, however, Ferreiro² sees it rather as a sign of personal disappointments and the result of studies and researches. Maunier³ has seen in it the inevitable result of a "lack of a positive ideal," thus implying a reproach of "negativism." This is emphasised by several other biographers. Vön Kremer,⁴ drawing a parallel between Abū 'Ala'l Ma'arri and Ibn Khaldūn remarks about the former: "He had long ago left the *theological* view-point of Islam, but he found no substitute which could really have satisfied him," and he obviously suggests that this is also true of Ibn Khaldūn. The affinity between him and the great poet-philosopher of "pessimism" in Islam is duly brought out by other biographers besides vön Kremer. The latter continues by quoting a few rare verses of the poet of pessimism, which illustrate a sanguine and positive attitude, and a belief in an ascending spiritual elevation of man, transforming him into a higher being, lifting him out of the sickly cycle of growth and decay. But he fails to see similar signs in the work of Ibn Khaldūn, and comes to the conclusion that the author of the *Prolegomena* is neither "devout" nor "conventional." His attitude towards religion is negative. This, however, runs contrary to the whole spirit of the *Prolegomena*, and to Ibn Khaldūn's sociological views wherein religion performs a very constructive, and a very definite *social* function.

With all this, the problem of Ibn Khaldūn's personal attitude towards religion and religious knowledge is brought no nearer to a solution. It is true, his economic and political theories are entirely secular if not purely materialistic. There is nowhere an attempt to connect them with

1. Nathaniel Schmidt, *op. cit.*

2. Ferreiro: "Un sociologo arabo del secolo XIV" (*La Riforma sociale*, anno III, Vol. VI, Fascio 4, 1886).

3. R. Maunier: *Les idées sociologiques d'un philosophe Arabe au 14 ième siècle*, article in *L'Egypte, Contemporaine*, 1917, p. 31.

4. A. vön Kremer: *Ibn-Khaldun und seine Culturgeschichte der Islamischen Reiche.*, Wien, 1879, p. 42.

nonphysical, spiritual influences. But it does not mean that he denies the existence of these. On the contrary, there is in the first part of the Prolegomena a whole chapter, and a very long one too, exclusively devoted to such questions. It is the 6th Preliminary Discourse.¹ Its title is significant: "On the two kinds of people who have the faculty of spiritual perception—one by intuition and the other by spiritual exercises." I do not know whether any scholar has ever expressed astonishment at the occurrence of this chapter at this particular place in the Prolegomena; for, indeed, it occurs in a section which deals with Civilisation in general, the other five Discourses dealing with such things as the necessity of the societal state, geographical, climatic, and economic conditions and *their influences on man*. And in this particular context we have a whole chapter on revelation and dreams, divination and miracles, visions, magic, telepathy and clairvoyance, communication with and knowledge of the higher spiritual world, and last but not least an explanation of prophetic knowledge and the knowledge obtained by saints and mystics. It is a chapter written with obvious knowledge of these things as well as a complete faith in and acceptance of their actual happening and truth. Truly an amazing chapter in this context, and its occurrence at this particular place can only be explained as a "tacit" recognition of spiritual, and internal factors in addition to the external physical ones. But this recognition, it must be stressed, is implied, it is never explicitly stated. It can only be inferred from the position of this chapter in the book, and it is the only possible explanation for it, for normally its proper place would have been in Section VI where the various sciences are dealt with. There it reappears in another form. But about this later.

It is as though Ibn Khaldūn definitely makes up his mind to collect all the spiritual data in one chapter, and for the rest he confines himself to explain worldly happenings in worldly terms. In the first five sections (more strictly sociological sections) he does not so much as mention any metaphysical factors. He seems to avoid all deeper analysis and subtler problems. Gaston Bouthoul,² who has written one of the best studies of Ibn Khaldūn seems to have hit the nail right on the head when he observes that the spirit of the Prolegomena is one of *reserve* and that Ibn Khaldūn has a knack of constraining himself each time he touches constructive political problems. He confines himself to historical facts and events, and to human society, and since it is generally bad, and tends to become worse he does not hesitate to say so. Whether things can be otherwise does not concern him. Any consideration of amelioration or of possible progress is omitted. Every time he approaches this point, he stops short and concludes the paragraph with a classical formula of faith, or the enigmatic "Allah knows best," which may mean anything or nothing.

1. de Slane I, 196 ff., Paris Ed. I, 173 ff.

2. Gaston Bouthoul: *Ibn-Khaldun, Sa Philosophie Sociale*, Paris, 1930, pp. 55, 81.

AIM OF THIS STUDY

In the following pages, the writer proposes to answer the question: "What was Ibn Khaldūn's attitude towards religion and religious knowledge?" or "What was his substitute for theological and philosophical knowledge?" It could be answered by: "He was wholly unorthodox and unconventional, with a strong bias towards mysticism, more particularly that of the later Spanish School, especially in his riper years, and his substitute for theological and philosophical knowledge was the mystical experience and the knowledge of immediacy." The writer can succeed in convincing the reader that Ibn Khaldūn definitely had a positive, spiritual ideal, and thus he cannot be justly reproached for "negativism" and "materialism" or "scepticism," the question may be asked: why then does he not show this in his Prolegomena as a whole? I want to anticipate this question and suggest three reasons for this. Reasons respectively taken, from his time, his personality and his work.

(1) The times in which the author lived were not such that a man of the world, a man who loved life for its glamour and adventure, could propound his theories if these savoured of heresy. Did not al-Ghazzālī an equally comprehensive but a more courageous thinker, have to observe a certain caution in this regard? * And yet Ghazzālī lived in an earlier age which still retained some of the tolerance and magnanimity of earlier classical Islam. This was not the case in Ibn Khaldūn's times in North Africa. Ghazzālī had the courage to withdraw from an honourable position, but Ibn Khaldūn had no such intention. He was not of the stuff martyrs are made of!

(2) The second reason lies in Ibn Khaldūn's conception of his task. For he did not merely *think* about human society, he tried to *do* something for it. As an active reformer he did not achieve much of a success as his experience in Cairo clearly showed but he was also a reformer by the word, or rather the pen. This aspect of his comes out strongest in the section on Sciences (we shall return to this later). From this section one can learn more about Ibn Khaldūn's own opinion on religion in general and theology, philosophy, mysticism in particular than from all the rest of the book. It is, therefore, clear that Ibn Khaldūn is of the opinion that certain things are better not talked about, that it is dangerous for public morality and the unity of Islamic civilisation to divulge certain kinds of knowledge to the masses, for they will only misunderstand and misapply. In this idea, he followed al Ghazzālī, as well as,—strange to mention in one breath,—Ibn Rushd.

The comparison with these two thinkers should not, however, be carried further. Ibn Khaldūn was neither a practical sufi like Ghazzālī nor a pure philosopher like Ibn Rushd. He avoided speculative (i.e., mainly Aristotelian) philosophy. Each time he is obliged by the context

* Noticeable in his more specifically mystical works, e.g., his "Mishkātu'l Anwār."

to indulge in it, he gets hopelessly entangled, and invariably fails in reproducing an argument from *Kalam*.

(3) This brings us to the third reason, why the Prolegomena do not embody any metaphysical conception of history. Ibn Khaldūn is not a philosopher of history. I am not sure who from a long list of students of Ibn Khaldūn started this wrong notion which has subsequently been taken up by many others and which accounts for much of the disappointment felt by subsequent scholars. Ibn Khaldūn was a keen sociologist. As such he was the forerunner of Buckle, Montesquieu and even Comte. He was, maybe, also a "Kulturhistoriker" as Kremer calls him. But philosophy of history is something different. Just as Sociology is a *science* the object of which is man in society, the method of which is analytical and inductive, and the aim is to derive from its study general laws in order to be able to predict future happenings (this is exactly Ibn Khaldūn's aim as proposed by him in the beginning of the book),¹ so History is a *science* having the same aim but a different object namely the historical fact and event (this also Ibn Khaldūn proposed to do).² But a *philosophy* of history seeks the *formal* (in its philosophical sense) element common to all objects of history, by which they are connected and have their unity, which constitutes their origin, purpose and standard of judgment, so that by it they can be explained. Its method is synthetic, that is, from principles to consequences. Thus there can be no philosophy of history without previous conceptions about such principles as change, movement and time, quantity and quality, and being. And I need not tell the reader that they are not to be found in the Prolegomena, nor were the Prolegomena intended to do so by their author. If he had intended to write a philosophy of history, the above-mentioned "reserve" would have been impossible, for that would have been precisely his religious opinions, i.e., his theological, philosophical and mystical conceptions which would furnish the basic principles of this philosophy. If this had been beforehand realised some scholars could have saved themselves the trouble and disappointment for in that case they would not have tried to find things which could not possibly be there. Ibn Khaldūn cannot be blamed for stating as the result of his observation of things in this world; that there is nothing permanent on this earth. That the rise and fall of political states and civilisations succeed each other as inevitably and naturally as there is growth and decay in all nature. Whether there is growth or not all the same a "progress" or a "degradation" cannot be determined without a conception of the final cause of things and this belongs to the domain of the Philosophy of Becoming, and falls outside the sociological field. And thus we do not see whether there is also another side to Ibn Khaldūn's pessimism apart from the natural result of factual observation at the time of decline. A side namely which

1. Paris, Ed. I, 61/2; de Slane, I, 77.

2. Paris, Ed. I, 61; de Slane, I 77.

on principle, embraces the belief that there is nothing really good on this earth, that all acts lead ultimately to evil, that on the worldly level there is no improvement, only a gradual corruption, or at best a never-lasting repetition, that the only solution is to be found on a super-worldly level, in man's liberation from the sickly cycles by a spiritual ascent to the One, or a return to the Cause.

In connection with Ibn Khaldūn's pessimistic view of history as ever-recurring cycles, von Kremer¹ refers to the sufis and to the similarity of their ideas with Ibn Khaldūn's ideas already much earlier upheld and propounded by the mystical thinkers of the Orient and generally summarised in the epitome: "a return to the beginning" (*al-ma'āda ila'l mabda*). Ibn Sab'īn (Spanish Mystic-Philosopher, 1126-1198) had also held the same view. But since this return offered by the Mystics brings us on purely spiritual *terrain*, and since Ibn Khaldūn, for reasons given above, strictly limits himself to the political and social development of man, it is not surprising that the author never tells us in so many words about his views on the matter.

But it is not possible to write a work of the scope and size of the Prolegomena without that even the most detached and impersonal writer must necessarily betray himself. But before we turn our attention to these "self-betrays," we must summarise the above. Ibn Khaldūn's personal religiousness, his own intimate philosophy of Life and the Divine, need have no connection with the aim of the work; he has on purpose cut off this connection. And therefore, whether Ibn Khaldūn is a mystic or an atheist, a sceptic or a simple orthodox Muslim, his personal belief or unbelief does not stand or fall with the fact that his sociological observations are limited to political and social circumstances which are viewed with the impartiality and the objectivity of a scientist.

GENERAL VIEW ON SECTION VI: ON THE ISLAMIC SCIENCES

THE most direct information about Ibn Khaldūn's attitude towards Mysticism should, no doubt, be obtainable from the chapter on the science of Mysticism contained in Section VI of the Prolegomena. A few words of introduction to this section for those who are not acquainted with Ibn Khaldūn's work. It describes one after another all the sciences practised in the Islamic civilisation. It is the more directly *cultural* part of the Prolegomena. It begins with the traditional sciences and ends with the sciences dealing with the Arabic language, after which follow the arts of Literature and Poetry.² In between, and in what seems at first sight a strange and incomprehensible sequence, the author gives an

1. *op. cit.* p. 30/1.

2. No word is said about architecture. Was it not recognised as an art.

account of such sciences as Mathematics, Geometry, Logic, Physics, Medicine and Agriculture. Then follow Metaphysics, Magic, the Esoteric Science of Numbers, Alchemy, Philosophy, Astrology, etc. (It is interesting to note that Metaphysics and Philosophy are classified amongst what we would call at present "occult" sciences! Also that the author, while strongly disapproving of Metaphysics, Philosophy, Alchemy and Astrology, has no objections whatever to—on the contrary has complete faith in—Magic and the Science of Numbers). Each chapter gives with more or less completeness a description of the origin, aim and development of every science. But besides a factual and impersonal history of each science we hear the author's personal opinion and judgment, sometimes expressed in strongest language, about its validity and utility, the benefits derived from it in the past and the possibilities to be expected from it in the future. In this section the author is concerned with the social well-being of Islam, its cultural and intellectual soundness, its moral hygiene. It gives scope to Ibn Khaldūn as reformer. Note the inclusion of a study on the art and practice of teaching. Due emphasis is laid on the necessity of interior coherence of the Islamic community and the readers are advised about the right books to read as well as about the right spirit in which to read them.

Let us now look a little closer at the particular chapter devoted to the "science" of mysticism. Ibn Khaldūn insists on mysticism being a science.

What strikes us immediately is its length. And it is not only the longest but also undoubtedly the best written of all the chapters on the various sciences. There are only two chapters which come near it in length, those on Fiqh and Kalām. Compared with these two we find that the study on Mysticism is written with less scientific detachment than the one on Fiqh and that it is much less fragmentary and confused than the chapter on Kalām.

Of course, we are not concerned here with the relative merits of these chapters as such, or their value as sources for our knowledge of these sciences. On Mysticism we are sufficiently informed by a number of treatises and historical reviews written by the leading Mystics themselves, and Ibn Khaldūn does not give us much that can be called new or unknown, except that he conveys a good impression of the general importance and popularity of Mysticism in his times. The science of Canonical Law (Fiqh) also has been given constant and official attention throughout the ages and we are informed about its development by a practically uninterrupted chain of authorities. Therefore, we do not recognise Ibn Khaldūn, however accomplished an expert on legal matters he may be, as an authority on this subject. Contrary to this, our knowledge of the Mu'tazilite movement and the atomistic philosophy in Islam is still very deficient. Many of the sources have been destroyed or have failed to reach us through other reasons. Thus the chapter on Kalām has received a certain amount of attention far greater than its merits would

justify, solely owing to the paucity of material.¹ Only the second half, however, has any historical value but its redaction is hasty, its composition sketchy. The first half however is not a description of *Kalām* at all, but a warning against it, and for this reason precisely falls within the field of our present enquiry. For, the arguments used to reject the endeavour of Kalam are the arguments of Mysticism, and the terms used to show the futility of *Kalām* theology are the terms of the Mystics. See how Ibn Khaldūn defines for instance, *tawhīd*, and see the answer he gives to the question of what is true Faith. In order to explain this he has to draw on the Discipline of the *ḥāl* and *maqām* (the mystical states and stations). Whereas *Kalām*, according to Ibn Khaldūn had fulfilled its task and had actually outlived its purpose which had been strictly conditioned by temporary circumstances. Mysticism seemed to our author to have still a great future before it.

The chapter on Mysticism bears out the obvious sincerity of the author's intentions and the urgency of his appeal. The reader cannot fail to notice the entirely different tone of this chapter, the infinite care with which Ibn Khaldūn sets about his task, to describe its *traditional* origin, to explain its psychological implications, to set forth its ethical value. And although he does not fail to warn against its dangers, he is on the whole rather out to plead its cause, and to build up its defence. He seems to be personally interested in the matter. And this personal interest seems to have continued and even increased in the later years of his life, if we may believe the testimony of the considerable portions added to it by the author himself at a later date. But about these additions later.

It is this personal interest in Mysticism, corroborated by evidence throughout the Prolegomena that ought to put those on their guard who have proclaimed Ibn Khaldūn's "matter-of-factness," "cold detachment," "positivism" or "scepticism" or the like. Of course, part of Ibn Khaldūn's interest in Mysticism can be explained in the same way as his "pessimism." For this also is a "fin de siècle" phenomenon. A heightened interest in, a somewhat unhealthy curiosity for the unexplainable, the mysterious is the normal atmosphere of a declining culture.² This somewhat morbid searching of the queer, the exotic, this childish prying into the surrealistic—the author is not at all above this.

But there is also a more serious side to Ibn Khaldūn's preoccupation with Mysticism. He believes that the true road towards improvement of man is the Path of the Mystic, that the mystical experience can reveal and make certain what no Metaphysics prove; and that when they try to prove it they lead astray. Thus, *as an intellectual*, (I would nearly say) for I do not think that he talks from actual, personal experience, he acknowledges that only Mysticism can afford a way out between the

1. The second half has, for instance, been quoted in full in MacDonald's article on "*Kalām*" in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

2. Compare the similar phenomena in 20th c. Europe and America.

eternal dilemma of rational as against revealed knowledge, and he recognizes the essence, the truth and the value of the mystical experience. Thus he actually tends to transcend Revelation and revealed knowledge, but he never denies it. On the contrary, in his support of the clear and self-evident word of the Qur'an, the Mission of the Prophet, and the conduct of the Patriarchs, in his continuous exhortations to believe without questioning and speculation he is as orthodox as the most orthodox can be. The Ash'arite Bilā Kayfa is insisted upon throughout. In this Ibn Khaldūn shows again that orthodoxy is not always a sign of weakness, it is sometimes a sign of wisdom: a sign for all those who cannot attain to certainty by direct personal experience, as well as for those who can and want to remain within the bounds of Islam, and within its social/moral code in word and deed.

Moreover, Ibn Khaldūn as a reformer, recognizes the tremendous moral and social significance of a Mystical, i.e., a more interior conception of religion, and that this is the only way in which Islam could regain its spiritual and moral values which once were at the root of its greatness and strength, and from which in the author's time very little was left in the West. At the same time he realises that Mysticism itself, in his time, had largely gone astray, that it had overshot the target, and thus from a potentially constructive it had become an actually destructive force. For he has an open eye for its dangers, and like anyone who believes that a certain amount of uniformity, authority and obedience is necessary to maintain a religious/cultural edifice in its inner and outer strength, he clearly shows that he knows that any immoderate and undisciplined form of Mysticism always tends to have a "loosening" effect on any tight theological/ societal configuration.

In consequence of all this, a peculiar tension is noticeable in the text wherever in the Prolegomena a theme connected with one or other of the questions dealing with Mysticism appears. There is the Ibn Khaldūn who is dying to tell the reader all about the queer and wonderful things he has read and thought about, and there is the Ibn Khaldūn who is aware of the fact that certain things are better not published for every student to read. On the one hand he wants to exhort his readers and urge them to an acceptance of the mystical attitude towards religion, on the other hand he must warn them against excesses. This same tension we find, of course, in a heightened form in the actual chapter dealing with Mysticism.

The obvious way out would, of course, have been to treat Mysticism only in its ethical, devotional form, as Ghazzālī did in his *Ihyā'*, but this he apparently could not do partly for the sake of scientific completeness, and partly because he himself went much farther in his own acceptance.

Thus, in the chapter on Mysticism, we get again the same situation as in other places in the Prolegomena: the author never explicitly and positively states his adherence to and belief in Islamic mysticism, he does not break away from his usual practice of reserve and caution, quoting

the various schools of thought generally through the mouths of their recognized exponents, giving his own opinion with the ambiguous *Rubbamā* (so characteristic of Ibn Khaldūn that it is astonishing that none of his biographers has ever remarked on it before). And yet far clearer than anywhere else appears the real Ibn Khaldūn who dares, to take the Mystics under his protection against theological Islam, and challenges the verdict inflicted upon them by the Canonists, and offers his own criteria according to which they should be judged.¹

1. Here a few words must be said about the deplorable condition in which Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena* is presented to the general public.

THE TWO MAIN EDITIONS

The two main editions of Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena** are the "*Paris-Edition*," edited by Quatremere in 1858 (Vols. XVI, XVII and XVIII of the "Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale et autres bibliothèques") and the "*Bulaq-Edition*" printed in 1868, a copy† from the edition published in 1857/8 under the supervision of the Muslim Scholar Naṣr al-Hurayni.

Of these the *Paris-Edition* ‡ is mainly based on a MS. sent from Constantinople, (catalogue number 7426, see de Slane CV/CVI) occasionally collated with three other MSS: B, C and D (C and D are the Catalogue numbers 7423 and 7426, whereas B was in the possession of the editor himself). From de Slane's remarks (see CV/CVI) it appears that this edition, although undoubtedly the one most used by scholars, cannot strictly speaking be called critical or final. Many a time, de Slane, in his translation finds himself obliged to bring about corrections.

The Bulaq edition of Naṣr-al-Hurayni of which this is a copy. He had apparently two MSS. at his disposal (see CVII/CX), one from Tunis and the other from Fez. The Tunis MS. is according to the editor himself apparently less detailed than the Fez MS. Both MS. it must be stressed, are different from the one used by Quatremere. This Bulaq edition has not been studied by me but according to Enan it is "one of the most complete and best revised copies of his work." De Slane, however, observes o.a. "Je ne pense pas que Naṣr al Hurayni les ait suivi exactement; on peut remarquer dans son édition des leçons évidemment inexactes et d'autres qu'aucun des Manuscrits de Paris justifient. Only voit aussi plusieurs passages qui, ayant été composés par 18 auteur d'une manière incorrecte et obscure, ont été redressés ou modifiés, afin d'être rendus plus intelligibles. Ces changements, à mon avis, ne sont pas toujours heureux quelquefois même ils altèrent la pensée d'Ibn Khaldūn..." etc.

The conclusion seems evident: the two main scholarly editions are obtained from different MSS. showing considerable variations of text, with the result that neither of the two can be called final. Nowhere has the present writer seen indications that the two main MSS. underlying these editions, that of Constantinople and of Fez, have been critically compared and weighed on their relative merits. The Western scholars appear generally to work with the Paris edition, the Eastern scholars seem frequently to quote from the Bulaq edition. To pronounce a judgment as to which of the two is better, cannot be expected from the writer. Enan asserts decisively that "the Bulaq copy... is, therefore, one of the most complete of the known copies of Ibn Khaldūn's work in spite of its many typographical errors and gaps." As to this completeness, I can only, from the portions I know better, point to a long passage (in Paris Edition pp 74/7, de Slane II, 106/110) on Harawī's verses about *tawhīd* which have been omitted by the Bulaq edition, although it does not constitute a "marginal addition" (see later). One example must here suffice.

* We are, in the following, talking of the *Prolegomena* only.

† Muḥammad Abdullah Enan: *Ibn-Khaldūn, His Life and Work*, Lahore 1941 p. 206: "The *Prolegomena* was copied from the Edition of 1284 A.H. (1867)."

‡ All this information is taken from the French translation by de Slane, the Roman letters refer to pages of the translator's introduction. May it be remarked here that even de Slane's translation is extremely rare in India.

But before we go into details, it should be mentioned that *the marginal additions as noted in the footnotes below are particularly numerous and extensive precisely in those chapters of the Prolegomena which deal with the theory of knowledge in general and mystical knowledge in particular.*

*(Continued)

Dr. Shams ul Ulema U. M. Daudpota, Director of Public Instruction in Sind, who is preparing an English translation of the *Prolegomena* which, in due course, will be published by the I.R.A. in Bombay kindly informed me that he used the Paris Edition "of course." A scholar of the calibre of Dr. Daudpota must be supposed to know what he is doing when he undertakes this colossal task.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that, up to the present day the world is still sadly lacking a really representative edition of a work of such world importance as Ibn Khaldun's *Prolegomena*, a work which is known in widest international circles, and from which modern scholars and experts are quoting more and more often in connection with a great variety of subjects.

THE TRANSLATION

There is a Turkish translation, dated 1732, by Maula Muhammad Sahib, generally known as Piri-Zadah Effendi. This translation covers the first five sections. The writer of this essay has no knowledge of Turkish, but de Slane finds this translation "very exact" although it must be regretted that "it resembles all Turkish translations from the Arabic," in so far as "they preserve nearly always the terms of the original text without attempting to find their equivalents" (de Slane CXVIII/CXIV). In 1860 Djavdat Effendi completed Piri-Zadah's work by offering his translation of Section VI. This translation is very much praised by de Slane, and considered by him as extremely useful owing to the very numerous and extended annotations (de Slane CXV).

But most Western as well as Eastern scholars do not know Turkish, and although many chapters and passages have been translated and published in various journals, in widely known languages, de Slane's French translation remains the most widely read and quoted from. The writer has studied this translation generally and several parts in great detail, and with all due respect for his achievement and all due understanding for the difficulties in this colossal and in a sense pioneer work, she must assert that it does not satisfy any more the present day requirements. Since its publication more than a century ago, enormous progress has been made in Islamics, and a better understanding of the subtleties of the Arabic language combined with a more comprehensive knowledge of the subject-matter has lent relief to the rather flat translation and has helped to avoid many small and large mistakes.

There is an Urdu translation, I believe of recent date (the copy I saw was, as usual, undated) by Maulvi 'Abdur-Rahman, in 3 volumes. Two of these are published by the Rafah-i-'Am Press, Lahore and one by the Co-operative Steam Press, Lahore. Its price is Rs. 1. As far as I have been able to see it is mainly based on the popular editions about which we shall have to speak now.

THE POPULAR EDITIONS

Since the two earlier editions have become extremely rare we have had several new editions which have successively filled the gap and supplied the need for a cheap publication widely available. One of them is of Beirouth published in 1879 and a few others successively published in Cairo (generally undated). The present writer has only one Cairo edition in her possession, published by the Maktaba at Tijāriyya al Kubra. She has however collated the first 12 chapters of Section VI of this edition with that of Beirouth and has come to the conclusion that it is probably correct to say that the Cairo edition is more or less an exact copy of the Beirouth edition. About this edition, Prof. D. B. MacDonald writes :*

. Duncan Black MacDonald : *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Chicago, 1909. Introduction.

and thus many of my arguments will issue from such marginal additions, although by far not all, and although even without these, sufficient material would be available to support our claim of Ibn Khaldūn's strong inclination towards and impregnation with mystical ideas, an inclination which must have increased in later years. And this increased interest in later years appears from these additions which show an enlarged knowledge of the intricacies of speculative mysticism and a more definite shaping of the author's opinions on the subject.

(Continued)

"That of Beirouth has considerable omissions, intentional and accidental, and some amazing blunders. As it is the most accessible and seemingly usable text, it may be worth while to say, that neither as regards its consonants, nor its vowels can it be trusted." A similar verdict must be pronounced on the Cairo editions.

In order to give the readers a clear idea of the really most regrettable condition of these popular editions, I shall give here a few examples, all taken from the Cairo edition. We shall confine ourselves to one chapter only, namely that under review, which may have suffered slightly more than the others from careless and arbitrary treatment by editors and printers alike. First of all there are numerous mistakes which must fall to the *debit* of the printers, and which range from the omission of a single word to that of a whole sentence. As a glaring example of the latter, a passage on p. 472 * can be cited whereof two complementary sentences, the second half has been entirely left out due to the unhappy coincidence that both sentences ended with a similar word. Owing to this omission the whole paragraph is totally unintelligible. Another example of the same kind of carelessness is furnished by the omission of two sentences on p. 469 1. 11 in a passage describing some Sufi writers and their work. Here again two neighbouring sentences open with a similar expression which caused the printers simply to skip the first sentence. The result is that when Ibn Khaldūn says: "*Jama'a Bayna'l Amrayni*" there are no such two kinds of questions in the text!

These are just instances of nonchalance. But there are also several instances of intentional omissions and alterations by the editors. A very typical example of this tendency is the omission of "and the Christians" (*Wa'n-nasri*) in a passage, (70 1. 16) where the author intends to give an example of falsely based mystical experience "such as that of the Magians and the Christians."

Other suppressions of the same kind, but now obviously coming from another direction, are those on p. 470 1. 25, p. 471, † 1. 16, p. 473 1. 12 and p. 473 1. 19‡. There seems nothing in the Paris edition nor in the two famous translations, (the Turkish and the French) which would justify these omissions on technical scientific grounds, nor is any explanation or even mention of them to be found in the two popular editions. Until they are explained, these omissions cannot but cast considerable suspicion on the intentions of the learned editors.

These then are hard facts, taken from one single chapter, which in the edition under review do not occupy more than eight pages. A careful study of several more chapters of *Section VI* does not present us with a more enjoyable picture.

It is then in this mutilated and stunted form that one of Islam's greatest and most original thinkers, a thinker moreover who has the widest international importance, is presented to our students!

* The pages refer to the Cairo edition mentioned.

† In the case of this omission there may be a justification in a certain choice offered by the Paris Edition, in which the same sentence is repeated in a simpler form according to de Slane (III, p. 98, Note 3) due to the inattention of the copyist.

‡ In de Slane's translation these are III, 98 l. 9-10 100 j. 11-13; 104 l. 19-21; 105 l. 12-15.

These marginal additions occurring in MSS. A and B, taken over by the Turkish as well as the French translations, are contained in

- (1) The chapter on Mysticism of Section VI.
- (2) The 6th Preliminary Discourse (already commented upon above).
- (3) The general introduction to the whole of Section VI.

We shall first look at (3), which will lead us to (2), after which we shall give a summary of the significant content of (1) and its additions.

(Concluded)

THE MARGINAL ADDITIONS

With particular reference to our subject, another question must here be treated briefly and that is question of the "marginal additions." These are to be found in certain chapters, and specially the chapter on Mysticism is richly furnished with them. They occur in the two most important MSS. used by Quatremere (MSS. A the Constantinople MSS. and MSS. B) ; they have been reproduced in the Paris Edition, they have been accepted by the Turkish translator of the Section on the Islamic sciences, Dhevdet Effendi, the learned Historiographer of the Ottoman Empire of whose erudite achievement de Slane is full of praise, and last but not least they have been fully reproduced in the French translation. And yet, no trace of them can be found in the other editions. The arguments which made the learned editors in Cairo and Beirouth to omit these additions are unknown to me. The explanation may be in the fact that they do not occur in the Fez. MS.* on which these additions are ultimately based, and that the original editor Naṣr al Hurayni, had probably no opportunity of consulting Quatremere's MSS. A and B, and so the existence of these additions may have remained unnoticed. On the other hand, by the time the first popular edition, that of Beirouth, appeared, more than 20 years had elapsed since the Paris edition had been published and it must be supposed that in the meantime the popular editors had had an opportunity for comparison.

About the authenticity of these "marginal additions" de Slane writes (see CX). "The authenticity of these additions seems to me beyond doubt ; Ibn Khaldūn's style can be recognized, his rather incorrect phrasings as well as references to other chapters of the *Prolegomena*. The author probably inserted them in his work after the year 796 A.H.....etc."

Judging from the contents only, the present writer would be inclined to agree with de Slane. These additions are not mere improvements of the text such as might be done by copyists. They do not look like comments or notes inserted by a reader. They are "additions" in the exact sense of the word, often introducing a new idea, or elaborations with entirely new arguments. They bear the unmistakable stamp of Ibn Khaldūn's peculiar style and grammar, they use the same terminology and similarly inexactly at times. The references to the other chapters are often in the first person : *Kama Bayyanahu* (as we have explained) or *Kama Qaddamnāhu* (as we have advanced before), etc.

The history of the MSS. is not quite known, but enough for our purposes can be concluded from their form. The Fez MS. bears a dedication to a Merinide Sultan and we know that Ibn Khaldūn presented it to him while the latter was still ruling, i.e., in the years 796-799 A.H. Two other MSS. bear dedications and were offered by the author to two other rulers, namely, the Tunis MS. and MSS. C. MSS. A and B, however, have no such dedications. It might, therefore, be supposed that Ibn Khaldūn kept these for his own use, and it is exactly these two MSS. which contain the marginal additions ! The fact that they are not contained in all MSS. is no proof against their authenticity. One cannot suppose that an author in Ibn Khaldūn's time would run after all the MSS. he had given to different rulers in different localities to bring about additions each time he had a new idea, or developed an old one ! Moreover, in view of the special nature of most of these additions, it might have been unwise to do so, considering the prevailing trends in official Islam.

* More than one copy of this Fez MS. seems extant. See M.A. Enan, op. cit.

THE NEW INTRODUCTION TO SECTION VI : RELIGION IS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

INSTEAD of the original short introduction to Section VI which according to de Slane, "evidently belonged to an earlier redaction," an entirely new introduction was supplied, which consists of six new chapters. These contain a brief, and for Ibn Khaldūn, rather complete little *epistemology* and may be considered as Ibn Khaldūn's own and final synthesis on various hotly-discussed questions in connection with the human capacities and aims of knowledge. A comparison between the old and the new introductions is interesting, not because the author shows himself in any way an *original* thinker in these fields but because they throw light on his development.

In the original introduction the author gives,—since he is going to talk on human sciences and he feels the necessity of saying a few words on that specifically human faculty which gives rise to all his knowledge and science,—only a few commonplace and rather superficial remarks on the "exclusively human faculty" which he calls *fikr* (reflection). One would have expected '*aql* (intelligence). But it is possible that he chose, from all the available cognitional terms, precisely *fikr* because it is the vaguest and most general term, to which adhere none of the associations and colorations which the term '*aql* could conjure up. It is, he says, this *fikr* (reflection) by which man acquires the knowledge necessary for his relations with his fellow-beings and his life on this earth, and it is this same reflection which leads man to accept the knowledge imparted by the prophets as a guide in his relations with God and for his attaining salvation in the Life Hereafter.

In the later inserted six Introductory Chapters, he enters deeper into this problem of human knowledge. *Fikr* (reflection) is still the main term, but it is a considerably enlarged reflection; where before it was a capacity strictly limited to vital and social ends, and in addition conduced man to acceptance of prophetic knowledge (N.B. does not *in itself* lead to a higher knowledge), now it goes far beyond that. It seems to spread out so widely and to cover so much ground that it is hardly possible to catch it under one notion. Ibn Khaldūn himself asserts expressly, in a rather transparent effort to attach his notion directly to the Qur'anic text, that his new reflection is exactly what Qur'an, XVI, 80 calls *af'ida* (plur. of *fu'ād*, heart), a personal interpretation reminiscent of similar efforts by mystics and mystical sects to bend the simple words of the Qur'an to suit a particular purpose. Actually the word *qalb* has been more often used, specially by the devotional mystics, to express the point of contact between the higher and lower world.

There are then, according to Ibn Khaldūn, three kinds or degrees of thought (*fikr*). There is that degree which a child attains when it has come to the age of discretion. This is the '*aql tamīyīzī*, "discriminating reason." Subsequently there is the degree which is in the service of man

as a member of human society. It is the '*aql tajrībī* "experimental reason." It is Aristotle's "practical reason," Descartes' "reason : " "a tool to make tools." It is acquired inductively and experimentally. Finally, there is a third degree which can be called "pure reason," reason not for the sake of action but for the sake of a pure knowledge, and intelligibility, by which man can become a Pure Intellect and a Spiritual Perception. (Ibn Khaldūn's term : '*aql nazārī*—contemplative intellect). It is thus that man fulfils his real nature and attains the essential reality: man. Those familiar with mystical speculations will recognize the terms: *kamāl*, *ḥaqīqa*, *ḥaqīqat-i insāniyya*, '*aql maḥd*, etc. Thus Ibn Khaldūn's *fikr* finally approaches a sort of combination of the Intellect ('*aql*) of the neoplatonic philosophers, and the Spirit (*rūh*) of the later Mystics (also, e.g., the Ghazzālī of the *Mishkātū'l Anwār*). Ibn Khaldūn's *fikr* becomes the mystical "speculation," "contemplation," etc.

Now if we look where religion is placed in all this, we find it in chapter III, under the heading "practical reason." Religion and religious knowledge is considered exclusively in its social task and functions. Here we have the epistemological expression of what he elsewhere clothes in sociological terms: religion is for him a societal/civilisational institution. He puts "religion" and "nation" on the same plane when he says, e.g., (Paris Edition, II, 172, de Slane, II, 199) that any attempt to found a religion or a state can only succeed when it is carried and defended by a community and its power. The natural course of historical events has proved this beyond doubt, he adds. In other words, a religion does not arise and survive because of its own inherent (metaphysical) truth, but because of its (social) adequateness to meet the needs of a society of men. Here religion is completely denied any higher supernatural status, it is no more than "the greatest common denominator," and it is most fit to survive (excuse this expression) when it has the broadest possible base in society, and is supported by the greatest number of people and expresses and solves their ideas and problems. Therefore, Ibn Khaldūn warns his reader that he had better accept "the traditionally transmitted (religious) knowledge embodied in Islam, for otherwise it is impossible to live in society with his fellow-beings as his social conduct will be deficient." The fundamental tenets of Islam, as well as all Islamic institutions are true, he says, "for they have been arrived at after successive experiences which have finally proved their workability," (Chapt. I of the Introduction). Verily, an extremely "modern" conception

Only posterior to these two degrees of thought, could the third degree have been developed, but, says Ibn Khaldūn, "this needs no explanation in this book, for this is a subject which belongs to the field of the *Ahl Nazārī*. (Even here our author maintains his "reserve"). That these *Ahl Nazārī* are the *Falāsifa*, as de Slane has understood it, is doubtful in view of the author's complete rejection of them and the approving terms in which he expresses this kind of knowledge. Obviously

these are the sufis, but no further indications are given which particular school of Sufism is meant.

However, we hear more about this highest degree of *fikr* in Chapters IV and V where respectively human/angelic and prophetic knowledge is dealt with. It deals with rather concisely for the whole theme had already been developed at greater length in the 6th Preliminary Discourse to which the reader is then also requested to go for further information.

THE SIXTH PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE: *Human/Angelic versus Prophetic Knowledge*

After we have heard his opinion on revealed religion, we shall now try and search for his views as to the nature of and relationship between human/angelic and prophetic knowledge. A comparison between the treatment of this subject in the two essays (Chapters IV and V of the new introduction to the section on Sciences and the 6th Preliminary Discourse in vol. I) is interesting.

Now the present writer has read and reread the relevant passages, she had looked up what scholars have said about it,¹ and finds herself unable to state Ibn Khaldūn's views as to what exactly is the difference in these two kinds of knowledge. And yet, the author is quite capable of explaining the difference between the knowledge of the Prophet and that of the Divine (*kāhin*), which is precisely formulated and clear; it is a difference in the *manner* in which the knowledge is obtained as well as in the *kind* of knowledge. In fact, the knowledge of the Prophet and that of the Divine are totally different. There is no doubt about that. He has manifest difficulties in establishing the difference between the Prophet Muḥammad and other Prophets, and on the whole avoids the issue. Similarly, he does not attempt to analyse the difference between prophetic and mystical knowledge. Nowhere the two kinds of knowledge are confronted. The prophetic revelation is treated as a subject by itself: five exterior signs of manifest prophethood (beginning of the Discourse). Later on the accompanying circumstances of Prophecy are described. No psychological explanation is afforded, and, in fact, (in the Chapter on the Mutashābaha) he blames Ibn Sīnā for his psychological analysis of prophetic knowledge, which is the same as that previously given by Ibn Miskawayh² and which explains the prophetic *waḥy* as a reversal of the normal cognitive process. That the writer maintains a difference in *degree* is clear (Paris ed., I, 176 l. 18-178 l. 19; de Sl. I, 200-203), and maybe he also wants to assert an entirely different field of knowledge,

1. e.g., Alfred Guillaume in his excellent book *Prophecy and Divination*, the Bampton Lectures, 1938, London. Specially Lect. V, pp. 197/213.

2. Al Fawzu'l Asghar.

but this is difficult to ascertain. More stress is laid on the *accompanying circumstances* peculiar to prophethood, namely private-personal and social-public. Amongst the former he mentions the Prophet's pained behaviour and his violent physical reactions at the moment of the revelation. As to the latter, the author mentions the *tahaddi* (the preceding public announcement). This is the final and ultimate test by which a miracle worked by the Prophet (*mu'jiza*) can be distinguished from a miracle performed by the Saint (*karāma*); it is the most important point advanced by the orthodox theologians (the Mutakallimūn) to maintain the exclusive position of the Prophet. In his explanation of the *tahaddi* Ibn Khaldūn gets completely muddled (Paris ed., I, 169; de Sl., I, 190). He either has not understood the point as Massignon suggests or, which is probably more likely, it seemed rather unconvincing and artificial to him, and, since he cannot omit to mention it, he passes it off rather unthinkingly. For it is amazing how carefully his working can be if he has his heart in a matter.

Concluding then, I would say, that as to the point at issue the Discourse under review is highly unsatisfactory, the essential characteristics of the Prophet Muḥammad are all of an external nature, the distinguishing features so painstakingly developed by official Islamic Theology are badly or even incorrectly presented, the essential points either missed or mechanically reproduced. Frankly speaking, I find it rather disappointing that a great and realistic thinker like Ibn Khaldūn did not attain to the recognition that the ultimate proof of Muḥammad's prophethood is his own life and the Qur'an itself, which is the only unassailable position taken up, in fact, by the later Mutakallimūn (and which is comparable to a similar development in Christian Apologetics)¹ if, at least, he really was convinced himself of Muḥammad's exclusive and final prophethood.

This last cannot be concluded with certainty. That he sets out with the intention of establishing Muḥammad's position beyond comparison or approach seems definite. That he does no more than reproduce the official and rather far-fetched arguments of early *kalām* is clear to everyone who reads this Discourse. The closest he gets to is a description of the two kinds of knowledge where he talks about the three classes of human beings, those who are too weak to come to spiritual perception and those whom he calls *Walī*² (God-favoured Saint) in whom God has infused knowledge (*al-ilmu'l-ladūnniyya*) and understanding of Divine things (*al-ma'arif'ul-rabbaniyya*), and, he adds, they, enjoy something which normally is only afforded after death by those predestined for eternal happiness. (This sounds a little like the

1. We must note, for our Christian readers, that even a thinker like Pascal (born 1623) uses the Gospel miracles as the main proof for the truth of Christianity.

2. Ibn Khaldūn makes apparently a distinction between the *walī* (od-favoured One, Saint) and the *ṣufī* (mystic). The former is mentioned as occupying the second degree, in between normal humanity and the prophets, the latter is relegated to the diviners, yogis and other persons to whose mantric qualities and mental exercises Ibn Khaldūn ascribes their achievements, although he recognizes that the exercises of the *ṣufīs* are purely religious and are directed towards God.

“ Beatific Vision ” but it is very vaguely said). To the Prophet, however, Ibn Khaldūn ascribes the “ inborn faculty of being able to strip of human nature for one instant of time.” It seems difficult to draw any conclusions about the two kinds of knowledge from these short sentences, but there seems to be a difference in degree, which is corroborated by the fact that seems to serve, as an explanation for *both* these kinds of knowledge, a long preceding passage in which the author explains his conception of *ittiṣāl*. With this word, reminiscent of the neoplatonic philosophers, like Ibn Sīnā, he means the natural continuity or contiguousness between the material/visible and the spiritual/invisible worlds, as well as between the various orders of being within each of these worlds. At the same time it implies the natural capacity of each being within a certain order to ascend to the next higher one. It is needless to say that with the adoption of this notion of continuity, Ibn Khaldūn is far removed from any theologian of the Kalām-type, and has definitely entered upon the road to neoplatonism in Islam after Ibn Sīnā. For this notion of continuity is at the root of all Monism: the difference between God and man here is no more the *Mukhālafa*, the total and absolute difference—*sine qua non* of all Monotheism,—but a difference of degree.

BACK TO THE NEW INTRODUCTION TO SECTION VI : FINAL STATEMENT ON PROPHETIC KNOWLEDGE

THIS notion of *ittiṣāl* we find again in the New Introduction and judging from the relatively large space given to it, it seems to have grown into the dominant idea of Ibn Khaldūn's Cosmology. We also find back all the other arguments, with the same technical terms and the same faulty or incorrect phrasing, only here more constricted and to the point. Here we have the same attempt to indicate a distinction between the Prophet and the gnostic, already apparent in the separation of the chapters under different headings. But we also have the same, even more so, inability to express the difference. If one looks at the actual content of the two chapters, one on human/angelic, the other on prophetic knowledge, one sees that the actual content flows together.

Here we have no more mention of either *walī* or *ṣūfī*, but the whole emphasis is now laid on the fact that *all* men have a potential preparedness (*isti'dād*) to attain to the angelic world, and this is due to the *ittiṣāl* existing in the Universe. But the difference is that whereas with normal man this is only a potentiality to be actualised at will with the help of a spiritual discipline, with the Prophet this is already an actuality from the moment of his birth, for it is his natural constitution (*jibilla*), God-instilled (*faṭara*) at birth. And if this were not yet clear enough he ends with a quotation, which is of extreme interest in this connection. He quotes Qur'an, XVI, 6: “ Say (unto them O Muḥammad): I am only a mortal like you ”

This is the natural outcome of tendencies already manifest in the Discourse, and here too strong to be suppressed any longer in the privacy of his own marginal additions. In the interval between the two essays, he seems to have studied much more of the later neoplatonic and mystical philosophers. The short chapters are stuffed with their terminology. Let us select, e.g., his definition of Angels (*malā'ika*): "They are abstract substances, stripped of corporeality and materiality; they are pure Intellect, in which *Intellect*, *Intelligence* and *Intelligibility* are united. Perception and Intellect are, as it were, the very essence of their reality, and as a natural consequence the data of their knowing are permanently given (or given in actuality) and completely identical with their 'known.' His inclusion of perception shows the beginning of the process of "disintellectualisation of the Intellect," common to all the later speculative mystics, and we can see this also in the great stress on the notion of *wijdān* (inner experience, self-awareness) and the *wijdāniyyāt* (the organs of this inner perception).

And after we have read all this, and just when we are ready with our conclusion, that, in spite of all the author's efforts to the contrary, there is sufficient evidence to show us that Ibn Khaldūn was unable to uphold the exclusive position of prophetic knowledge and unable to hide his growing conviction of and belief in the mystical knowledge, that in other words in spite of a difference in origin the two kinds of knowledge are equal in nature and rank, and thus can equally claim discipleship, and adherence, we hit upon a passage of extreme interest contained in Chapter V of the New Introduction. This passage shows that Ibn Khaldūn's further study of the later Mystical Schools which has contributed so much to clarify his views on all epistemological problems, has also yielded results in providing him with the long-wanted and long-searched-for epistemological argument in favour of prophetic knowledge. In this passage he explains that the revealment of the angelic world obtained by the Saint is never *tafsīlan*, that is, it is never a knowledge of particulars: the Saint does not know the Angelic World in its specific differentiations. For such a differentiated knowledge, that is a knowledge of all the various species within the one genus: Angelic, our only source is the Qur'anic Revelation. This reminds one of Ibnu'l-'Arabī's distinction between the Mystic's Revealment and the Prophet's Revelation, the former he calls *an-nubuwwat'-ul-mutlaqa* or *al-'amma* (revelation of a universal or general kind), the latter he denotes as *an-nubuwwa't-u'l-ikhtisās* (revelation of a particular kind). And going back in time and further East in space, we think of the differentiation made, e.g., by the logical realists of the Niyāya School of Indian Philosophy, between determinate (*savikalpaka* or well-defined, *vyavasāyātmaka*) and indeterminate (*nirvikalpaka* or inexpressible, *avyapadesya*) perception.

Thus, not only as a well-meaning sociologist, but also as a philosopher (if I may be allowed to say this of such a bad philosopher as Ibn Khaldūn has proved himself), he justifies the Islamic belief in Muḥammad and

the Qur'anic revelation, at the same time upholding the mystical claim to direct knowledge to the full.

I apologize for my long insistence on this point, but in it is ultimately one of the most important criteria of orthodoxy. For, once the exclusive position of the Prophet is encroached upon, the first frontal attack on official and orthodox Islam is made, for it constitutes a definite inroad in the one fundamental dogma of Islam, as embodied in the *Shahada*.

Ibn Khaldūn was conscious of this right from the start. He never ceased to stress the one and only duty and right of the Prophet as against the Saint, viz., the duty and right of publicly announcing the revealed message, and he denied, and most vehemently so, this right to whatever and however saintly a mystic; more of this we shall have later. After a long period of hesitations and confusions, as well as obvious dissatisfaction with the arguments of *kalām*, and an equally obvious effort to make them pass for his readers as valid and conclusive, he attained finally to the above recognition, which we have connected with Ibnu'l 'Arabī. And with this, the author of the Prolegomena denies the validity of what is the greatest danger of Mysticism, namely its claim to make "counter-revelations."

THE CHAPTER ON MYSTICISM

After having thus reconstructed some fundamental points of Ibn Khaldūn's attitude towards religion, we can now turn to the chapter on Mysticism itself. It might be well to give first an idea of the general plan followed by the author in dealing with this science.

Origin of Mysticism within Islam: example of the *salaf*, derivation of the name *ṣufī*.

Psychology of Mysticism: the Mystical Path, the Discipline of the *Aḥwāl* and *Maqamāt*.

Science of Mysticism: systematisation of mystically revealed knowledge, *ṣufī* writers and their works.

The Mystic's Revelation: how and what is revealed; silence is indicated for no expression is adequate, no proof possible.

Mystical experience depends on the *Inner Senses* (*wijdāniyyāt*)
 1st marginal addition, obviously an elaboration on the problem of these Inner Senses, the sources of mystical knowledge. In them only is the proof for the doctrine of Absolute Monism (*al waḥdatu'l muṭlaqa*), which is given here as one of the solutions of the problem of God's immanence/transcendence. In this connection the two conceptions, those of the *Shuhūdiyya* and the *Wujūdiyya* are touched with reference to further explanations later.

The *Shuhūdiyya* conception : called by the author *ahlu'ttajalli wa'l-mazahir wa'l-haḍrāt*, example taken from al-Farghānī.

The *Wujūdiyya* conception : called by the author *al-qawl bi'l waḥdati'l muṭlaqa*, example taken from Ibn Daḥqān.

The dangers of these explanations : influences from heretical schools in the later mystics, examples.

2nd marginal addition, in which some more examples of these influences are given, namely the *zāhīr-bāṭin* juxtaposition, and the *qutb* idea.

Conclusion : all this is certainly taken from the "Shī'ites and Rāfiḍites." Appendix, in which, with reference to certain verses of al-Harawī, the *Ṣufi Tawḥīd* idea is explained according to one of Ibn Khaldūn's teachers, a great Spanish saint, Ibn az-Zayyāt.

Refutations of Ṣufi doctrines by Canonists (*Fuqahā*) and Licensed Legists (*Ahlu'l Fatāya*).

Author's criteria for judging Ṣufi doctrines, behaviour and utterances. Final conclusion.

Already from this short index it can be seen that here we have a complete summary of Mysticism in Islam, in which all the important developments and problems are dealt with. We shall now enter into a more detailed analysis, always with a view to Ibn Khaldūn's personal opinions on Mysticism.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC MYSTICISM

With his habitual directness, he established already from the very beginning Ṣufism in the place he intends to assign to it, viz., amongst those sciences which have directly issued from the Law (*Shari'a*), as one of the revealed traditional sciences of Islam, having its origin in the *Sunna* of the *Salaf*.

Whereas older Islamic research had been inclined to see in Ṣufism "a foreign inoculation," investigations of the last twenty years, amongst whom especially Massignon's great pioneer work must be mentioned, have now definitely agreed to emphasise instead the foundation of Islamic Mysticism on the Qur'an, and its natural development within the frame of and parallel to the other Islamic sciences. Massignon has put forward that the so-called "Theology of Aristotle" (translated ca. 226 A.H. but probably already known beforehand in other languages) which determined for ever, the course of Islamic philosophy, and had such a great influence on Islamic theology, affected Islamic mysticism much *later* than it did the other sciences, by furnishing proofs that in the 3rd century A.H., when Islamic mysticism first met that body of knowledge which he calls "le synchrétisme philosophique Oriental," each of them still had independent

terminologies and opposed doctrines.¹ After this followed three centuries in which Ṣūfism delivered a losing battle in such mystics as Kharrāz, Ḥallāj, Tawhīdī, Ghazzālī and Suhrawardī Maqtūl,² against a transitional form of this oriental synchrétisme embodied mainly in two Islamic movements: the neoplatonic philosophy as developed by āl Fārābī, Ibn Miskawayh and Ibn Sīnā, and the synchrétistic "Oriental" philosophies such as those of the Ikhwān as-Ṣafa and their Qarmatian and Isma'īlī successors, until finally, in the 6th century A.H. Ibnu'l-'Arabī and his school surrenders the mystical theology of Islam to the synchrétistic monism of the Qarmatians, by which the actual divorce between the ascetic, devotional mystical discipline and the speculative mystical theosophy and cosmogony is consummated.

Thus, the distinction is no more between the early asceticism and the later ṣūfism of the 3rd century A.H., but between a devotional mysticism (emotional and moral) and a speculative mysticism (monistic and cognitional).³ This is the great service which Massignon has rendered to the study of Islamic mysticism.

THE TWO PHASES IN ITS DEVELOPMENT

And now we see that before Massignon, already somebody else had given a similar description of the history of mysticism in Islam. Ibn Khaldūn sees ṣūfism as a gradual development analogous to the other sciences of Islam, and he marks the writings of Ibnu'l-'Arabī, Ibn Sab'īn, Ibnu'l Fārid, etc., as finally expressive of the definite intermingling with heterodox sects, such as the Neo-Isma'īlīs. He notes in ṣūfism the development from a *ṭarīqa* in its earlier stages meaning a way of life, moral and disciplinary, for the practical psychological guidance of the individual, for a more interior conception of Islam, towards a *ṭarīqa* in its later (11th century) meaning as a system for spiritual, mental training reserved for closed circles of initiated and secret fraternities and a theology incomprehensible for the normal individual. Whilst parallel with this develops a conception of the Mystical Union from being considered as a supreme grace of God, a reward for self-exertion, accepted as an "extra" and not searched nor expatiated upon or exploited, towards a Mystical Union searched *for its own sake* because of the knowledge of and power over the Unseen which it can afford.

That Ibn Khaldūn describes this earlier *ṭarīqa* as of "general prevalence" amongst the Companions and earliest adherents of Islam should be taken as a pious exaggeration rather than as a historical error.

1. Massignon: *Essai*, 59.

2. Massignon: *Essai*, 61/62.

3. The distinctive feature of the two phases is seen by Massignon in the two main and fundamental aspects of Mysticism, viz., its conception of the Mystical Union, and its social influence.

In this the author only follows the example of so many ṣufi writers, who generally included in their writings one or more chapters on the example given by the earliest followers of Islam.

Analogous to the two main phases in the development of ṣufism, Ibn Khaldūn has divided his essay into two halves. And with these two halves correspond two different aspects of Ibn Khaldūn's character. In the first half he is the moraliser, the reformer, the observer of human behaviour, the practical thinker concerned with social/ethical values. He investigates how these values arise and can be maintained. For this reason mysticism has a high place in his estimation. The later development, however, offers very little which is of general value for human society, and thus it seems quite natural that he does not seem to think it worthwhile to even so much as mention the ṣufi fraternities and orders which in his time must have been already spread throughout the lands of Islam. That in spite of this, he gives much space to an exposition (and often a sort of defence) of the mystical cosmogonies and ideogonies of the late speculative mystics, is due to the other Ibn Khaldūn which we have mentioned already on p. 271. He is too much interested in himself. His own intellectual curiosity leads him to consider metaphysical speculations which he realises to be of little or no ethical value and in fact full of much real danger for a religiously based society. He keenly realises their disintegrating effect, but he just cannot help himself. Thus, whereas in the first half there is an urgency in his manner of expressing and explaining,—he wants to convince his reader,—in the second half, he merely sums up a few of the existing cosmogonical conceptions by the mouth of their representatives, jotting down some of their ideas and symbols, without any desire to commit himself.

THE EARLIER PHASE

It is interesting too that Ghazzālī does not receive his due ; he is only mentioned in passing, when some ṣufis and their books are enumerated. The whole accent of the first half of the essay falls on al-Qushayrī, and it is on Qushayrī that the author based his arguments. Al-Qushayrī, who had already a little earlier made an attempt at reconciliation between ṣufism and orthodox Islam, is an entirely different type of man from Ghazzālī. Qushayrī, erudite and æsthetic, was above everything else a ṣufi, who tries to reform ṣufism itself which in his time had lost much of its strength and vitality, by reinstating it on a basis of discipline ; his famous *Risala* was a direct appeal to the ṣufi fraternity. Al-Ghazzālī, however, was predominantly a religious philosopher, tortured by the conflict between heart and mind, and revolting against the formalism prevalent in Islam. He sent out his *Ihya* to the whole Islamic community in an effort to revivify faith by proving that religious *knowledge* must be supplemented by religious *experience*.

Thus al-Qushayrī recalling sufism to conformance must needs seek a rapprochement with the rules of the materialistic rationalism of the atomistic *kalām*, whereas Ghazzālī, seeking deliverance from the strict mental determination of values must find himself confronted with the spiritual intellectualism of the *falāsifa*.

What Ibn Khaldūn expects from sufism and values in it is not Ghazzālī's conclusion that sufism is the only way out of the problem, faith *versus* knowledge (Ibn Khaldūn had no such problem having made up his mind long ago that the two are ultimately irreconcilable. Ibn Khaldūn was not a tortured soul !), but al-Qushayrī's view that, provided sufism is kept within the bounds of disciplined Islam, provided it is controlled by Islamic theology, the solution it affords is ethical.

Sufism as an excellent rule for human conduct, as a way towards moral values can be a great contributing factor to the development and maintenance of civilisation. This is our author's emphasis all through the first half of the essay. Noticeable is the predominance given to such notions as *mujāhada*, *muḥāsaba* and '*ibāda*, *tā'a*, *imān* and *ikhlāṣ*, whereas Ghazzālī-notions such as *ḥubb'allah*, *shawq*, *uns*, *riḍā*, are totally omitted. For the same reason also, he makes a sharp distinction,—a distinction not always upheld by the mystics themselves,—between the mystical experience based upon the Islamic theological doctrine and any other kind of mysticism like that of the Christians and the Magians ; for the former he uses the term *istaqāma*, the straight road of Islam as laid down in the Qur'anic revelation, '*aṣ-ṣiraṭa'l-mustaqīma* of the first *sura*, and he makes it quite clear that what he is considering is not mysticism in general but Islamic mysticism.

THE MYSTIC'S PSYCHOLOGY

His short psychology of the Mystic shows that he has understood the process of inner transformation of the self which is the beginning and end of the Mystical Path. The entire emphasis falls on "self-consciousness" or "self-awareness" which, in his opinion, is the distinguishing characteristic of human beings : man, in contrast to animals and other living beings, knows that he knows, that he feels and that he wills. According to Ibn Khaldūn this self-awareness is of two kinds—"conceptual" and "perceptual"—and it is the latter which by moral discipline (*mujāhada*) and devotional training ('*ibāda*) can select and encourage passing moods (*aḥwāl*) and develop them into permanent states of the soul (*maqāmāt*),* so that a quality (*ṣifa*) *advening* to the soul becomes a "second nature" (*malaka*), permanently inhering in the soul. In a later passage he explains how the spirit thus becomes trained to turn from the external senses to the internal senses (*al-ḥissu'l*

* The technical translations of *aḥwāl* and *maqāmāt* are "states" and "stations."

batīna) whereby the functions of the sensual soul weaken and those of the spiritual soul become strengthened, and so the spirit increases in power and receives a new vigour. Thus the spirit continues to grow in force until it becomes seeing (*shuhūdān*) where before it was only knowing (*'ilman*). Then is fulfilled the soul's true being and what belongs to it by and through its very essence: it receives the Divine Graces (*mawāhib*), infused knowledge (*'ulūm ladūnniyya*) and direct access to the Divine Reality (*fath Ilāhi*), and the spirit reaches the highest sphere that of the Angels, or "the Worlds of God's Command" (*'awālim min 'amr Ilāhi*). For, Ibn Khaldūn says it very clearly, Man's spirit belongs to this World. This reference to Qur'an, XVII, 85 shows that the author is acquainted with the Logos doctrine of the Muḥammadan mystics.

This is sufficient to show that in the first half of the essay, the author reproduces faithfully the ideas of the moderate, earlier devotional mystics ("the people of the *Risala*" as he calls them), on the two fundamental points: the final realisation is not a divinisation of man but an attainment of the sphere of the Logos; and the final realisation is, though a human endeavour and rightfully belonging to the essence of "human-ness" ultimately not a human achievement, but a Grace of God.

This position is definitely maintained even in the new Introduction, inserted later which we have discussed earlier, and where this inner perception is mentioned by its proper name *wijdān*, and where it is again, but now more to the point, made responsible for all man's higher knowledge. I do not think that Ibn Khaldūn ever, at least as far as we can follow him, conceded these two points to the later speculative mystics. In this he remained, to my knowledge, entirely within Islam. A development, however, is noticeable on other points.

For, there is more in this *wijdān* once it is admitted as a source of knowledge: it must, inevitably lead to new metaphysical notions and to entirely different psychological/cosmological conceptions. But this seems not yet to have been realised by the earlier Ibn Khaldūn of the Chapter on Mysticism as it was originally written. Therefore, when he describes the new cosmogonical systems of the later mystics, in the second half of the essay, he still appears to look upon them as rather queer, abstruse and daring.

THE LATER PHASE

In order to appreciate Ibn Khaldūn's personal conclusions we must reproduce briefly the manner in which he presents the later mystical speculations.

The transition to later mysticism is here represented as due mainly to, what we would term, external causes (for the internal necessity, inherent in the mystic's new epistemology, was not yet seen by Ibn Khaldūn). Mystics, he says over and over again, should not expatiate on their

knowledge. "But," in our author's own words, "in the time when the body of general knowledge was reduced to writing, and the learned Doctors composed works on Canon Law and its Fundamentals on Theology, Exegesis and other subjects," also the mystics began to write books on their experiences. Mysticism became a "science," its rules and practices were systematised, its principles fixed, its linguistic expression became a "technical terminology"—or, at least, an effort to achieve this was made. And then, to put it in popular words, the trouble began. Then the mystics began to feel the need of a mystical psychology to explain how the veil of the senses could be removed (*kashf*), they had to construe a cosmology to harbour their visions and revelations in a coherent system. And it is thus with regret, but also with secret delight, but all the same with something near to scruple that Ibn Khaldūn enters upon the second phase of mysticism.

In order to be able to embrace the whole of the later development within the space of a few pages, Ibn Khaldūn makes a very approximate, possibly arbitrary division into two main groups, which I have given, for the sake of convenience, the two names of *shuhūdiyya* and *wujūdiyya* since they seem more or less to respond to what is generally understood under these notions. If they do not, that is if Ibn Khaldūn's descriptions of these two systems do not correspond with what is meant by these two terms, the mistake is Ibn Khaldūn's for my two appellations originate solely from the names he himself gives to the two systems (see the short summary of the Chapter).

The Shuhūdiyya.

The author begins with the *Shuhūdiyya*. Al Farghānī, (d. 1299) though strongly influenced by Ibnu'l-'Arabī, started from the basis laid down by Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl, the Illuminist (*ishrāqī*). He conceived Reality as Light, and saw all becoming as a neoplatonic emanation from this Light, and all being as relations of Light and Darkness. The origin of all becoming, the first emanational manifestation of Reality, is this Light shining on its own Self, as also Ibn Khaldūn mentions, after which he describes the subsequent emanations. As usual, our author here just juggles with any number of terms and symbols without much effort to explain and without any very clear phrasing, in a supreme attempt to comprise in a few sentences all the notions and ideas ever brought forward by this School of Mystics. In his defence it must be said, however, that hardly any of the later mystics which are here dealt with stand out for systematic coherence or consistency, whilst in their pathetic effort to reconcile their various visions, they themselves make use of any available notion ever used in Qur'an or early Theology in order to express the inexpressible and to remain, in spite of everything, within the fold. Nevertheless, the general emanational outline can be discerned in Ibn Khaldūn's description.

There is first a rather abortive attempt to explain the fundamental triplicity (*tathlith*) of Being in relation to becoming. It is the fundamental triplicity of all Dialectic (cf. Hegel's thesis-antithesis-synthesis). Here it is: (1) Being self-identified with its own One-ness and Its Own Knowledge of it (Ibn Khaldūn's term *dhāt karīma* or '*aynu'l-wahda*'), (2) Being knowing Itself as One in relation to Itself (Ibn Khaldūn's term: (*aḥadiyya*)), (3) Being knowing Itself as One in relation to the Many (Ibn Khaldūn's term: *waiḥdaniyya*). It is the Triad which in one form or other recurs with many of the thinkers of this Group, and is inevitable when Reality is conceived as Thought positing Itself as Thought, or One knowing Itself as One.

As first emanation is mentioned the '*alamu'l ma'āni*', the *ḥaḍra kamāliyya* and the *ḥaqīqa muḥammadiyya*. They represent the first outpour of the content of God's consciousness. Here we are in the presence (*ḥaḍra*) or world ('*alam*') in which takes place that degree of individualisation of the Essence (*dhāt*) in which all things are already separated from this Essence as its Self-Consciousness. They have positive Existence without as yet having concrete existence. They are existing as pure Universal Ideas (*ma'āni*) or most perfectly fulfilled forms (*kamāliyya*), i.e., pure intelligibility, as yet not limited by actual corporeal individualised existences. Another way of looking at them is as constituting the idea: Muḥammad (*ḥaqīqa muḥammadiyya*) which hypostatizes the self-manifestational aspect of God and is as such God's pure image and man's prototype. This sphere comprises at the same time the "ideal" particularisations required to descend in manifestations, such as the instruments of creation (*lawḥ, qalam*), the instruments of revelation (*rusul, anbiya'*) and the collective idea of the Islamic body, which last idea could be compared to the "Invisible Church," or Augustin's "Divine City" or Calvin's "Holy Community;" but as idea much farther developed for here it is generally accepted that the totality of the "Islamic Community" as a Universal Idea existed already before its disintegration in individual souls.

All this, Ibn Khaldūn continues, is contained in that intermediate world which is called *Ḥaḍratu'l-'Amā'iyya*.* Then, by further emanation comes forth a lower plane *ḥaḍra* in which all these pure intelligibles have found a "corpus" (*haba'*). The time and spaceless entities become fixed in time and space, as sunbeams in a dark room become "fixed" by the dust particles, and thus become visible to the

* Why has this, in the Oriental editions, been changed into *ḥaḍratu'l-kamāliyya*? It is obvious that this '*ama*' here is not Jili's "blind unconscious power," "the absolute inwardness and occultation" (Nic. Stud. 95), but Ibnu'l 'Arabi's '*ama*' (see Nyberg, Introd. 155f), a term denoting the first form of *manifestation* (see Ibnu'l 'Arabi's "Uqla" p. 57 in Nyberg's *Kleinere Schriften*). That the frame of reference should be Ibnu'l 'Arabi's system is also clear from the place occupied by the Throne ('*arsh*') as the link connecting the middle world with the individualisations of the lower, material world. It is the '*arsh Rahmani*' of Ibnu'l 'Arabi's "Uqla" pp. 56 ff. That Ibnu'l 'Arabi has also another Throne situated between God and the middle world (in his *Tadhkirat* and *Futuḥat*) has caused much confusion (see Nyb. Kl. Schr. 110, 153, 140 ff.).

mental eye. They have acquired as yet no concrete existence, but are present as conceptual or generally presentational entities. Another way of expressing this is that they are a kind of being of the order of metaphors (*martabatu'l mithāl*), which connotes more clearly their purely logical existence (or subsistence), for these *mithāl* do not signify their veritable form (*ṣura*) which is equivalent to their essence, but merely a symbol or type, which resembles the reality only in certain qualities. From these then descend the Throne ('*arsh*) and the Footstool (*kursi*), as well as all heavenly and earthly bodies, first the "elements," then the "compounds."

Although we have tried to be a little more explicit on the fundamental points, we have remained closely enough to Ibn Khaldūn's text to give the reader an idea how he summarises al Farghānī's cosmogonical system as this appears from his *Muntaha-ul-Madarik* a commentary on Ibnu'l Fāriḍ's poem "*At-ta'yya Al-kubra*." *

On this system the author says: "It is a conception which those who are accustomed to proceed by rational reasoning cannot possibly understand in all its implications. It is too obscure and abstruse, and the difference in the way of expression between the people of the Mystic Vision (*Mushāhada*) and the Interior Senses, and those of rational demonstration is too great." And he proceeds, again introducing his sentence with the irritating *Rubbama'*; "Perhaps, (or possibly or whatever he may mean with it) this conception should be rejected on the evidence of the Law."

The Wujūdiyya.

Then the author passes on to the school of thought which we have termed *wujūdiyya* and he commences by saying: "Now this is a conception which is even stranger than the former and even more difficult to understand." His explanations here are nevertheless considerably more lucid, and what is more, he does not reproduce somebody else's ideas, he does not only describe, but he really *explains*, and he uses considerably more space in doing so. Whereas he was obviously rather impatient of the complicated cosmogonies and ideogonies of the first-mentioned group, here he goes nearly out of his way to convince the reader. He builds up for him a universe in all its degrees and variations of being as a "power" (*quwwa*) containing another power of lower degree, containing again another power of still lower degree, etc. The all-containing power is "what is called the Divine Power," he says, and then he continues (mixing his metaphors). "This Divine Power is disseminated (*Inbaththat*) in all things existing, general and particular, manifest or latent, "form" as well as "matter," uniting everything and comprising everything." Thus: "Everything is One, and

* This poem is translated by Nicholson in his *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge, 1921.

this is the Essence of the Divine Itself, Which in reality is One and Uncompounded." Then he proceeds by explaining that all the variations and differentiations, all that plurality of being which we observe in the world around us, are, according to this school, only existing in our mind, as mental/verbal concepts, but do not exist in reality. He explains this by the well-known example taken "from the philosophers" as to the existence of colours, namely "that their existence is conditioned by the light that falls on them; if there is no light, there are no colours." A second example is brought forward, now taken "from the şufis," namely that of a sleeper: "When a man sleeps, then also his external senses are asleep, and for him there are no sensibles."

"This is briefly their conception as far as we can understand it from Ibn Dahqān's exposé," says the author. The writer has no knowledge of this Ibn Dahqān, but Ibn Khaldūn's description of the Universe as a Power within a Power within a Power, reminds one naturally of Jīlī's* conception of the Cosmos as "a dream within a dream within a dream" (*khāyālōn fī khayālīn fī khayālī*) as developed in his *al insānu'l kāmīl*. It also irresistibly draws out in our memory that beautiful poem of Rūmī, in his *Mathnawī*, Book IV and translated by Iqbal in his "*Meta-physics in Persia*," p. 117.

Ibn Khaldūn's conclusion on this "Ball within a ball within a Ball" conception of the Universe is as follows. "It is a precarious doctrine, for we know with certainty that the land whence we as travellers have come and whither we are going, really exists although it is hidden from our eyes." We see the sky and the stars, he continues, and we are absolutely certain that they exist as separate entities, and nobody should know better than what his own convictions tell him, in spite of the fact that there are Mystics who contend that they have actually verified or realised this ultimate One-ness of the All. And even those Mystics, though they may have been given the faculty of experiencing the Unity of all Being, insist that one must not remain at the station of Union (*Jam'*), but that one must ascend still higher and again distinguish the particular modes of existence which station they then call that of Separateness (*farq*), for otherwise the Mystic loses what he has bargained for.

If anything can be taken from these statements, it must needs be very little. Obviously, the careful author withholds his own opinion. Although he does not seem very favourably inclined towards the first-mentioned conception, and his interest in the emanational cycles seems very small indeed, and although he appears to treat the second conception with greater emphasis, I do not think that there are sufficient indications that his leanings were already at this stage definitely towards the *wujūdīyya*. He is still in the stage of playing about with fascinating and exciting theories, by which he is highly attracted, but of which he is all the same slightly afraid. His main objection against the Absolute

*Nicholson, op. cit. in which Jīlī's work is partly translated and partly described and explained.

Monists seems to be their position of epistemological Idealism, against which his common-sense revolts. It may be, however, that what he actually wants to say is that the monistic point of view should never be adopted as a dogma to be believed in like any of the other tenets of Islam even if one's *convictions* based on the sense perceptions would be opposed to it, but that it is only for those who have actually experienced this Absolute Unity of the All.

THE FIRST ADDITION ON WIJDĀN

The epistemological problem, however, must have occupied the later Ibn Khaldūn considerably. He must have discovered that the Mystic's acceptance of *wijdān* carries with it the most far-reaching consequences, for it is precisely at the mystic's organs of knowledge, the *wijdān-īyyat*, that the first marginal addition is attached. And it is on this occasion that he finds his opportunity in once more describing the two monistic systems as direct consequences of the mystic's epistemology. And here we find our author's most direct statements on the two schools, and there is no more wavering, nor withholding.

The context is as follows. After having briefly reviewed the notions put forward by the theologians and philosophers as to the nature of God's relations to the world (a fundamental problem of Islam, in fact of all revealed religions recognizing a personal God and thereby involving an (apparent) dualism between God and the World, between Creator and Created, the dualism inherent in all Theism), the author proffers the two monistic conceptions as definite solutions of this problem: They proclaim the identity (natural, existential, subsistential or essential), *i.e.*, *ittiḥād* or *tawḥīd* of God and the world, representing this Unity in two different ways. "According to the first, the Eternal Essence is latent in things temporal, sensibles as well as intelligibles and is united with them in these two forms of presentation; they are the external manifestations of the Divine and He perseveres in them, *i.e.*, He is their Up-holder in the sense that without Him they would not exist": This, says the author, is the opinion of those who believe in infusion (*ḥulūl*) or incarnation. This is what the Christians claim for their Messiah, and also the Imamites hold the same belief as to their Imāms. It is, according to Ibn Khaldūn, a very strange belief, for it implies the infusion of the Eternal in a temporal, or else their union or identity (*ittiḥād*). The second explanation is offered by those who believe in the doctrine of Absolute Monism (*al-waḥdatul muṭlaqa*): "As if they apprehended that the doctrine of Infusion implies an Other-ness (*ghayriyyah*) which is inconsistent with the idea of One-ness, they refuse altogether to differentiate in essence, in existence and in attributes between the Eternal and things created; they consider the doctrine of Other-ness erroneous and contend that the sensual and intellectual perceptions, far

from being manifestations of the Eternal essence are actually human creations, and as such *awham*." This is the plural of *wahm* and Ibn Khaldūn explains clearly in what sense this ambiguous term must be taken, namely as producing purely subjective entities, which in reality are non-existent. In reality, there is no existence except God. For further elaboration he refers to what he has said already before in the original chapter on Mysticism, and more he apparently does not intend to say. With great stress, however, he mentions again "that this cosmic conception cannot be understood according to the rules of conceptual thinking, or as he calls it "the rules of deduction and induction;" whoever tries to do this strays in error. Knowledge of this last-mentioned monistic type derives from "angelic perceptions," and these can only be experienced "by the prophets and after them the saints, the former on the strength of their inborn nature, the latter by Divine Guidance."

The briefness and assurance by which the two systems are here characterised in their essential features stand in sharp contrast to the long and uncertain groupings which we have described earlier. Ibn Khaldūn now knows about the two great mystical schools, what he wants to know about them, and he has made up his mind. In ascribing the knowledge of the *wujūdiyya* type to the prophets he gives himself away. There is no other passage in the whole Prolegomena where our author states more clearly his unquestionable belief in and adherence to the doctrine of Absolute Monism (*al-wahdatu'l muṭlaqa*) or otherwise called Existential Monism (*wahdatu'l wujūd*).

That his opinion as exposed here was not a momentary impulse but an all-pervading conviction is corroborated by the New Introduction which we have already summarised above and wherein his whole epistemology/cosmology is based on the principle of Monism.

THE SECOND MARGINAL ADDITION

We must emphasise here "the principle of Monism" for it is doubtful whether he followed Ibnu'l 'Arabī and his school in many of their further elaborations or in that thick "overgrowth" of ideas and institutions which the later ṣufis came to adopt. His original opinion on these did not change later on. His historical eye had detected the influence exerted on these ṣufis by the Imamites amongst whom he specially mentions the neo-Isma'īlīs.* He explains the rise of the idea of the *Qutb* as a borrowing from the institution of the Imām. "They have gone even further" he says, "for in order to establish the wearing of the ṣufi robe in their Order and Congregation on a firm basis of tradition (*asnada*) they ascribed it to 'Alī, which is another instance of their borrowing of ideas from the Heretics." In a later marginal addition he even felt himself compelled to enlarge on this subject of ṣufi borrowings from the "Rāfiḍa,"

*This is corroborated by modern research, for instance Tor Andrea: "Die Person Muhammads."

as he calls them. He mentions the *ẓāhir-bāṭin* juxtaposition as another instance and a fundamental one, of such borrowings; in this they found an additional justification for the institution of the *Qutb*, for they maintained that "just like the Shi'ite Imam was authoritative for the external meaning (*ẓāhir*) of God's Law, so the Ṣufi *Qutb* was a necessary guide to teach the internal meaning (*bāṭin*) of God's Words."

Ibn Khaldūn does not follow Ibnu'l 'Arabī's school in everything. He accepts the principle and is against many of the later constructions and embellishments and other developments; he sees the dangers of a too far developed *ẓāhir-bāṭin* distinction, for does it not enable the "Heretics" as well as the "Heretical Mystics" to read into the simple Word of the Qur'an any desirable doctrine or idea? Was it not on the strength of a supposed "internal" meaning of certain expressions and words of the Qur'an that the mystics put forth their emanational symbols and notions such as, for instance, the words *rataq* and *fataq* (Qur'an, XXI, 30) the notions of *kursi*, *'arsh* (Qur'an, II, 256, XXXVIII 33; XXXII 4; XL 15, etc.) and many others, whereas, according to Ibn Khaldūn, "there is nothing in the Divine Law which could lead us to assume such like emanational sequence."

THE APPENDIX ON TAWḤID

That he accepts utterly and completely the principle of Absolute Monism, for that we have further evidence in a most interesting appendix on the idea of *tawḥid*, an appendix strangely omitted by all editions except that of Quatremere. Here, however, we have nothing so direct as in the aforementioned passage, which is possibly due to the fact that this passage, introduced as an appendix to the actual essay, appears very nearly contemporary to the text, and not as the other additions of a much later date. But although the author here does not speak himself, but puts the defence of Haravī's well-known verses in the mouth of somebody which he calls his teacher, the very fact that he goes out of his way and out of the natural course of his essay in order to repeat at length his teacher's Apologia, seems tantamount to his approval. At the same time it shows the importance Ibn Khaldūn attached to the problem.

Since the Paris edition is extremely rare, I may be forgiven if I quote here the verses in question,* in my own deficient translation, for only if one realises that they assert nothing less than that whoever declares the Unity of God is a heretic, one can understand the strength of conviction which prompted our author to expatiate on them even though only in an indirect manner.

"None can declare one Him Who is One, since all who do so are deniers.

*They have been translated in French (better than de Slane's translation) by Massignon in his "Passion d'al Hallaj," p. 788.

“ The enunciation of God’s One-ness, by adding an epithet (to Him
Who is without epithet)

“ Is only a dualisation, which the One Himself nullifies.

“ His Own Unity is His Own Unification

“ And those who describe Him with the epithet ‘ One ’ are heretics.”

Because of verses such as these al-Harawī was decried a madman and a dangerous, heretical ṣufī, but Ibn Khaldūn undertakes to devote several pages to reproduce words spoken in his defence.

The argument runs as follows. The doctrine of God Unity (*tawhid*) implies the abnegation of the existence of all temporal things. By declaring God’s One-ness, the declarer himself posits his own existence (namely as declarer), thereby affirming the existence of a not-being. It is, says Ibn Khaldūn’s teacher, as though, when two people are together in one house, one says to the other : “ There is no one in the house besides you.” As usual, Ibn Khaldūn reproduces the example far from logically correct, but the meaning can be surmised. “ The trouble,” he continues, “ is only caused by the weakness in our language which does not lend itself to the expression of abstract realities and by the deficiency of the words to render the Truth in and by them.” He gives a further example of such linguistic difficulties. But, on the other hand, one only tries to express God’s Unity if one has not yet attained the ultimate mystical experience of this One-ness Itself, for once the station of *jam’* (union) has been reached, “ the dualism God-World recedes and nothing remains but the consciousness of the Absolute One-ness, and then this need no more be pronounced in words or observed in the mind.”

The poet only spoke these words as an exhortation and a reminder to show that there is such a higher consciousness in which God’s One-ness is no more spoken nor thought about, but experienced, and therefore, there is a stage in the development of man’s soul, when the pronouncement of God’s Unity becomes “ an evil deed,” for it shows that one has not yet attained the highest stage.

The passage ends by condemning all the useless discussions which have arisen around these verses, for no one can verify their truth but he who has actually experienced the same.

If the reader should not be convinced that it is really Ibn Khaldūn who is speaking here though through the words of his teacher, we can advance an interesting passage in the New Introduction, Chapter IV on Human and Angelic Knowledge in which, now the author himself touches the same subject, namely the impossibility for the mental/verbal concept to attain to Ultimate Reality. Ibn Khaldūn reproduces here in a few brief sentences what has become known in the history of Philosophy as Parmenides’ Principle of Contradiction,* since he was the first who in

* Since de Slane (II, 435) has not understood the point, and those who are dependent on his French translation would miss it, I give here the correct translation : “ In every logical problem there is always a contradiction between negation and affirmation (i.e., between $A=B$ and $A=\text{not } B$) because only one of the two can claim the intermediary of the copula between its two terms. (i.e., only one can be put : = :)”

the Western part of the world stated clearly this principle on which the whole of logic depends, and which is the logical form of the Principle of Identity: "non est negare et affirmare simul." The principle, as also stated by Ibn Khaldūn, dictates that each affirmation of a "being" since it implies at the same time the negation of its opposite, therefore states the being of a "not-being." It is, says Ibn Khaldūn, due to this contradiction (Ibn Khaldūn's term *taraddud*) that the road of logical reasoning and judgment can never lead to Reality, and that the other road must be chosen. On this other road, according to Parmenides, the truth of our knowledge is regulated by the object itself of our knowledge, the ontological reality itself, for this is the sense of Parmenides' famous statement: "It is the same thing to think and to be." It is the essence of being, the only possible object for thought, which is the ground and foundation of thought. Although Ibn Khaldūn's conclusion is the same, he does not state the last link in the chain of this argument for Absolute Monism, except in the metaphorical terms of "the veil" which ultimately hides the object of all conceptual knowledge, and which can only be lifted by what he calls "spiritual exercises" so that the object is seen by direct "eye to eye" vision, and the identity is seen with the perception of the inner eye (*'ayn idrākī*).

That such like discussions are not totally unexpected, but on the contrary mere amplifications and further explanations of a thought which possessed Ibn Khaldūn already at the time of writing his 'Prolegomena,' to this bears testimony his definition of *tawhīd* as this occurs in the chapter on *kalām*, which we have mentioned above. There it is said that *tawhīd* is our incapacity to arrive by means of inductive reasoning to the First Cause. This resembles closely the descriptions of *tawhīd* given by the earlier mystics, e.g., the definition attributed to Abū Bakr and reported by Junayd (d. 910 A.H.).*

IBN KHALDŪN'S CRITERIA FOR JUDGING THE MYSTIC

What remains for us to discuss is Ibn Khaldūn's opinion as to how the Islamic community in general and the legal elite in particular should judge the mystic. For this purpose he divides all the questions relative to mysticism and mystics into four main groups, which according to him must be dealt with and judged separately. They are:

- (1) The whole complex of moral and spiritual discipline involved in the "Mystical Path," and its states and stations.

* "The noblest saying concerning *tawhīd* is that of Abū-Bakr: Glory to God, Who has not vouchsafed to His creatures any means of attaining unto knowledge of Him except through impotence to attain knowledge unto Him," which is then explained by Hujwiri. "Kashfu'l Mahjub," translated by R. A. Nicholson, London, 1911, p. 284; similar sayings in Sarraj: *Kitab al-Luma fit-Taṣawwuf* ed. R. A. Nicholson, Gibb Memorial Series, Leiden 1914, pp. 28/35.

- (2) The whole contents of the Mystic's Revelation.
- (3) The influence and power over visible and invisible worlds which some advanced *ṣufis* claim and have proved to possess.
- (4) The utterances (*shathāt*) which issue from the mystic at the supreme moment of his ecstasy.

As to the first group, the moralist in Ibn Khaldūn approves wholeheartedly, and he also admits the third group, "the supernatural powers of the Mystic" (*karāmat*) are, he says, "an irrefutable truth," "and if there have been theologians who have condemned these, they have done so wrongly." He believes in the mystic's power to perform miracles, from his own experience as well as from the historical evidence (*sic*) of earliest Islam. All this is highly valuable since it contributes to strengthen the religious hold on the people, and thus further the unity of the Islamic community.

But precisely because religion has a social function the other aspects of *ṣufism* should not be encouraged. Any attempt by the mystic to express what he has seen, can only lead to confusion. The mystical experience being based on perceptions by the "inner senses" and language having been formed to convey notions of things perceived by the outer senses, no language can ever express what the mystic sees. Therefore, "it is befitting to raise no objections to their way of expression, and to abstain from further investigation." The people should consider all mystical descriptions as they are taught to consider the *Mutashābihāt*, those terms from the Islamic Revelations which have an ambiguous meaning. This also applies to the ecstatic utterances of the mystics. People should remember that mystics "are far removed from the world of the senses," and he who is "overwhelmed by supernatural forces is excusable and pardonable." As such a mystic should be considered, e.g., Abū Yazīd Bistāmi (d. 874). This mystic in a moment of ecstasy had exclaimed: "Glory be to me, Who is there more glorious than I!"¹ A mystic who was rightly condemned is, according to Ibn Khaldūn, al-Hallāj (d. 922).² In contrast to Bistāmi, who only uttered such seemingly blasphemous words in the actual moment of transportment, al-Hallāj persisted in his ecstatic language even after he had regained the full consciousness of his normal senses. A mystic should realise the tremendous responsibility he is carrying and should act accordingly. Whatever the mystic sees of things hidden or utters in words during his ecstasy, he should keep his knowledge to himself, for it should never have any further consequences in the way of a reorientation of the beliefs and doctrines of the officially established religion.

It is entirely in accordance with his condemnation of philosophy as anything more than a *method* of thinking, a method, as well as a vocabulary applied also by himself, that he disapproves of *ṣufism* when it

1. "Subhani! Ma A'zama Shani!"

2. Whose "*Ana'l Haqq*" has become notorious.

becomes anything more than a method of living. Therefore, in the same way as he rejects philosophy as a search after truth for its own sake, he disapproves of sufism as a way of obtaining knowledge for knowledge's sake. Ibn Khaldūn is keenly aware of the dangers threatening the unity of the revealed and traditionally established religion if the experiences of the mystic are accepted as supplementary to the great revelation of the Prophet Muḥammad. Accepting new sources of knowledge, either cognitional or inspirational, is the beginning of disintegration. This Ibn Khaldūn knows from his own observations of the 14th century Islam.

Evoking the example of the *salaf* as well as that of the earlier mystics, "the people of the Risala," who not only never told of their experiences but also "whenever a glimpse of the supernatural was shown to them, they at once turned their attention from it" and never concentrated on it neither in word nor in thought, he implores the mystics of his day to keep silent. At this stage, the author could do no more than impress upon the mystics their duty to refrain from explanations and descriptions, for he himself was still in doubt and uncertainty in how far the visions of the later mystics, described at length in their writings, did not, all the same, contain some truth. As we have seen and explained on page 282 the later Ibn Khaldūn had no doubt left any more as to the impossibility for the mystic to have any determinate and particularised knowledge of the higher worlds. At this later stage he gives the definite lie to all the complicated cosmogonies and ideogonies of the later mystics, declaring them with that one sentence which we quoted, to be only subjective formulations of a truth of which only the Qur'an has given objectively valid expression.

From the whole Prolegomena it is clear that he never conceded any apostolic rights to other than Muḥammad. What may possibly be Ibn Khaldūn's dethronement of the Prophet's revelation as the highest metaphysical truth, can nowhere be construed as implying the enthronement of any other. Throughout he disapproves of the 'Alide branches of the great Islamic tree. Islam is God's revelation as given to the Prophet Muḥammad and as laid down in the Qur'an. Those who cannot in any way attain to direct knowledge of this Truth contained and expressed therein, should believe unquestioningly in the Word and obey the Command. For this is the best way for man, this only enables him to live a good physical and social life. As for the others, Ibn Khaldūn could himself have said the words which he quotes from his favourite teacher: "The good acts of the pious are the evil acts of those who are near God."*

As a final criterion to be applied in any case of doubt to any mystic whose words give rise to uncertainty as to his orthodoxy, Ibn Khaldūn mentions the mystic's conduct. For even the highest saint should

* *Hasanatu'l Abrari Saiy'atu'l Muqarribinā* (quoted in the *Tawḥid* addition to the Chapter on Mysticism). The last term denotes the advanced sufis.

conform to the standards and rules of Islamic society. Therefore even if he utters the wildest-sounding heretical statements, "if his merits and those of his disciples are known to be above suspicion, he should be given the credit of his good intentions." Owing to the natural tendency of all mysticism to transcend the ethical level, a warning like this one does not seem out of place in a time of which we know that some mystics were beginning to allow themselves the most extravagances of behaviour. This is a criterion which even today will be applauded by every well-intentioned and sound-thinking observer of society, and it does credit to Ibn Khaldūn's fundamentally sensible social conceptions.

CONCLUSION

I think we have now discussed all important points relevant to Ibn Khaldūn's attitude towards religion, and his undeniable leanings towards Absolute Monism, although he hesitates to accept many of the elaborations and adaptations with which most Absolute Monists in Islam have busied themselves, and although there is no direct evidence that Ibn Khaldūn adhered to anything but the bare principle of Monism.

The starting-point of any analysis of Ibn Khaldūn's attitude towards religion must always be his utter disbelief in human reason to attain to highest knowledge, *i.e.*, he rejects reason as a means to search for the ultimate criteria by which our beliefs can be validated and real knowledge attained. For those who have this mistrust of reason as a way to attaining knowledge other than strictly material, three other ways are open: either Scepticism or Authoritarianism or Mysticism. After all we have explained above, no one can proclaim Ibn Khaldūn a sceptic, taking into account that the true sceptic not only says "*ignoramus*" (we do not know), but "*ignorabimus*" (we can never know). Shall we then have to call Ibn Khaldūn an authoritarian or a mystic? For either of the two there seems to be much evidence, as we have seen. There are passages in which he demands unquestionable belief in the prophetic revelations, numerous passages, throughout the book. In other passages, much rarer ones, he seems to leave the authority of the Prophet entirely out of consideration. It is this which has puzzled most biographers.

First of all we must stress that these two seemingly contradicting features are very often combined in one person, for it must not be forgotten that most "Mystics" are only mystics in so far as they choose mystics as their authority rather than philosophers or scientists or any other experts. But with Ibn Khaldūn the case is slightly different, for in his "mystical moods" he is far removed from any authoritarianism. Whereas when he talks about religion he is strictly authoritarian. He distinguishes "religion" as a product of practical reason from something else and something higher which is the outcome of what he calls "contemplative reason."

We cannot understand Ibn Khaldūn if we do not remember that his world-view is such as to allow for the existence of several orders of being in the universe and that consequently he assigns different ways of approach according as the objects belong to a different domain of experience, of different levels of being.

The reader will remember what we have explained as to Ibn Khaldūn's fundamental conception of *ittiṣāl*, as well as his three kinds or degrees of *fikr*. For things of this world, purely material, physical things, as also in the realm of his own science of sociology, he is the empiricist, his method is purely empirical, *i.e.*, he observes particular occurrences and concrete relations from which he then derives general laws. And in so far as the exigencies of practical conduct are often prevailing in his judgment, and he is content to test beliefs and values by their practical results, he is eminently the pragmatist, in the modern sense of the word. Empiricism and pragmatism go often together and are not always easy to distinguish.

When we leave that order of being in which sense-perception plays a predominant part we enter into a domain where other factors more difficult to name begin to participate, like when we study, *e.g.*, man in general, or in other words society and its general rules of conduct, general institutions, general beliefs, customs, political, economic and educational. Here as we have seen, he places religion and here he demands acceptance of authority (*taqlīd*) and obedience to the Revelation (*istima'*) and to Tradition (*ittiba'*).¹ Here he is the downright authoritarian. For Islam has been one of the main factors which contributed to the greatness and success of the Arabic-speaking world and in Islam is the guarantee for its maintenance. Here, in the social/moral domain, he is as orthodox as the most orthodox of the Church fathers. He upholds al-Ash'ari's *bi la kayfa* (without asking how) to the full, and even goes farther than the founder of Islamic Theology, in admitting none of *kalām*. For socially man has to conform, and even the mystics have to conform. This is the attitude of ethical utilitarianism; that is, which looks upon all moral codes and religious beliefs from the standpoint of pure expediency. But when we arrive at the domain where the objects can only be approached by what Ibn Khaldūn calls "contemplation," when we have left far behind us man as a mineral/vegetable/animal when we have also left man as a social animal,² and have entered upon man as a seeker after absolute truth, that is a truth no more relative to man's physical subsistence, nor to his social co-existence, but a truth in which, according to Ibn Khaldūn man's true existence is revealed, then he leaves behind him all authority, and in the privacy of his own true self, he not only rejects an *Imām* and a *qutb*, but also the intermediacy of the Prophet himself. Then, according to Ibn

1. These are the very words used by Ibn Khaldūn in the New Introduction to Section VI, Chapter III.

2. Aristotle's well-known statement has been reproduced by our author in the opening sentences of Chapter III of the New Introduction to Section VI.

Khaldūn, there is nothing any more but the experience of the One-ness Itself, which leaves no room for anything else but God.

There is nothing so very surprising in all this. MacDonald has already stated that "...It is not strange to find that all Muslim thinkers have been tinged with Mysticism to a greater or lesser degree, though they may not all have embraced formal Sufism and accepted its vocabulary and systems,"* and even Ibn Khaldūn is no exception.

MIYA SYRIER.

*MacDonald's *Life of Ghazzali* JAOS, 20, first half, p. 118.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

The Tarikh Rahat Afzā :

MR. KHURSHID ALI, ex-Director of the Daftari-Diḡānī-wa-Mal has a very laudable scheme, that is, to publish very rare and valuable manuscripts which should be made accessible to students of the Deccan History. As the valuable manuscripts are scattered in various libraries it is not easily accessible to students, much less, time to refer them. Sometimes two or three copies of the same manuscripts are found written by different copyists. These contain errors of omissions and commissions and at times these are incomplete and as such it is not in the purview of scholars to utilise.

Mr. Khurshid Ali deserves to be congratulated for not only giving the rare manuscripts a new lease of life but also making them accessible to scholars.

Under his scheme the manuscript published is ' *The Tarikh Rahat Afzā* ' of Sayyid Muhammad Ali A'l Husain, being the first of the series. The *Tarikh Rahat Afzā* deals with the Timuri Sultans and covers the period from 736 A.H. to 1173 A.H. The book is divided into two parts. The first part concerns with the Timuri Sultan and his successors of Iran and Turan. While in the second part the author surveys the Mughal Rule and deals at great length with the reign of Asaf Jah I, Nawab Nasir Jung, the Martyr, Nawab Muzzafer Jung, and Salabat Jung.

The author being a contemporary his work should be considered authentic. Besides *Rahat Afzā*, he has also written *Burhan-ul-Futuh* whose revised version was incorporated in *Mirat-us-Shafa*.

The writing of the *Tarikh Rahat Afzā* commenced at the instance of Nawab Mir Najab Ali Khan Bahadur Shamshir Jung.

Two manuscript copies of this work are preserved in the State Library. One bears the date of 12th Ramaḡān, 1185 A.H., which is more valuable as it was copied twelve years after the narrative was completed. The copyist's name is Muzzafer Husain Hyderabadī while the other copy of the same bears the date of 16th Ramaḡān, 1298. This was written very late as is shown by the date given by the copyist named Sayyid Baqur son of Sayyid Muhammad. A third copy of the same with many errors is in the possession of Nawab Alam Yar Jung Bahadur.

After perusing and comparing these manuscripts Mr. Khurshid Ali has tried his best to reduce the errors as far as possible. Thus as the result of his laborious work the *Tarikh Rahat Afzā* is presented in one volume of 373 pages with a short note of introduction.

The *Maaşir-i-Nizami* of Lala Mause Ram is being edited and will form the 2nd volume of the series promised.

The "Aiwān :

A new Urdu monthly published by Sayyid Muqtār Muḥammad Kirmani, under the title of *Aiwān* has made its appearance in February, 1947, with the avowed object of inculcating interest in the Deccan History; and to give full publicity to the work of the great personages of the past who have played their part nobly.

In the first issue of this valuable Journal, which has kept up its high standard in its subsequent issues, there appears a very learned biographical sketch of Nawab Asaf Jah I from the pen of Mr. Khurshid Ali, which merits the attention of scholars.

In its subsequent issues we find interesting articles on some aspect or other of Asaf Jah's life—such as the seventeen point Testament of Asaf Jah—Asaf Jah's Character, Anecdote of Asaf Jah—and the principles of Government of Asaf Jah, etc., all these have been contributed by Mr. Khurshid Ali interesting as they are they deserve notice of scholars.

Intermediate College for Secunderabad :

H.E.H. the Nizam's Government are shortly opening an Intermediate College in Secunderabad; in the first instance it will have Arts classes, later on it will have Science sections too.

The Work of Government Translation Bureau :

The Government Translation Bureau has translated standard books which are classified as:—Philosophy 73, History 160, Economics and Sociology 22, Law 26, Science, Mathematics and Astronomy 42, Physics 29, Chemistry 26, Engineering 40, Medicine 43, Education 2, while the number of new technical terms coined are:—for Philosophy 2,173, History 500, Sociology 2,706, Education 5,370, Law 18,000, Science, Mathematics and Astronomy 1,696, Physics 2,000, Chemistry 2,452, Medicine 40,000, Engineering 10,000.

Besides this work, it has to its credit, 10,000 technical terms which form a first volume from A to E, of page 240, ready for publication.

The Rainbow :

This English Weekly has announced that hereafter it will reserve four pages of its issue for the Deccan History.

K.S.L.

DECCAN

We Muslims are one :

The Deccan Times, Madras has recently published some extracts from the speeches delivered by Dr. Abdul Wahhab Azzam, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Fuad I University, Cairo, Mr. Mustafa Momen, Prof. Hājji Rashidi and Djanamar Adjam of Indonesia at the Aligadh Muslim University on March 30, 1947. "Islam has given us a great culture and God has made us the preserver of it. And I (Dr. A. W. Azzam) am glad to say that we are proving ourselves more competent day by day as the custodian of that culture—'Verily the Muslims are brothers to one another'—*Quran*—Wherever I go in a Muslim country in the world anywhere I do not feel like a stranger." Quoted Iqbal's couplet :—

'The whole of Daru'l-Islam is our homeland, and other country we have none.'

"It has for a long time been my cherished desire to come into contact with Muslim India, and I am happy to say that I have been very much impressed to-day. The impressions which I now carry with me will be a message, I am going to deliver to Egypt. There is no need, I think, he added, to throw any light on Muslim brotherhood throughout the world as it is an established fact that the Muslims are *one* compact whole. I can emphatically say that I have found Aligadh much higher and far better than what I had thought it to be. I wish and pray to God that this University may attain a unique and signal position in the Muslim world. I cannot help meeting each and every Muslim as one of my own blood." Dr. Azzam revealed that he had started Urdu classes in Fuad I University and he promised to send Egyptian students to India to teach Arabic to the Muslims in India. "If you can collect the rays of Islam emanating from Morocco, Egypt, Pakistan, Iraq and Indonesia in the focus of the Quran and the *Kalema* you can smash not only foreign exploitation but the heathen culture from the Muslim countries all over the world," observed Mustafa Momen, the leader of the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt. He stressed the need of establishing "*one Muslim land, united and strong from the Atlantic to the Pacific.*" Hājji Rashidi of Indonesia said "We feel proud to say that we are Muslims and we thank you for that. It was the Muslims from India who first brought us the light. At the same time I feel sorry to say that for a long time we have been so cut off from and have

known so little about each other. This apathy between the Muslims of one country and another has been one of the root-causes of the disintegration of Muslim power in the world. I feel very much delighted in addressing you when I remember that you had helped us a lot in our fight against the Dutch exploitation by stretching your hand of friendship towards us. Prof. Djanamar Adjam, editor of *Al-Djihad* of Indonesia, expressed his countrymen's desire and anxiety to establish relations with other countries. Muslim University in Asia as such occupies a very privileged position in the Muslim world of Asia. We wish Aligadh to be a great seat of learning for all of us." Iqbal has well said :—

ایک ہوں مسلم حرم کی باستانی کیلئے نیل کے ساحل سے ایکرتاہ خاک کا شجر

Calligraphy— by Yaqut Musta'simi and Aurangzeb Alamgir :

In continuation of our note on the same topic published in the last issue of the *Islamic Culture* (p. 189), we wish to say that we have done our best to trace some specimen of calligraphy of the great master, Yaqut Musta'simi (d. A.H. 698). We are glad that our efforts have been fruitful in tracing at least something. About two years ago Kutb Khana-i-Asfiya (State Library), Hyderabad, Deccan, from which we have already cited in these pages several masterpieces of this branch of Muslim Fine Arts, held an exhibition of unique Arabic and Persian MSS. which was, no doubt, very much appreciated. The writer had the opportunity of seeing some exhibits of this show. There was one MS. of the holy Quran, whose colophon was written thus : “قرآن کریم بخط یاقوت مستعصمی ۵۶۶۱” the holy Quran in Yaqut Musta'simi's handwriting A.H. 661,” which undoubtedly attracted the attention of many but the way of writing this colophon put us in doubt because it led to two conclusions that either this MS. was actually transcribed by Yaqut Musta'simi and someone else has put this colophon instead of Yaqut himself or it has been deliberately done and it was not written by Yaqut himself. However, we warn that one should be very careful in such matters. The writer had seen two MSS. of the Quran in the exhibition of the Jamia Millia, Delhi, which were exhibited there by Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan and they were labelled thus: ‘MS. of Quran by Yaqut Musta'simi یاقوت مستعصمی قرآن کریم فلمی and MS. of Quran by Aurangzeb Alamgir زب عالمگیر قرآن کریم شاهنشاه اورنگ زیب عالمگیر’. At that time we had simply pointed out that it was not possible to accept them as genuine MSS. But now when we find that the owner has recently published *A Concise Catalogue of Manuscripts and Mughal Official Documents* belonging to him, we regard it our duty to say something about these wrong attributions. About its compiler Mr. C.H. Shaikh, Maulvi Zafar Hasan himself says in the preface “in his literary enthusiasm the Professor undertook with great zeal the task of preparing the proposed catalogue for which I must offer my thanks to him,” and the compiler

says in his introduction about the owner : " While in the preface the Khan Bahadur Saheb has very kindly given me the credit of preparing this catalogue, the real fact is that—the catalogue is, thus, mostly the work of the Khan Bahadur himself, " which means neither of them feels his responsibility for the following remarks about these two MSS. of the Quran. About the first C. H. Shaikh says : " Our MS. was examined, among others, by the late Professor D. S. Margoliouth and Sir E. Denison Ross and also by Prof. Massignon of France. I was personally present when my tutor the late Prof. Margoliouth, examined it at Romney, his residence in Boars Hill, Oxford. He was of the opinion that the Khan Bahadur's copy of the Quran transcribed by Musta'simi was decidedly far superior to those he had occasion to examine, that it was genuine, and that that Musta'simi alone could have been responsible for such an exquisite penmanship. Referring to the colophon, in which occurs the phrase (كُتِبَ بِمُسْتَعْمِي written by Musta'simi), the learned Professor remarked that evidently when this copy was transcribed the scribe was granted the title of " Yaqut " by the Caliph Musta'sim Billah. In support of this he quoted some authorities which have now unfortunately escaped my memory. " And about the other MS. he said : " The Quran transcribed by the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir. The subscription at the end bears the name of Aurangzeb as scribe and dated 1108 A.H. (1696 A.D.). The language of the subscription, which is Arabic, is grammatically faulty, but in all probability it appears to be genuine. The style of writing is excellent *Naskh*. " We, however, add here a few words about these MSS. for the information of our readers. (a) Had the colophon كُتِبَ بِمُسْتَعْمِي of the first MS. been genuine, the question of proving it to be genuine and showing it to non-Muslim experts to seek their opinion would have never arisen. In reality this colophon is written by somebody else and in quite a different style. Instead of taking the opinions of the experts mentioned above, we propose that the owner and the compiler should have compared it with Yaqut Musta'simi's MS. of the Quran in *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris Arabic No. 608 which is unanimously accepted as genuine, or compared it with the two MSS. of Quran by him at Constantinople, or they should have consulted some Egyptian scholar, who would have certainly advised them to compare it with the MS. in the *Bibliothèque Nationale Cairo*, Moritz No. 89. To prove his contention the compiler has immediately noted " this copy was transcribed before the scribe was granted the title of ' Yaqut ' by the Caliph Musta'sim Billah, " But he did not care to verify this statement from history which was so absolutely essential. We content ourselves by citing here his full name for their information :—

جمال الدين ابو الدر ر يا قوت مستعصمي

Jamalu'd-Din Abu'd-Durar Yaqut Musta'simi was purchased by the Caliph Musta'sim Billah (d. A.H. 656) while he was quite young and he brought him up. His first tutor in calligraphy was Safiu'd-Din Abdu'l-

Momin Armawi, etc. etc. (*vide* *Shadharatu'z-Dhahab*, vol. 5, p. 443 and *Oriental College Magazine*, No. 57). We can presumably say that his title was *Abu'd-Durar*—father of pearls and not *Musta'simi* as stated above by the compiler.

As regards the second MS. attributed to Aurangzeb, we can only say that they should have at least consulted the contemporary records, *i.e.*, *Alamgir Nama* and *Ma'āthir-i-'Alamgiri*. Both these records agree that Aurangzeb transcribed two or three MSS. of the Quran and sent them to Mecca and Medina which were neither signed nor dated, as Aurangzeb himself has written in one of his letters :—

چه بنویسم وجه بگویم خجالت و انفعال این نام بید نامی گفته نانوشتن اسم برسم آن برسم
اولی و انسب من يك دو مصحف كه نوشته ام نام ننوشته ام تاریخ هم نوشتن درکار نیست
اگر برای اوسبخانه نوشته اند علم اوحسبی یکنی -

Consequently we feel that one has to be careful in his statements regarding the celebrities of Islam on whom depend our culture and history. We have tried to be very brief in our remarks but we shall expatiate on them if necessary.

The Indo-Arab Cultural Association, Bombay :

Although this Association was founded in 1945 its inaugural meeting took place at Bombay in December, 1946 under the presidency of Mr. Tarek G. al-Yaffi, Consul-General of Lebanon, Bombay. Dr. H. F. al-Hamdani, the Secretary of the Association read a report in which he traced the early relations of the Arabs with India from the time they came to Thana, Chaul and other places around Bombay. He explained the *Aims and Objects* of this association : " The Indo-Arab Cultural Association aims at developing friendly relations and promoting cultural understanding between the Arabs and the Indians. It will foster the growth and spread of Arabic in India. With the world progressing rapidly in the direction of cultural and political unity, it is but fair that there should at least be one Institution in Bombay, one of the premier cities of India, with such a large cosmopolitan population, to promote cultural relations between the people of Arabia and India. In order, therefore, to fulfil this need of the time some enthusiastic friends, both Indians and Arab residents in India, recently met together and formed an Association, which has appropriately been named the *Indo-Arab Cultural Association*. The Association intends to arrange lectures, conversational meetings, etc., for the attainment of its aims and objects. It shall establish contact with Arab associations and academies all over the world. It shall

also keep in touch with scholars and authors engaged in Arabic studies. The Association will publish a journal for propagating the aims and objects the Association has set before itself. The name of the journal is *al-Urwa* and arrangements for its early publication are being made. The Association also intends opening a reading-room, where standard books and current Arabic periodicals, newspapers and other useful literature will be kept for the benefit of its members."

Shaikh Azari, the Poet-Historian at the Bahmani Court, Bidar :

In his *Gulzar-i-Ibrahimi* Muhammad Qasim Firishta has cited the *Bahman Nāma* of Shaikh Azari (p. 4) as one of the sources of the early Muslim Deccan history, and he has fully utilised it ; but today no trace is found of this important work.

Dr. M. Abdulla Chaghtai gave to the post-graduate students of Indian history in Poona a series of talk on Shaikh Azari ; his life and his contribution to literature and history. Firishta says that " Shaikh Azari, the poet-historian, who had come to the Deccan during the reign of Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani (d. A.H. 838), wrote the *Bahman Nāma* in verse. He was a native of Asfarain where he subsequently retired and died in A.H. 866. Before his arrival in the Deccan he had visited Mecca and Medina. Dr. M. A. Chaghtai very carefully collected the following documentary evidences about Shaikh Azari, which are reproduced here. They are not generally known even to the scholars of the Deccan history and are a very useful source of information about him. He was a contemporary of Mir Ali Sher Nawāi or Fāni (d. A.H. 996) who was the chief minister of Sultan Hussain Baiqra (d. A.H. 912) of Herat. Mir Nawāi wrote the *Majalisu'n Nafāis* containing biographical sketches of his contemporaries, which was later translated under the title of *Lataif Nama-i-Fakhri* by one, Fakhri Sultan Muhammad b. Amiri into Persian from Turkish language. It fortunately contains Azari's notice thus :—

در اسفرائین ظهور کرد و شهرش شهرت گرفت و در سن کهولت میلش جانب سلوک
افتاد بحج مبارک رفته برسم سیر طرف هندوستان متوجه شد و بخدمت بسیار اکابر و مشائخ
مشرف گردید و همه ملوک آن ممالک مرید و مقتدی او گشتند و گویند باد شاه جوئه که والی
گلبرگه بود يك لك ز تكلف کرد اما برسم خود جهت تكلف سریر زمین نهادن هم فرمود
شیخ بان وجه سرفرونیاء ورد و این بیت گفت -

من ترك هند و جیفه جیپال گفته ام باد بروت جوئه جوئینی خرم

از هندوستان برگشت و در اسفرائین گوشه اختیار کرده بطاعت مشغول شد و بعضی
کتب مثل عجائب الدنیا و جواهر الاسرار از شیخ است و دیگر مصنفات نیز دارد و
دیوانش مشهور است و این مطلع ازوست

باز شب شد چشم من میدان گریه آب زرد سیل اشک آمد شبیخون بر سیاه خواب زد
 قبرش در اسفرائین است و خواجه اوحد مستوفی که فضائلش از شرح مستغنی است
 تاریخ وفات شیخ را "خسرو" یافته و این فقیر تاریخ وفات مولانا طوطی ترشیزی را "خروس"
 یافت عرض که در یک سال وفات کرد ند

The other contemporary source the *Tazkirah-i-Daulat Shah Samarqandi* (composed in A.H. 892) contains more details as to his real name, etc. :—

حمزه بن علی ملک الطوسی ثم البیهقی از جمله سریداران یحیی بود نسب او بمعین
 صاحب الدعوة احمد بن محمد الزمخجری الهاشمی المروزی می رسید و پدر شیخ خواجه علی
 ملک در عهد سریداران در اسفراین صاحب اختیار بود بصحبت شریف شیخ الشیوخ
 شیخ محی الدین الطوسی الغزالی مشرف شده بعد از آن بسید نعمت الله قدس سره رجوع نمود
 دو مرتبه پیاده با سفر حج کرد - شیخ بهنگام جوانی بشعر و شاعری مشغول شد و همواره مدح
 سلاطین و امراء گفتی چنانچه شاه رخ سلطان او را وعده حکم ملک الشعرائی فرمود در
 اثناء آن حال نسیم فقر و عالم تحقیق بر ریاض خاطر عاظر او وزید -

The above quotation from the *Lataif Nama-i-Fākhri* and the one found in the *Tarikh-i-Habibu's-Siyyar* (vol. III., pt. iii; p. 173) are almost identical and therefore need not to be repeated. We are here particularly concerned with the Deccan, and therefore we take this opportunity to quote at length the original words of Firishta (vol. I., pp. 325-26) as they are not found anywhere else :—

سالك مسالك طریقت شیخ اسفرائینی که دران اوان ملازم رکاب سلطان احمد شاه بود
 قصیده ها در مدح شاه و تعریف شهر و عمارات گفته جائزه لائق و فائق یافت
 و حسب الحکم سلطان در گفتن بهمن نامه شروع کرده جویدستان آن شهریار رسید
 کتاب را بنظر بادشاه در آورده طلب رخصت ولایت نمود بادشاه گفت مرا از
 فوت سید محمد گیسو دراز کلفتی عظیم روی نموده وصال تو رافع سواد غم و الم ست
 میسند که بفرات تو نیز مبتلا گردم شیخ چون این قسم التفات از سلطان دید
 بودن در هندوستان را بخود قرارداد فرزند ان را از ولایت طلب نمود اتفاقا دران ایام
 قصر دار الامارة با تمام رسید و شیخ این دویت گفت -

حبذا قصر مشید که ز فرط عظمت آسمان شده از پایه این درگاه است
 آسمان هم توان گفت که ترک ادب ست قصر سلطان جهان احمد بهمن شاه است

و ملا شریف الدین مازندرانی که از مزیدان شاه نعمت الله بود بخوشنویسی مشهور و معروف زمان آنرا بخط جلی نوشت و سنگتراشان تلنگی که در تقلید سحر آفرینند آنرا در سنگ بزرگ کنده بالای دروازه نشاندند چنانچه روزی چشم شاه بر آن افتاده از شهزاده علاءالدین پرسید که این شعر کیست گفت از تنایج طبع شیخ آذریست شاه را خوش آمده شهزاده فرصت یافت و بعرض رسانید که شیخ بمقتضای حب الوطن من الایمان اراده ولایت دارد و میگوید که حضرت اگر رخصت فرمائید نیمه ثواب حج اکبر که کرده ام پیشکش مینمائم و شاه ازین معنی بیش از بیش شگفته گردیده در ساعت باحضار شیخ فرمان داد و بخزانچی حکم کرد که چهل هزار تنگه سعید که بر تنگه يك توله قره باشد جهت شیخ حاضر سازد و چون چشم شیخ بر آن زرافناد گفت لایحمل عطا یا کم الا مطایا کم شاه بخندید و گفت بیست هزار تنگه نیز جهت خرج راه و وجه کرایه حاضر گردانند و چون وقت کار رسیده بود در همان مجلس خلعت خاصه و پنج غلام هندی عنایت فرموده رخصت معاودت ولایت ارزانی داشت و گویا این دو بیت در شان آن شاه گفته شده (رباعی.....) و شیخ آذری بنا بر آنکه حین وداع در حضور شاه عهد کرده بود که مادام الحیات در گفتن بهمن نامه خود را معاف ندارد در آئینه در خراسان تا در قید حیات بود برخی از اوقات شریف را بگفتن بهمن نامه صرف می نمود و بعد هر سال آنچه گفته می شد آنرا بدار الخلافه دکن میفرستاد القصه بهمن نامه دکنی تا داستان سلطان هایون شاه بهمنی از شیخ آذریست و بعده ملا نظیری و ملا سامعی و دیگر شعرا تا انقراض دولت بهمنیه بر کرام که توفیق یافته اند داستان و حکایات شاهان دیگر را لاحق نموده در سلك نظم کشیده از ملحقات بهمن نامه شیخ آذری گردانیده اند بلکه بعضی بی انصافان بعضی از ابیات خطبه را تغییر داده تمام آن کتاب را بنام خود ساخته اند لیکن از اختلاف البته شعر میتوان دانست که تمام آن کتاب از شاعر نسبت و چون سخن بدین جا رسید لازم گشت که برخی از احوال شیخ آذری درین کتاب ثبت نماید و آن اینست که او از مشاهیر شعرای زمان خود بوده بحدت فهم و جودت ذکا اشتهار داشت چنانچه وقتی باتفاق شیخ صدرالدین رواس (؟) در مشهدی مقدس رضویه علی مشرفه الآف الثناء والتحیه بدیدن الغ بیگ مرزادفت میرزا اول از شیخ صدرالدین پرسید که شمار داس (؟) جیس یاردات بتائید او گفت رواسی بعادیم (؟) مرزا فرمود که شما آنهم نبوده آید چه رواسی در کلام عرب نیامده بعد ازان شیخ آذری پرسید که آذری چه نوع تخلص شماست شیخ گفت فقیر در ماه آذر متولد شده بنا بر آن آذری تخلص کرده است مرزا فرمود شما شاعر پیشه نبوده آید آن آذر بضم ذال است نه بفتح شیخ

در بدیهه گفت که ذال ماه آذر سالها در مقام ذل و خواری گزردانید و پشتش دو تا گشته
 نزدیک بد آن شده بود که پشت ذکرش واقع شود اما در مقام شعور و ادراک آمده
 قائم گشت

The literary compilations of Shaikh Azari are many but the well-known among them are 1. *سعی الصفا* which he has composed in the Haram of Mecca and it deals with the principles of Hajj; 2. *مفتاح الاسرار* contains proverbs and quotations, etc., one MS. of which is in the British Museum; (p. 43); (3) *طغرای همایون* (4) *عجایب الغرائب* are noted by Daulat Shah and Habibu's-Siyyar; (6) *دیوان شیخ* Collection of his Poems: one MS. is in the Bibliothéque St. Petersburg No. 399 and Copenhagen Cata: p. 40; *Bahman Nama* as noted above in the account of Firishta. According to the *Khizana-i-'Amra* (p. 21) one *Mathnawi Miraāt* by Shaikh Azari existed.

The chronogram of Shaikh Azari's death composed by Khwaja Fakhru'd-Din Auhad Mustaufi is quoted by Dault Shah Samarqandi (p. 443):—

درینا آذری شیخ زمانه که مصباح حیاتش گشت (؟) بی‌ضو
 چراغ دل بمفتاح حیاتش با انواع حقائق داشت پرتو
 چو اومانند خسرو بود در شعر ازان تاریخ موتش گشت "خسرو"

The author of the *Habibu's-Siyyar* has given the chronogram of Maulana Tarshizi's death (vol. III, pt. iii, p. 173) which was actually composed by Mir Ali Sher Nawāi, the great minister, and the same applies to Azari's death as it also occurred in the same year:—

نصیح زمان طوطی آن شاعری که بودش بدر معانی عروسی
 چو طوطی برفت این عجب طرفه بود که تاریخ شد فوت او را "خروسی"

In brief, we have been able to trace almost all details of Shaikh Azari's life and his literary compilations for which we had so far depended upon the brief account of Firishta which mainly dealt with his activities in the Deccan during his short stay there. Besides the above-mentioned authorities, the *Haft Iqlim*, *Riyazu'sh-Shu'ra*, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, etc., will also be helpful. Some years ago the *Lataif Nama-i-Fakhri* was published by Sayyid Abdulla in the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, in many instalments which contained the above quotation from the same and other useful information.

M. A. C.

DELHI

Cultural activities :

The Asian Relations Conference has attracted a great deal of notice. A number of Muslim delegates and observers from various Muslim countries attended the conference. The Indian Muslims, except a couple of delegates and a few volunteers of the Jamī'at 'Ulamā-i-Hind, boycotted the conference. The Muslims of Delhi, however, contacted the distinguished Muslim visitors who came to attend the conference.

Egyptians :

Three Egyptians, M. Mustafā Mo'min, M. Taqī-u'd-dīn al-Ṣulḥ and Dr. 'Abd-u'l-Wahhāb 'Azzām Bey came to Delhi on this occasion. M. Mustafā Mo'min is a leader of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement. It is understood that he met a number of Muslim students and the Rajah Ṣāhib of Maḥmudabad who is closely associated with the Muslim Students Movement in India, and it is likely that the Muslim Students Federation (India) will seek affiliation with the Muslim Brotherhood. M. Taqī-u'd-dīn al-Ṣulḥ gave an interesting lecture on the Arab movement.

Dr. 'Abd-u'l-Wahhāb 'Azzām Bey is a nephew of 'Azzām Pāshā, the Secretary-General of the Arab League. The learned doctor is the Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the Fuad I University Egypt. He is a scholar of rare accomplishments. Besides being an author and poet of no mean degree in his own language, he is a consummate scholar of Persian and Turkish as well. He speaks these languages fluently. He also has considerable knowledge of Urdu, though he does not speak it. The tablet which he has presented to Iqbāl's tomb has the following verses inscribed on it :—

عربی یہدی لروضک زہرا	ذا نغار بروضہ و اعتزاز
کلمات تضمنت کل معنی	من دیار الاسلام فی ایجاز
بلسان القرآن خطت فہیہ	نفحات التزیل والا عجاز
فاقبلنہا علی ضالۃ قدری	فہی فی الحق ار مغان الحجاز

These lines are his own composition. It is but fitting that 'Azzām Bey should be the bearer of this tribute, because he is an erudite scholar of Iqbāl whom he has tried to popularise in Arab countries through translation, articles, lectures and broadcasts. It was the love of Iqbāl which made him study Urdu. Dr. 'Azzām Bey's visit to India may lead to important consequences as he intends to propose to the Egyptian Government to send one or two visiting professors of Arabic to Indian universities.

Iranians :

The Iranian Delegation, which had really come on official business with the Government of India, also attended the conference as its dates synchronised with their visit. Their leader was H.E. 'Alī Asghar Hikmat who was Minister of Education in Iran at one time. One of the members of the Delegation was Dr. Ṣadīqī, a litterateur and critic and a professor at the University of Teheran. It was a rare pleasure to meet these gentlemen, as their hearts seemed to be full of the love of Islam and feelings of brotherhood. After a brief indifference towards Islam in certain sections of Iranian society during the thirties of this century there has again set in a great reaction in favour of Islam and what it stands for. An index of this is the Anjuman-i-Tablighāt-i-Islam at Qum which has been publishing, for some time, Islamic literature and training Muslim missionaries. Dr. Ṣadīqī gave to the writer a copy of *Masādiqat-u'l-ikhwān*, a book of traditions bearing on the relations which should subsist among the Muslims as neighbours and friends. A small and attractive edition of 'Umar Khayyām's *Rubā'iyāt* has also been brought out in Iran. A remark of Dr. Ṣadīqī, which is typical of his feelings, deserves to be reproduced here. "The Indian Muslims are attached to Iran with bonds of love and friendship" said the writer. "My dear friend," replied the Doctor, "what is the use of your saying in India that you love the Muslims of Iran and our saying in Iran that we love the Indian Muslims? We must give a concrete form to these feelings and convert them into institutions."

Indonesians :

The Indonesian Delegation was led by Hājī Sālim, the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, before the advent of Sulṭān Shāriar. The Delegation was representative of various political parties. The majority belonged to the Muslim party. Hājī Sālim, an elderly and unassuming gentleman, in his native costume consisting of a shirt, a sheet and trousers, of short stature, with a Mongolian beard, was a remarkable person indeed. The writer of this report heard him speak faultless English, French and Dutch, and his speech at a function in the Anglo-Arabic College was full of quotations from the holy scriptures. Another leader Dr. Abū Hanīfah was also full of enthusiasm and like other members of his party, was keen on establishing brotherly relations with other Muslim countries.

The Afghān Delegation :

The Afghān Delegation was led by Dr. Abdu'l-Majīd, the Rector of the Kabul University and a well-known professor of medicine in the Faculty of Medicine of the same University.

The Central Asian Republics :

Some of the Central Asian Republics also sent their delegates, who, in spite of what one hears to the contrary, were by no means devoid of Muslim feeling. When a delegate was asked point-blank "Do you still have the feelings of Islamic brotherhood?," he replied in no unequivocal terms, "Why not? Are we not Muslims?"

A Gift from Tashkent :

The *academie* at Tashkent has presented to the Department of History in the University of Delhi a portfolio consisting of large-sized photographs of the Islamic buildings in the city and its vicinity. The photographs are exceedingly well done, and reproduce the architectural features of these buildings remarkably. These photographs show the close affinity between Central-Asian and Indo-Muslim architecture. Another portfolio, which has also been presented by the same institution contains photographic reproductions of Uzbek miniature paintings from a unique manuscript of Sharf-u'd-din Yazdi's *Zafar-nāmah*. The portfolio has a preface and comments by Professor A. A. Semenow. Another gift of equal importance is a catalogue of manuscripts in the Academy Library at Tashkent bearing on Indo-Muslim History. The catalogue is scientific and fully descriptive. The list of the titles appearing in the catalogue is given below :—

Tārikh-i-Firūz Shāhi by Diyā-u'd-din Baranī.

Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhi by Yahyā Sahrindī.

Wāqī'āt-i-Zahir-u'd-Din Moḥammad Bābur (Babur's Memoirs).

Humāyūn Nāmah, anonymous, the list does not give any reference to other catalogues.

Akbar-Nāmah by Abu'l-Faḍl 'Allāmī.

A'in-i-Akbari by Abu'l-Faḍl 'Allāmī.

Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh by Badāyūnī.

Tabaqāt-i-Akbar Shāhi by Nizām-u'd-din.

Jahāngir-Nāmah—memoirs of Jahāngir.

Tārikh Salīm Shāhi—same.

Iqbāl-nāmah-i-Jahāngiri by Muḥammad Sharīf.

Padshāh Nāmah by 'Abd-u'l-Hamīd Lāhorī.

Zafar-Nāmah-i-Shāh-Jahāni by Abū Ṭālib Kalīm.

'Alamgir Nāmah by Munshī Muḥammad Kāzim.

Mir'at-u'l-'Alam by Bakhtāwar Khān.

Ma'āthir-i-'Alamgiri by Musta'id Khān.

Tarkhān Nāmah by Shahīd Jamal.

Tārikh-i-Firishtah.

Tārikh-i-Haqqi by 'Abd-u'l-Haqq Haqqī.

Mukhtasar Latif by Rūp Narāyan.

Khulāsat-u't-Tawārikh by Sujān Rā'i Munshī.

Jāmi'-u't-Tawārikh by Rashid-u'd-dīn Faḍl-ullah.

Raudat-u's-Safā by Muḥammad bin Khāwind Shāh *alias* Mirkhwand.

Habib-u's-Siyyar by Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn bin Humām-u'd-dīn *alias* Khwand-amir.

Tārikh-i-Muḥammadi by Muḥammad bin Bihāmid Khān.

Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh by Muḥammad al-Ḥaqqī a'sh-Shīrāzī.

Nigaristān by ibn Muḥammad Aḥmad.

Brochures :

Several papers were contributed to the conference by various authors, one of these by Dr. I. H. Qureshi, deals with the cultural relations between the Middle-East and India.

A Bibliography of Asiatic Countries :

A contribution of great merit 'Books on Asia' (Royal 8 vo, pp. 111) by Mr. I. H. Baqai, Assistant Registrar for the Faculty of Arts in the University of Delhi. It gives a list, with brief descriptions of books on all the countries of Asia and the Pacific Ocean. This small book should be on the desk of every student of Asiatic affairs. He also published in the *India Quarterly* an annotated bibliography on Iran.

The Indo-Iranian Standing Committee :

The Indo-Iranian Association and the Indo-Iranian Standing Committee are being reorganised, and it is expected that the Government of India will put the committee on a sound financial basis. It is proposed to build up a library on Iranian subjects and also start a journal. It has not yet been possible to give a practical shape to these proposals because of the political uncertainty and activity at the Centre.

Afghanistan Today :

The Journal of the Indian Institute of International Affairs has an illuminating article on 'Afghanistan Today' by Count Joel de Croze, a Frenchman who has recently returned after a study tour of that country. Another interesting article in the same journal is on Iranian oil by Mr. Raj Narain Gupta.

I.H.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

In Memoriam :

(SHIFAU'L MULK) Hakim Habibur Rahman Khan Akhunzada, the founder-Principal of the Tibbia Habibia College, Dacca, the only one of its kind in the whole of Bengal, is now no more in the land of the living. He died at the age of seventy of heart failure on Sunday, the 23rd of February, 1947, at 3 A.M. at his Dacca residence in the Hakim Habibur Rahman Khan Road. His funeral prayer was held in the premises of the Shahi Mosque, Lal Bagh, Dacca, at about 11-30 A.M. and was led by His Holiness Pirji Sahib of the Dacca Ashrafu'l 'Uloom Madrasa. At the most conservative computation, the congregation consisted of 15,000 souls and was represented by the people of all walks of life and persuasion. The citizens of Dacca have not within their living memory witnessed a bigger funeral assembly. The dead-body of the departed great was buried alongside the tomb of his father within the compound of Azimpura, Daira Sharif, Dacca.

His ancestry and early life :

Hailing originally from Yagisthan which now forms part and parcel of modern Afghanistan, his father Mawlana Muhammad Shah Akhunzada of happy memory settled down at Dacca in the early fifties of the 19th century. Besides being an excellent calligraphist, an orator, an author and a Persian poet of some renown, he was a spiritual guide of considerable fame and reputation and counted disciples not in hundreds but in thousands all over Bengal and Assam. Such was the background against which the late-lamented Hakim Sahib was brought up. And in every way he proved to be a chip of the old block.

His career

Having completed his Arabic, Persian and Tibbi education in the Upper India, he started his practice in 1904 in his own native town of Dacca. As was expected, his reputation as a successful Hakim soon spread far and wide both in the Province and outside. As a man of versatile genius and varied activities he threw himself into the vortex of Indian politics along with his *alter ego*, the much-lamented Nawab Sir Salimullah Bahadur of Dacca, K.C.S.I., G.C.S.I., and that soon after the partition of Bengal had been a *fait accompli* in 1905. As a joint Secretary of the Muslim Confederacy, the former counterpart of the All-India Muslim League of which Nawab Salimullah Bahadur of Dacca was the founder-Secretary, he made his mark in Indian politics.

His greatness as a Tibbi practitioner can be gauged from this that he was appointed a member of the Enquiry Committee of Tibbia Education in Bengal by the Bengal Government as far back as 1924. Not only this. The fact that the late Kakim Habibur Rahman Khan Akhonzada was one of the three Hakims selected to sit on the Advisory Committee recently appointed by the Government of India in the Department of Health to enquire into the future of the indigenous systems of medicine; the Tibbi and the Ayurvedic is a further recognition of his services in the domain of the Tibbi Education in India. But alas! the learned Hakim Sahib is now no more in our midst to serve on that august body to benefit his countrymen by his rich and valuable experiences. Further, he had been the Vice-President of the State Faculty of Tibb in Bengal until his death. As a mark of their appreciation of the very great services rendered to the cause of the Tibbi system of medicine in India, Government conferred upon him the distinction of 'Shifau'l Mulk'—a distinction which he so richly and eminently deserved and which he laterly so unceremoniously renounced when called upon to do so by our beloved Qaid-i-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, may Allah long spare him unscathed for the cause of our great Muslim nation. This is not all. He was a keen and devoted student of History and Indian antiquities. As a recognition to his unique contributions to these branches of human knowledge, he had the privilege of being selected a member of the Historical Records Commission, Government of India and that not once but for several years together. Habibur Rahman's collections of coins and epigraphs that have found a permanent niche in the Dacca Museum—the only museum of the East Bengal and Assam—shall ever immortalize his memory. Besides being a poet of considerable renown, he was a prolific writer and had to his credit a number of very important works medical as well as historical both in Urdu and Arabic of which (1) *Asudagan-i Dacca* (on the tombs of Dacca, published from Dacca in 1946), (2) *al-Fariq* (a rare Tibbi treatise on the very nice and subtle distinctions existing as between the very complex and complicated diseases, published from Dacca in 1322/1904), and (3) *Hayat-i Suqrat* (on the life of Socrates) have been published. Of these, *al-Fariq* was so popular to and well received by the Tibbi world that late Haziq al-Mulk Hafiz Muhammad Ajmal Khan of happy and immortal memory of Delhi as a token of his appreciation for the work purchased as many as fifty copies of the book for the free distribution amongst his pupils in the Delhi Tibbia College. Of his unpublished works namely (1) *Masajid-i Dacca* (Mosques of Dacca), (2) *Shuarai Dacca* (Poets of Dacca), (3) *Thalatha Ghassala* (a collection of Hakim Sahib's 16 radio talks on "Dacca fifty years back," 20 radio talks on "The Antiquities of Dacca" and 12 radio talks on "The Historical Buildings of Dacca") and (4) *Bengal's Contributions to the Arabic and the Persian Literatures*, the last remains his masterpiece. These books when published are sure to throw a flood of light on the Islamic History, Culture and Civilization of India in general and Bengal in particular.

As the Founder-Editor of the now defunct *al-Mashriq*, the first Urdu Monthly of Dacca which saw the light of the day as far back as 1906, he proved his mettle as a forceful writer and a journalist of no mean order.

As a most outstanding litterateur, he presided over the deliberations of the Purba Banga Muslim Shahitta Parishad held in 1927 and delivered on the occasion an edifying and thought-provoking address which shall always remain an object of marvel and admiration to all those who will care to read it.

The Municipality of Dacca, the biggest of its kind in the whole of the province paid due homage to the talent and genius of our revered Hakim Sahib even in his life-time by christening one of her very important thoroughfares after his name.

Hakim Sahib's private library is one of the richest of its kind in the whole of India so far as its manuscripts are concerned and contains among others as many as one thousand very rare and valuable manuscripts. Furthermore, he leaves behind him a rare collection of Mughal armours, crockeries and raiments which will soon be placed for exhibition in a house specially selected for the purpose. The library is to be a proud adjunct to the Library of the University of Dacca and that by a will unexecuted nevertheless solemn and sacred.

Hakim Sahib was a gentleman of ineffable charms, magnetic personality, proverbial hospitality, sturdy independence, rare humility and inexhaustible humour. Whoever came in contact with him he could not fail to be impressed by the geniality of his temperament and the urbanity of his manners. He was the veritable *ma-bap* (parent) of the poor and the helpless for whose benefit he maintained a charitable dawakhana (dispensary) at his own house.

Revered Hakim Sahib leaves behind him his widow, two daughters and five sons, the eldest, Hakim Irtidaur Rahman who now succeeds him as the Principal of the Tibbia Habibia College, Dacca, and a large number of friends all over India amongst whom are included Nawab Sadar Yar Jung Bahadur, Dr. Allama Habibur Rahman Khan Shirwani of Habib Gunj, Aligarh, Dr. Allama Sayyid Sulaiman Nadavi, His Holiness Hazrat Khwaja Hasan Nizami of Delhi to mourn his loss. At the sad demise of the Hakim Sahib, the nation has sustained a loss at once inestimable and irreparable. May Allah grant the departed soul peace and blessings—Amin.

A Doctorate of Philosophy :

The University of Dacca has recently conferred upon Mr. Muhammad Ishaq, M.A. (Dac.), a Lecturer in the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, the degree of 'Doctor of Philosophy' for his thesis on "India's Contribution to the Study of Hadith Literature." The thesis was examined by a Board of Examiners consisting of Dr. F. Krenkow of Cambridge, Professor A. Guillaume of Oxford and Dr. Allama Sayyid

Sulaiman Nadawi, every one of whom has spoken very highly of the valuable work done by Mr. Ishaq to whom we offer our heartiest felicitations.

It will not be out of place to say in this connection that Dr. Ishaq is the second man to obtain the Doctor of Philosophy from the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Dacca University, during the professorship of Dr. S. M. Hossain, the Head of the Department, the first being Dr. Raza Ali Mirza, M.A. (Dac.), who obtained his Doctorate of Philosophy in 1938 on "The Reconstruction of Sukari's *Kitab al-Lusus*." Thanks to the sure and inspiring guidance of Prof. S. M. Hossain, many more Doctorates are now in the offing.

Tafsir Class at Dacca :

His Holiness Mufti Din Muhammad of Dacca, one of the greatest Muslim divines of this part of India has been for the last two years holding a regular Tafsir Class in the Cathedral Mosque of Chawkbazar, Dacca after 'Isha prayer every day. Unlike other lectures, the lectures of the learned Mawlana are attracting ever-increasing number of audience who can be counted not in terms of hundreds but of thousands upon thousands. The lectures are delivered with the help of a loud speaker and as many as six microphones, and have been exercising very healthy and salutary effects on those for whom they are meant. Thanks to the persuasive and eloquent delivery of the Mawlana, Dacca is now going dry and her race-course is getting emptier day by day. And the non-Muslim section of the audience is being gradually attracted to Islam with a magnetic iron as it were. The rest of India may imitate Dacca with profit sure and certain.

A. S.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

SHAIKH MUHAMMAD ASHRAF, the well-known publisher of Lahore, has recently brought out a number of books which may be mentioned here. In *Muslim Contributions to Geography*, which contains articles published in the *Islamic Culture* Mr. Nafis Ahmad, Professor of Geography at the Islamia College, Calcutta, sets out to evaluate the share which the geographers of Medieval Islam had in the advancement of geographical knowledge and thought. The author has drawn upon a large number of primary and secondary sources of information, both Eastern and Western, which he uses with discrimination. As a result, the author has succeeded in producing a useful introduction to the works of Muslim geographers. Besides making a general survey of the subject, Professor Nafis Ahmad has chapters on the progress of Cartography and Astrono-

mical and Mathematical Geography among the Muslims. Much of the ground covered is familiar to the students of the subject ; but the merit of the book lies in the fact that it brings together in one place a mass of relevant material which was hitherto scattered and which is here explained and evaluated with sympathetic understanding in terms of modern geography.

The other works that have come from the same publishing house are : *Muslim Thought and its Source* by Syed Muzaffar-ud-Din Nadvi (a reprint); *Meet Mr. Jinnah* by A. A. Raoof, in a revised edition ; and *Muslim Contributions to Science and Culture* by M. Abdur Rahman Khan. The last-named booklet reproduces two articles with certain additions which originally appeared in the *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XVI. It came to us as a news to learn from the opening sentence of the Introduction of this booklet that " the human race built up its civilization some six thousand years ago on the banks of the Shatt al-'Arab."* As a matter of fact, the Shatt al-'Arab, i.e., the river formed by the united streams of the Euphrates and the Tigris did not exist in the times the author has in mind ; it came into existence at a later period by the silting up of the northern part of the Persian Gulf.

'Arafāt :

Shaikh Muhammad Asad, who edited *Islamic Culture* for some time, has started '*Arafāt* : a Monthly Critique of Muslim Thought, publishing it from " Fairview," Dalhousie, (Panjab). Mr. Asad believes that the Muslim Society is in the throes of a crisis, which may make or unmake Islam's validity as a 'practical proposition' for many centuries to come. The Muslim world, according to him, is in a state of transition and no power on earth can prevent her from changing. But the Muslims are still free to determine the direction which this change should take : it is up to them to decide whether they shall build their future on the real values of Islam or become slavish camp-followers of Western civilization. Mr. Asad further believes that Islam and the conventions of Muslim society are not necessarily identical, and that the survival of Islam does not depend on maintaining the *status quo ante*. The erstwhile simplicity and reasonableness of the Shari'ah have been buried under a forest of

*A reference to any modern work on the History of World Civilization or World History (e.g., Flenley and Weech's, on the very first cover-page) will show that various nations of the world were sufficiently far advanced in civilization as early as 4000 B.C., that is to say nearly 6000 years ago. The Nile, the Euphrates and the Tigris valleys were the seats of human civilization, and the banks of these rivers were dotted with flourishing cities engaged in commerce and trade utilizing navigation of the rivers to transport the produce of their extensive agriculture and industries.

The name Shatt-al-'Arab is no doubt a much later innovation ; but what is meant by it in the work referred to is the river system that later developed into the 'Shatt-al-'Arab.'

subjective deductions, propounded by many generations of jurists and scholastics, who did not claim finality for their opinions. Many of these opinions were conditioned by the spirit and experience of an age vastly different from ours. The *Ijtihād* of the old Ulama, therefore, cannot be binding on us. We have a right to go back ourselves direct to the Naṣṣ of the Quran and the Sunnah for guidance.

Mr. Asad, accordingly, addresses himself to people who are not afraid of heart-searching. To such people he offers 'Arafāt as his personal contribution to the revival of Muslim thought. In order to make a uniform approach to the problems before him, Mr. Asad has felt constrained to exclude for the time being all contributions from outside and to reserve 'Arafāt for the exposition of his own views, so that his readers may not be confused and bewildered by a variety of attempted solutions. The editor is, therefore, the sole contributor to his Monthly, which is filled by his facile pen from beginning to end. He does not claim finality for his views, which are offered for what they are worth—to be criticized, accepted or rejected. Three issues of 'Arafāt have so far come to our notice, and taken together they provide much food for thought.

SH. I.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

SHAH ALAM II & HIS COURT,
edited by Pratul C. Gupta, M.A.,
Ph.D. Published by S. C. Sarkar &
Sons, Ltd., Calcutta. Price Rs. 6.

IN our columns, we have had the pleasure of reviewing Dr. Pratul C. Gupta's book entitled, "The Last Peshwa & The English Commissioners." Now Professor Pratul C. Gupta has edited, Antoine Louis Henri Polier's, "A Narrative of the Transactions at the Court of Delhy from the year 1771 to the Present Time."

Of late scholars seem to have evinced keen interest in the life and work of Antoine Louis Henri Polier by contributing papers to the Indian Historical Records Commission as well as the Indian History Congress Proceedings. Professor Pratul C. Gupta himself has contributed a paper on the career of Antoine Louis Henri in India, now published in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress Session Annamalai University, which forms part II of his valuable introduction to the book under review.

Polier's name is not familiar to students of Indian history, although some of his contributions are fairly well known.

Polier's career begins under Forde and Carnac in Behar, and about the end of 1761 he was transferred to Bengal—so saying the Professor gives an account of his life upto 1789, when Polier returned to Europe, married two years later and settled down near Avignon. On 9th February, 1795, he was murdered. Thus came to an abrupt end the career of Polier.

Though by profession an engineer, Polier took great interest in the field of Indian history and literature. He was fond of collecting valuable manuscripts. When in 1784, the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded in Calcutta, Polier became one of its earliest members. Although not residing in Calcutta, he showed remarkable interest in the work of the Society, by occasionally reading papers and communicating articles written by others. On his return to Europe he presented his collection of Vedas to the British Museum. Such was the career of this engineer-historian.

Shah Alam was the Emperor of Hindustan. The provinces of Kara and Allahabad yielded to him a revenue of about 27 lakhs per annum. Let us see what another contemporary of Polier has to say about the character of Shah Alam. Referring to Shah Alam, Verelst writes as follows.

"His abilities are rather below mediocrity, and his character seems rather calculated for private life than a throne. He is religious as a man; affectionate as a father; and humane as a master; but as prince he is weak, indolent and irresolute, and easily swayed by the counsels of self-interested men." The author mentions the fact that the death of the old minister Najib-ud-daulah had also increased the Emperor's anxiety. The author is right, for Najib-ud-daulah was a man of sterling character. In support of our statement we quote what the contemporary writer has to say about the character and faithfulness of Najib-ud-daulah. "As a man, and a

prince, he is perhaps the only example in Hindustan of at once a great and good character. He raised himself from the command of fifty horse to his present grandeur, entirely by his superior valour, integrity and strength of genius, experience and abilities have supplied the want of letters and education; and the native nobleness and goodness of his heart have amply made amends for the defects of his birth and family. He is a strict lover of justice and a most faithful subject to his master and has long been the sole support of the royal family at Delhi." (*Vide* Verelst "A View of the Rise & Progress & Present State of the English Government in Bengal" letter No. XXIV dated 28th March, 1768, page 104). No wonder the death of such a faithful servant should have shocked Shah Alam.

Shah Alam left Allahabad on 13th April, 1771, and was accompanied by Sir Robert Barker and Shuja-ud-daulah to the frontier. Polier, the author of the manuscript, takes up the story from this point and brings it down to the expedition of Abdul Ahad against the Sikhs in 1779.

Polier has written his story from his personal observation and information which he collected from others, though he had no access to state papers. We fully concur with the opinion of Professor Pratul C. Gupta when he says, "perhaps the chief value of the work lies in the fact that it is the work of a contemporary who had direct knowledge of the events he was writing about. He was supplying materials for his friend's book and could write without fear and favour." Although the story is sad, yet it does not lack in interest. Events marking the end of the Moghul Empire follow one another in quick succession that appear not only useful to the specialist but fascinating to the general reader.

Indeed Polier's character-sketch of Shah Alam, Prince Mirza Jawan Bakht, Mirza Farkhunda Bakht, is not only full of interest but also arrests one's attention; it portrays a faithful picture which only an eye-witness could describe with such vigour and details.

The book has notes and appendices, which should prove very useful to readers.

Dr. Pratul Gupta deserves our best compliments for the pains he has taken to place before the public this remarkable document of a remarkable man which has never been published before.

K.S.L.

OUR HERITAGE BY HUMAYUN KABIR, published by the National Information & Publications, Ltd., Bombay, 1946. Pages 134, Price Rs. 4.

PROFESSOR Humayun Kabir needs no introduction to our readers. As an author, thinker and a politician, he has earned a reputation.

The book under review is divided into three parts. The first part entitled "The Aryan Synthesis" deals with such topics as, "Unity in Diversity—Geographical Influences—Social—Political Interactions—The Kathak—Religion & Philosophy."

Part II under the title "Medieval Reconciliation" deals with "The Hindustani Way—Economics & Art & Modes of Outlook."

Part III has eight subheadings such as "In the Melting Pot—The Bifurcation—Geographical—Nationality—The Conflict—Eternal versus Momentary, Renaissance & Revivalism."

In this short review, it is not possible to deal with this interesting book at length. The one cardinal theme over which the whole thesis is based, is the "Unity & Continuity of Indian Culture." The author has given an interpretation of the Indian culture from the earliest times to the present turmoil—an historical analysis of India's heritage.

We welcome this timely publication. The book is well written and readable.

K.S.L.

PHILOLOGICA VON H. RITTER, MAULANA GALALADDIN RUMI UND SEIN KREIS, published in *Der Islam* (Walter De Gruyter & Co.), 1940, Berlin.

THIS is a reprint of an article on Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi and his circle which Dr. Helmut Ritter contributed to the German Journal, *Der Islam*. The sources of Maulana's life are discussed at length. The *Masnavis* of Maulana's son Sultan Walad, the famous works of Sipdhsalar Faridun and Aftaki are taken into account. The writer thinks of great value the exhaustive study of Badi'azzaman : Maulana Jalaluddin Muhammad Mashhur ba-Maulawai (Teheran 1937).

Maulana Rumi has exercised such a tremendous influence on the mystical and cultural life of Islam that it is worthwhile to study the soil on which his life has grown. Dr. Ritter believes that the conversion of the Maulana to the inner life of mysticism was not suddenly brought about by the strange appearance of the wandering derwish Shamsaddin Muhammad Tabrizi. The Derwish may have only awakened the forces that were already working in him. We gladly recommend this essay to the admirers of the Maulana and to the students of mystic life.

S. V.

**AHMAD GHAZZALI'S APHORIS-
MEN UBER DIE LIEBE HER-
AUSGEGEBEN VON HELMUT
RITTER, Istanbul—1942 (German).**

سوانح تصنیف احمد غزالی بتصحیح ہ۔ ر. ر. ت.

استانبول ۱۹۴۲

THIS is a little book of aphorisms on love edited with a brief but illuminating introduction in German by Dr. Helmut Ritter. The editor is convinced that the work is of rare originality. It tries to reveal experiences and feelings which defy all expression. We know what love has been to mystics. Not to speak of Plato and Plotinus even the father of Logic, Aristotle, gives to love a metaphysical status. The mystics of Islam were consumed by a divine passion

and love has been a decisive force of their life and thought. Naturally enough it has assumed most heterogeneous forms. Ritter justly points out that the constant vacillation between divine and earthly love which is characteristic of the mystic is due to the nature of mystical outlook. The beauty that awakens passion in the mystic is not taken as an individual attribute but as a super-individual ideal reality in the platonic sense.

Dr. Ritter most emphatically distinguishes the mystical vision of Ghazzali from the romantic theories of Ibn Daud and Ibn Hazm. "For Ibn Hazm love is only a human relation determined by a characteristic feeling, a sociological phenomenon." Ahmad Ghazzali's world is different. His is not the world of society but the intimate world of the soul. Love here completely disengages itself from the concrete personality of the beloved and his presence or absence becomes of no moment. The lover longs to lose all that he can call his, to become only the object and expression of his will. Ahmad Ghazzali's work is indeed of value to understand the love that is divine.

S. V.

**QURAN AND CHARACTER BUILD-
ING** by Dr. Mir Valiuddin. Published
by Idara-e-Ishaat-i Islamiat, Hyderabad-
Deccan—1944 (Urdu).

قرآن اور سیرت سازی ڈاکٹر میر ولی الدین
(ادارہ اشاعت اسلامیات) حیدر آباد۔ دکن ۱۹۴۴

CONTENTS : Preface 1. Axioms; 2. Prayer and call for help; 3. Virtue is knowledge; 4. Application of axioms; 5. Quran and Character Building; 6. Correction of Thought; 7. Law of Attraction and Character Building; 8. Quran and the treatment of fear; 9. Quran and the treatment of sorrow; 10. Quran and the treatment of anger; 11. Quranic conception of successful life.

RELIGION cannot be divorced from life and this very close association of religion with life has led pragmatists to see its value and truth only in

the way it affects it. Dr. Mir Valiuddin has been deeply moved by the religious craving and in Islam he has found the religion that the soul of man needs in its sufferings and travails. It has always been the crucial problem of religious life to find out the way to strive with success against the overwhelming onslaught of passions. Profoundly conscious of the evil that dwells in the psychological forces of passions Dr. Valiuddin has aimed at revealing to us the Quranic

light and the Quranic path. We only regret that the voice of the preacher has often stifled the restraint and sobriety of the thinker and rhetoric and poetry has been allowed more space than is becoming in a philosopher. But as it is Dr. Valiuddin's work is unusually rich in information and is full of religious fervour which is really rare today.

S. V.

BOOKS, PERIODICALS, ETC., RECEIVED

1. *Muslim Contribution to Science & Culture* by Prof. Mohd. A. R. Khan ; published by Sh. Mohd. Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore ; Rs. 1-8-0.
2. *The Turning Point of Life* by Dr. R. C. Mahendra, M.A., D.LITT. ; published by Kitab Kutir, Himmatganj, Allahabad ; Rs. 4-8-0.
3. *Descriptive Catalogue of Islamic Literature* ; published by Sh. Mohd. Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore.
4. *Son of Adam* by Harindranath Chattopadhyaya ; published by Padma Publications, Ltd., Sir P. M. Road, Fort, Bombay ; Rs. 2.
5. *Fondscatalogus* by E. J. Brill, Publisher, Printer, Bookseller, Leiden (Holland).
6. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Volume XXVII, 1946, published by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D., at the Bhandarkar Institute Press, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, No. 4.

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Ed., I. C.

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[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.---Qur'ân*]

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. NATURE OF THE ISLAMIC STATE —DR. MAJID KHADDURI (<i>of Iraq</i>)	327
II. THE RAJPUT POLICY OF AURANGZEB —KHURSHEED MUSTAFA, Esq.	332
III. AN APPRECIATION OF SHĀH WALĪYULLĀH AL-MUHADDITH AD-DIHLAWĪ —M. S. HASAN-AL-MA'SUMI, Esq.	340
IV. THE NATURE OF THE SUMMUM BONUM IN ISLAM —'ABDUS SUBHAN, Esq.	353
V. A VISIT TO THE RAMPUR STATE LIBRARY —S. M. IMAMUDDIN, Esq.	360
VI. AKBAR AND 'ABDULLA KHAN —DR. RAMESH CHANDRA VARMA	379
VII. THE TERM QONALĠHA (قنلقه) AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE —PROF. MOHAMMAD SHAFI	390
VIII. DEVIL'S DELUSION —(Late) DR. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH	394
IX. ON THE MARGIN	403
(i) Additional Notes to the Article : " The Authorship of the Epistles of the Ikhwān Aṣ-Ṣafa " رسائل اخوان الصفا —PROF. S. M. STERN, (<i>of Jerusalem</i>)	
(ii) A Note on Ibn-Fīrnas's successful attempt at Soaring Flight —PROF. MOHD. A. R. KHAN	
X. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES	406
HYDERABAD	
DECCAN	
NORTH-EASTERN INDIA	
FOREIGN COUNTRIES	
XI. NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW	427

NATURE OF THE ISLAMIC STATE

EVER since the word *theocracy* was coined by Flavius Josephus (A.D. 37-100) to characterise the type of the Israelite state which existed in the first century of the Christian era, the term has gained currency among publicists and was applied to all states governed by religious codes or states whose religious and political institutions presented a unity.¹ The Islamic state was no exception to the rule and, therefore, has been classified, from the point of view of the incidence and exercise of authority, as a theocracy.² A careful examination of the nature of the Islamic state shows, however, that it was not a theocratic state but falls under a different category of states. The writer has briefly touched on this point elsewhere,³ but it is possible now, within the space allowed in this review, to treat the subject more adequately.

I

The principles of 'Muḥammad's (P.B.O.H.) ideal state are to be found in the *Qur'ān* [which he probably contemplated, had he lived longer, to translate into a reality.]⁴ It is true that the term state (*dawlah*) is neither used in the *Qur'ān* nor was it in vogue at Muḥammad's time, but the essential elements that constitute a state were referred to in the *Qur'ān* which clearly indicate that the concept, if not the term, state was specifically meant in the *Qur'ān*.

1. See J. C. Bluntschli, *Allgemeine Statslehre* (Stuttgart, 1875), pp. 390, 397-399; Fritz Kern, *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages*, trans. S. B. Chrines, (Oxford, 1939), pp. 27-34; F. G. Wilson, *The Elements of Modern Politics*, (New York, 1936), pp. 87-88.

2. See J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, trans. M. G. Weir, (Calcutta, 1927), pp. 5, 8. T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, (3rd ed., London, 1935), p. 32; Muḥammad Ḥamidullah, *Muslim Conduct of State*, (Lahore, 1945), pp. 74, 180.

3. See my *Law of War and Peace in Islam*, (London, 1941), pp. 6-7.

4. Very few publicists have argued that Muḥammad's mission, like that of Christ, aimed at the propagation of a new faith rather than the setting up of a state. See Ali Abul-Raziq, *al-Islam wa Usul al-Hukm*, (Cairo, 1925), pp. 64-89. For criticism of Raziq's theory, see A. Sanhoury, *Le Califat*, (Paris, 1926), pp. 45-48.

The *Qur'ān* often refers to organized authority, divine and unlimited, which belongs to *Allah*.¹ The sovereignty of the Islamic state resides, therefore, with *Allah*. The exercise of that ultimate authority or sovereignty was delegated to the Prophet Muḥammad, or *Allah's* vicegerent on earth, who was instructed to rule with justice.² *Allah*, accordingly, was regarded in Islam as the [titular] head, not the direct ruler or king of the Islamic state, while His vicegerent on earth was advised to rule in accordance with divine laws communicated to him in the form of *commands*. The citizens of the Islamic state were *Allah's* subjects (عِبَادَ اللَّهِ), and its laws were divine laws, because they emanated from *Allah*, not enacted or legislated by man. Divine law, as such, is infallible and man can only obey, because *Allah* knows better than any other authority what His ignorant subjects need. In his attempt to consummate his obedience to law, man realises his religious ideal. Law in Islam, accordingly, has the character of a religious obligation; at the same time it constitutes a political sanction of religion.³

Upon the death of Muḥammad (P.B.O.H.), communication with *Allah* became impossible, because there was no other Prophet and Muḥammad was the last, "the seal of the Prophets."⁴ It was tacitly understood by the Muslims, however, that *Allah* had delegated the exercise of His sovereignty, after the death of Muḥammad, to the Muslim community, which immediately elected a successor to Muḥammad, not in the capacity of a prophet but as a *caliph*, or successor, to Muḥammad's position as a vicegerent of *Allah*. In theory, therefore, sovereignty, as the ultimate divine authority in Islam, remained in *Allah's* hands, but its exercise was delegated to the people of the Islamic state. In practice, however, the caliphate, which was inherently an elective position, had become virtually hereditary, though consent (bai'عة) of the people was required for every new caliph.⁵

1. *Qur'ān*; XXIX, 75; CXIV, 2-3.

2. *Qur'ān*; XXXVIII, 25. "O David! verily We have made thee Our vicegerent upon earth. Judge therefore between men with truth, and follow not the passion, lest they cause thee to err from the way of *Allah*..." States have crumbled to pieces because its rulers have failed to abide by the divine law. Moses and his brother went to Pharaoh because he "transgressed (the bounds of law)," and had become a "tyrant in the land." (*Qur'ān*; V, 84; XX, 25). See H. K. Sherwani, "The Origin of Islamic Polity," *Islamic Culture*, Vol. X. (October, 1936), p. 538.

3. M. Khadduri, *Law of War and Peace in Islam*, pp. 7-8, 9-10; Abdur Rahim, *The Principles of Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, (Madras, 1911), pp. 48 ff; N. P. Aghnides, *Mohammadan Theories of Finance*, (New York, 1916), pp. 23-29; D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, (New York, 1903), pp. 65 ff; I. Goldziher, *Le Dogme et la loi de L'Islam*, (Paris, 1920), pp. 27 ff.

4. *Qur'ān*, XXXIII, 40.

5. Practice had much deviated from theory in the exercise of the caliphate. The caliphs indeed had monopolised all the powers of Cæsar, and some of them, in the Abbasid period, even claimed that they directly represented *Allah* on earth. On the origins and use of the divine rights of the caliphs, see Ignaz Goldziher "Ombre de dieu, Khalife de dieu," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Vol. XXV (1897), pp. 331-338. See also Ibn-Jama'a *Tahrir al-Ahkam fi Tadbir Ahl al-Islam in Islamica*, (1934), Vol. VI, pp. 355-356.

II

COULD SUCH A STATE BE CALLED A THEOCRACY ?

Any definition of the term "state" should take into consideration the incidence and exercise of political authority as a criterion of its nature and character. A state is called monarchical or oligarchical (in the Aristotelian sense), if its ultimate authority is entrusted, by force or reason, to one or the few ; it is democratic, if ultimate authority is regarded flowing from, and by the consent of, the people. A state is *theocratic* if it "claims to be governed by a god or gods."¹ The *Oxford Dictionary* defines it as "a form of government in which God (or a deity) is recognised as the king or immediate ruler."²

In its origin the term theocracy was coined by Flavius Josephus to characterise the type of the Israelite state which existed in the first century of the Christian era.³ Tailliar is of the opinion that Judaism, Christianity and Islam were all theocracies.⁴ Wellhausen, however, maintains that Jewish theocracy existed only in theory, that is, an ideal representation at the time of Jewish decline.⁵ Christianity, on the other hand, was not originally associated with politics, since Jesus Christ had declared "My kingdom is not of this World."⁶ From the time of St. Paul to that of Emperor Constantine, the tradition was laid down in Christianity that every power possessing authority in the state ought to be recognised as a divinely ordained authority.⁷ When the state adopted Christianity the sanction of the church became necessary for political authority, and the aim of the state had become, in the words of Kern, to "put God's law into practice."⁸ At that stage Christianity and the state had come so

1. C. Ryder Smith, "Theocracy," *The Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, pp. 287-289.

2. See also Georg Jellinek, *Allgemeine Staatslehre*, (3rd ed., Berlin, 1919), p.289.

3. "There are innumerable differences," says Josephus, "in the particular customs and laws that are among mankind ; some have entrusted the power of their states to monarchies, some to oligarchies, and some to democracies ; but our legislator had no regard to any of these forms, but ordered our government to be what I may call by a strained expression a *theocracy*, attributing the power and the authority to God" [translated from the Greek and cited by J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, trans. R. F. Black and A. Menzies (Edinburgh, 1885), p. 411n.]

4. M. Tailliar, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Institutions de Principaux Peuples*, (Douai, 1843) ; *Precis de l'histoire des Institutions de l'Europe Occidentale au Moyen-Age*, (Saint Omer, 1845), *passim*.

5. "In Ancient Israel," says Wellhausen, "the theocracy never existed in fact as a form of constitution. The rule of Jehovah is here an ideal representation ; only after the exile was it attempted to realise in it the shape of a Rule of the Holy with outward means." (J. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 411).

6. John, XVIII, 36. "His kingdom," says Tellenbach, "was a supernatural power working in the World and remaining for all others a matter of hope and expectation. Out of Christ's attitude to the World, there arose among the early Christians a tendency to withdraw from temporal affairs and to concentrate on the kingdom of Heaven," (Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. R. F. Bennett. (Oxford, 1940), p. 25).

7. Math. XVII, 21 : "render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's ; and to God, the things that are God's." See also Fritz Kern, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

8. Fritz Kern, *op. cit.*, p. 28. See also Tellenbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

nearer to one another that the Christian religion had rather become Christendom.¹

It is to be noted that God (*Allah*) has never been regarded, as stated above, the *immediate* ruler in Judaism, Christianity or Islam; only his representatives on earth were the real executives. It was therefore the *divine law*, or the sacred code, regarded as the source of governing authority, which was the essential feature in the process of control under such systems. This is what we call a *divine nomocracy*. The *Oxford Dictionary* defines it as "a system of government based on a legal code; the rule of law in a community." "Nomocracy," says Quincy Wright, "exists if a supreme law regarded as of divine or natural origin is the source of governing authority."² In Judaism, Christianity and Islam, the immediate rulers were not regarded as legislators, but were, together with their subjects, bound by the divine law. The *Shari'a*, or the sacred code, was the source of the governing authority; only its execution was entrusted to the Prophet or his successors.³

III

Christendom and Islam may be regarded as universal nomocratic states, while Judaism was a parochial nomocratic state. Christianity and Islam, it is true, had emerged in countries dominated by parochial traditions and local particularism, but they arose in protest to these conditions and, accordingly adopted universal concepts and ideals current in the Hellenistic World. For the trend of thought since Alexander the Great advocated his revolutionary ideas of "the unity of Mankind"⁴ began gradually to turn from parochial to universal values.⁵ The Stoics carried further Alexander's ideas and expressed their philosophy in terms of universal concepts and values. The Romans translated Alexander's ideas and the Stoics philosophy into an organised system of life.⁶

1. The principal Biblical verses for the so-called theocratic idea in Christendom are: Mark; IX, 35 X, 42; Math; XX, 26 sq; Luke; XXII, 26.

2. Quincy Wright, *A Study of War*, (Chicago, 1942), Vol. II, p. 968.

3. Theocracy exists only where God is regarded as the immediate ruler. At present it exists where the *Lama* rules (in Tibet) or, under Shintoism, in Japan. See D. C. Holtom, *The Political Philosophy of Modern Shinto*, (Chicago, 1922).

4. See W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind*. Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. XIX. London: Humphrey Milford, 1933. See also T. J. Haarhoff, "Alexander's Dream: The Unity of Mankind," *The Contemporary Review*, (July, 1942), pp. 48-50.

5. Alexander may have been influenced by Buddhism or may have had developed his ideas independently under the influence of the practical considerations of his great military achievements which he thought could only be maintained by the unity of the various races in his new empire. Cf. Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, (London, 1939), Vol. I, p. 86.

6. Ernest Barker, "The Conception of Empire," in Cyril Bailey (ed.), *The Legacy of Rome*, (Oxford, 1923), pp. 46, 51-54. It was the policy of the Roman Senate to confer Roman citizenship upon the conquered populations and to incorporate their territories into the Roman World Empire. See speech of Claudius in the Senate in Tacitus, *The Annals*, (Everyman's ed., 1934), pp. 306-307.

Both Christianity and Islam developed under the impact of these ideas. Thus Islam was bound to be a universal religion and, especially after the great Arab conquest, the Muslims became completely Hellenized.¹ Judaism, which appeared and developed before such concepts were accepted, was naturally parochial and the Jews were regarded as God's chosen people; their state, therefore, was national and not a universal state.

The universality of Islam, as preached by the Prophet Muḥammad did not necessarily carry with it the conception of a universal or World-state. But the legal prerequisites were already existing, such as the universal conception of religion, equality of races before Allah and law, and common allegiance to one head of the state. Thus in theory, as well as in practice, Islam presented a type of a universal nomocratic state since the Abbasid period.

The universal nomocracy of Islam, like the *Respublica Christiana* in the West, assumed mankind to constitute one community, bound by one law and governed by one ruler.² The nature of such a state is entirely exclusive; it does not recognise, by definition, the co-existence of a second universal state. It is true that Islam tolerated Christianity as a religion, but Christendom, as a universal state, was always, in the words of H.A.R. Gibb, "The sworn foe of Islam."³

The Islamic nomocracy, however, in contrast to the *Respublica Christiana*, presented, in its legal theory at least, a real unity in the religious and political aspects of the state. Thus the Islamic state spared itself the internal conflict between Church and State which was so characteristic between the Pope and the Emperor.⁴ The caliph in Islam was the head of both the Church and the State, as one institution, monopolising, at the same time, all the powers of Cæsar.⁵

MAJID KHADDURI.

1. For the controversy whether Islam was preached by the Prophet as a national or universal religion, see my *Law of War and Peace in Islam*, pp. 4-6.

2. Qur'ān; XXI, 23: "If there were two gods, the universe would be ruined." But see M. Hamidullah, *Muslim Conduct of State*, (Lahore, 1945), p. 74.

3. H. A. R. Gibb (ed.), *Whither Islam*, (London, 132), p. 24.

4. In Christendom the spiritual and the temporal rulers were separate authorities. There were three theories as to the relation between the spiritual (The Pope) and the temporal (The Emperor) powers. The first advocated the necessary superiority of the spiritual over the temporal powers; the second, the superiority of the temporal; and the third, the equality of the two powers. Even the extreme papal party admitted in practice the principle of the separation of powers. See Otto Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Ages*, trans. F. W. Maitland, (Cambridge, 1900), p. 12.

5. Al-Mawardi, *Kitab al Ahkam al Sultaniyah*, (Cairo, 1909), pp. 3-4; T. W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, (Oxford, 1924), pp. 47-49; H. K. Sherwani, *Studies in Muslim Political Thought and Administration*, (Lahore, 1945), pp. 117-120.

THE RAJPUT POLICY OF AURANGZEB

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR in his *History of Aurangzeb* (Vol. III) has assigned three main causes which determined the Emperor's Rajput policy. The first cause was the commercial importance of Marwar as the shortest and the easiest trade route from the Mughal capital to the rich manufacturing city of Ahmedabad, and the busy port of Cambay, lay through it, and thus its annexation was necessary. The second cause was the aim to divide Rajputana into two unequal halves which could be subjugated in detail, and to take Udaipur in flank, and this could be achieved by the annexation of Marwar. The third cause was Aurangzeb's plan of forcible conversion of Hindus which required that the state of Marwar should become a regular province of the Empire and should be deprived of a possible efficient head.

We shall deal with Sir Jadunath's analysis in detail. It is odd that the commercial importance of Marwar should have dawned for the first time upon Aurangzeb—the least commercial of all the Mughals. It is more than probable that this commercial importance should have been equally manifest to Akbar, Jahangir, and Shahjahan, but none thought it necessary to annex Marwar in order to guard the trade route and there is no reason to believe that Aurangzeb thought, or should have thought, to the contrary. No difficulty had ever been experienced in keeping the trade route open. Aurangzeb himself did not experience any such difficulty from 1658 to 1678—a long period of twenty years. It is therefore strange, that only on the death of Rajah Jaswant Singh in 1678, Aurangzeb should have found it absolutely necessary to annex Marwar in order to guard the trade route. The proper time to put the scheme into execution, if the Emperor ever entertained it, should have been when Jaswant Singh was treacherous and the Emperor had a just cause for annexation. It is also clear that there would have been greater reason to fear for the safety of the route while Marwar was under Rajah Jaswant Singh, a powerful ruler, and the "Leading Hindu Peer," whose conduct had been actively hostile and was far from reassuring, rather than after his death, when a minor was on the throne and the Government a regency. On the other hand there was a likelihood of the route being disturbed by the policy of annexation, as in fact it was, rather than otherwise.

It is therefore abundantly clear that there was no reason whatsoever why Aurangzeb on the death of Jaswant Singh should have been anxious for the safety of the trade route and should have found it necessary to annex Marwar in order to ensure it. In fact there were reasons to the contrary, and this motive must be ruled out as a cause of the Rajput war.

The second motive, according to Sarkar, was to divide Rajputana by the annexation of Marwar into two unequal halves which could be subjugated in detail, and to take in flank the state of Mewar. There is, however, not the slightest foundation for the belief that Aurangzeb ever entertained the wild scheme of annexing the states of Rajputana. Rajputana already owned the sway of the Mughals and its princes were peers of the Empire and servants of the State. The wise scheme of Akbar under which the Rajput princes had been left in possession of their states for accepting Mughal suzerainty and were given positions of power and trust, and a deciding voice in the affairs of the Empire, had proved a success by the unerring test of experience of nearly a century and a half. It had kept Rajputana quiet and had given some of its best statesmen, generals and administrators to the State. Aurangzeb may be credited with sufficient political sense and acumen to realize the necessity of continuing this tried and proved policy, especially when there was no reason for revising it. There is ample evidence to prove that Aurangzeb continued the policy and took pains to follow it. His forbearing treatment of Rajah Jaswant Singh is a case in point, and the fact that Rajput princes continued to serve the State up to the last as soldiers and statesmen, and fought the battles of Aurangzeb in all parts of the Empire, even against Hindu and Rajput princes, is a convincing proof of his having followed the traditional Rajput policy of his ancestors, initiated by Akbar. The motive, therefore, of annexing Mewar in order to divide Rajputana and weaken Mewar and ultimately to annex it, cannot be held to be a cause of the Rajput war. The suggestion that the aim could have been to drive a 'wedge of Muslim territory' into the heart of Rajputana is also not acceptable, not only in view of Aurangzeb's adherence to the Rajput policy of his ancestors, but also because of the fact that the Rajput territory was already surrounded on all sides by Imperial, or as Prof. Sarkar would have it, Muslim territory. The second point in Sarkar's analysis thus falls to the ground.

The third cause according to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, was that "the success of Aurangzeb's plan of forcible conversion of the Hindus required that Jaswant Singh's state should sink into a quiescent dependency or a regular province of the Empire. Hindu resistance to the policy of religious persecution must be deprived of a possible efficient head." Leaving aside for the present the discussion of the truth of the very debateable alleged "plan of forcible conversion of the Hindus" some signal discrepancies are to be observed in this analysis. Jaswant Singh's state was not, and had never been, even under the powerful Jaswant Singh, whom

Sarkar describes as 'the Leading Hindu Peer' of the Mughal Court, anything more than a quiescent dependency of the Empire, and it was highly improbable that it could have become anything more under a minor Rajah who had still to prove his mettle and his claim to the leadership of the Rajputs, the weakness of Regency Administrations being proverbial. The theory of annexation or of making the state into a regular province of the Empire has been disproved already and would be further disproved by the narration of facts later on. That Aurangzēb should have considered the minor son of Jaswant Singh a more powerful weapon of resistance to his alleged policy of religious persecution than the all-powerful Jaswant Singh himself, the 'Leading Hindu Peer' is, to say the least, very odd indeed. Why should he have left Jaswant Singh undisturbed in his possession when he was not only the acknowledged leader of the Hindu nobility, but had also, as has been suggested by Sarkar himself, inclinations towards assuming the role of the hero of "persecuted" Hinduism? Jaswant Singh had proved his hostility to the cause of the Emperor more than once. Yet he was entrusted with positions of trust and power, and given important commands on the outlying posts of the Empire, where he could, and as we are told did, do great harm to the Imperial cause. It would be strange to say that Aurangzeb was afraid of him; but stranger still is the suggestion that Aurangzeb should have been afraid of the untried and unproved minor son of the powerful Jaswant, and should have spied in him a "possible efficient head" to resist his policy and sought to remove him, while he gave the actual and potential head full rein. After the death of Jaswant Singh there were other powerful Rajput princes left in the field, who might reasonably be considered as more likely to assume the role of leadership of "persecuted" Hinduism, assuming for the present that there was such persecution, and that Aurangzeb should have chosen the infant offspring of Jaswant, rather than powerful Rajahs in the prime of manhood, as worthy objects of his attack is highly astonishing. The removing of the possible efficient head, therefore, could not be a motive, and must be left out of consideration.

Events tell a different tale. Maharajah Jaswant Singh died on 10th December, 1678 without any issues. The Mughal Sovereign was the overlord, and in theory the succession was not valid until formally recognised by him. In medieval times the death of a powerful prince, even in the event of the presence of rightful and powerful heirs, was generally the signal for disruption and lawlessness. There being no direct heirs in this case, and in face of the likelihood of the decision on the question of succession being delayed, there was grave danger of disturbances in the state. Aurangzeb, therefore, to discharge his Imperial responsibility, as also in the interest of the family of the ruling Rajput House, undertook to maintain law and order in the State pending a decision on succession, and with that end in view he sent there some of his experienced officers many of whom, be it noted, were Hindus. The fact that there was no opposition to this step from any quarter is remarkable, and was due, it

may reasonably be maintained, to the good faith of the Emperor which, it seems, was not questioned. On the 26th February, 1679, Aurangzeb was informed that two of the widows of Jaswant Singh had given birth to two posthumous sons at Lahore. Even in modern times bogus heirs and impostors are not unknown, and in the medieval period these were much too frequent. That the heirless Jaswant should suddenly have two posthumous sons was, therefore, rather an intriguing circumstance, and there was every reasonable ground for suspicion. Aurangzeb, therefore ordered the Ranis and the alleged sons to be brought to the Imperial Court so that their claim and legitimacy might be investigated and proved,—the only just and reasonable course in the circumstances. This was in February, but the Rajputs delayed bringing the Ranis to the Court till the end of June, although the question of succession being involved, and the throne of Marwar being without a ruler, all possible despatch and hurry could have been reasonably expected. This delay in a matter so vital and urgent, must have further heightened the suspicions which already existed as to the legitimacy of the two princes. After waiting for full three months for the princes, Aurangzeb decided that he could not allow the throne of Marwar to remain vacant any longer in the interest of the princes whose legitimacy was now more in doubt than ever before, and investigation into whose claims was likely to take still more time. He, therefore, in the interest of Marwar, and in the discharge of his Imperial responsibility, invested Inder Singh Rathor, a grand-nephew of Rajah Jaswant Singh, as the Rajah of Marwar on the 26th May, 1679. This gives the greatest lie to the suggestion that Aurangzeb wanted the annexation of Marwar. If this had been his intention, he could easily have assumed direct control of the State, and could have easily maintained it on the ground of the unproved legitimacy of the princes, an investigation which could have been prolonged indefinitely and which could have been decided against the princes. The question could also be put off till the coming of age of the princes, who could have been in the meanwhile put out of the way in one manner or the other. But we find that instead of adopting any of these courses, and pending investigation of the claims of the princes, he gave the state to a nephew of the Rajah, who, but for the appearance of the two posthumous sons, would have inherited the state in the ordinary course of the law of succession. This action of the Emperor proves, beyond a shadow of doubt, that he never entertained the motives which have been imputed to him, and which have been held responsible for the catastrophe of the Rajput war.

To resume the tale of events. The family of Rajah Jaswant Singh reached Delhi at the end of June, and the claims of the princes were again urged before the Emperor, who ordered that the two princes should be presented or brought to the Court, and promised that they "will be honoured with raj and mansab on attaining the age of discretion" (M.A. 177) (and) "order was issued that the Diwans should appropriate pergunahs

Sofat and Chenaran out of the Mahals of the Rajah for their maintenance as a more liberal grant—especially to the children, whose legitimacy as the sons of the Rajah had not been confirmed,—was not possible.” (*Lubut-Tawarikh*). The Emperor thus acted with perfect justice. He invested the nephew of the Rajah, who was the legal heir of the apostate Jaswant Singh, as the ruler of Marwar. He promised to investigate the claim of the princes to be the sons of Jaswant Singh, pledging himself to raise them to Rajahship, if their case was proved, setting aside at the same time certain portions of the Marwar state for their maintenance. Nothing could be more fair or just, and only a biased mind can read anything sinister in these actions. Sir Jadunath Sarkar asserts that Aurangzeb “ordered that the child should be brought up in his harem . . .” (Vol. III, pp. 373-374). This is a surprising misreading of the statement in *Ma’āsir-e-‘Ālam-giri* (176-177) that حکم اقدس اعلی صادر شد کہ ہر دو پسر را بدرگاہ سپہر بارگاہ یارند - which simply means that the two princes were ordered to be brought to Court. Only a biased mind, and an imagination run riot, can alone put that construction upon it as Sir Jadunath has done. As has been shown above the Emperor’s attitude throughout was perfectly correct.

The self-styled guardian of the princes, Durgadas, however, thought otherwise. He, either knowing the legitimacy of Prince Ajit to be beyond doubt and impatient at the Emperor’s cautious insistence on pre-verification before investiture, or having his own axe to grind, hoping to be the arbiter of the destinies of Marwar during the minority of Prince Ajit, and seeing himself balked of his object, decided to defy the Emperor and to escape to Marwar and place Prince Ajit on the throne. The Emperor, getting wind of this, must have become even more suspicious of the legitimacy of Prince Ajit, whose supporters were not prepared to submit to a test of fair inquiry, but fought shy of investigation. He, therefore, in order to avoid the risk of interested persons running away with the princes and raising disturbances in their name ordered them and the Ranis to be lodged in the fortress of Nurgarh, instead of the camp, for greater safety; but Durgadas cutting down the Imperial guards, made good his escape. This was the first action of the Rajput war. It was thus Durgadas, rather than Emperor Aurangzeb, who only tried to be fair, who in his unwisdom haste, impetuosity and mistaken sense of loyalty, and maybe, lust for power, let loose the horrors of the Rajput war, which brought untold misery to millions of Rajputs, and destruction and poverty to their homelands, and did incalculable harm to the Imperial interests.

Aurangzeb’s statecraft, we are told by Sarkar, “struck a shrewd blow to the counteraction of Durgadas; he brought up a milkman’s infant in his harem as the true Ajit Singh.” This is based on the statement in M.A. 177-78 that when the Emperor tried to thwart the plan of Durgadas, “the Rajputs leaving the infant (i.e., Prince Ajit) behind at the house of a milk vendor, fled precipitately to their homes.” In K. K., on the other hand, we read that “the Rajputs having secured the children of the same age as the sons of the Raja, dressed some of the female

servants as the Ranis. . . then putting the real Ranis in male attire, rushed out and rode straight for their homes. " (K. K. II, 259). The same writer goes on to say that " After two or three hours, when contradictory news reached the Emperor he appointed trustworthy men to enquire into the matter. Though the escape of the Ranis was not proved, yet some interested persons insisted on the escape of the sons. At last it was decided to arrest the sons of the Raja." (K. K. II, 260). It is apparent from these two accounts, that Durgadas also employed the ruse of impersonating Ajit by another boy of the same age, maybe a milkman's son. The princes had been in Delhi for a very short while, and no one in the Emperor's entourage could have been absolutely sure of Ajit's identity. In the face of " the contradictory news " the Emperor seems to have imagined for some time, in perfect good faith, that the boy left behind was Prince Ajit. But very soon the Emperor seems to have realised that the real Ajit had been taken away and at last " it was decided to arrest the sons of the Raja." It was therefore for a very short time, that the Emperor seems to have thought of the boy left behind as the real Ajit, but very soon he realised the mistake, and there is no evidence to prove that he ever tried to pit the milkman's boy against Ajit. He at once recognised him to be the real prince, which is amply proved by the later events, and right from the beginning of the war.

Thus the Rajputs, without provocation, forced the war upon the Emperor. That he executed it with vigour, cannot be a charge against him. It was his duty as the Emperor to fight with all his might against the forces of disruption in the Empire. It was a matter of execution rather than of policy, and to be slack would have been criminal folly. But as will be seen, he tried more than once, whenever an opportunity offered itself, to put an end to the war. Durgadas, however, spurned every offer and did not see reason till his policy had brought death and destruction to thousands of Rajput households.

At this stage, without rhyme or reason, the Rana of Mewar entered the war on the side of the Rathors. Prof. Sarkar has advanced two reasons for this action, (1) " that the annexation of Marwar was but the preliminary to an easy conquest of Mewar " and (2) that " Rai Singh could not, either as Kinsman or as a Knight " refuse to defend Ajit's rights. The first has already been shown to be baseless and second is disproved by the events that followed. It was not because of any of these high and noble motives, but because of pure love of mischief and of benefiting by the troubled state of affairs, that Rana Rai Singh entered the war and brought misery to thousands of his subjects.

The Emperor convinced, by the rallying of the Rathors, and support of Mewar, of the legitimacy of Prince Ajit at once took the just and conciliatory step of removing Indar Singh from the throne of Marwar. This friendly gesture received no response and probably took a most sinister meaning in the heated imagination of Durgadas. The war went on, for it seems, the aim was not so much to restore his inheritance to

Prince Ajit as to grasp unbridled power and to profit from the disturbed state of affairs.

A convincing proof of this statement is the fact that the Rana of Mewar, feeling the weight of Imperial power, submitted to the Emperor on the 14th June, 1681. The Rajah's submission was at once accepted, and no punishment was meted out. This demonstrates, once again, the Emperor's good faith and anxiety to continue the Rajput policy of his ancestors. If his aim had been to annex Mewar, why should he have given up this golden opportunity, when the Rajah was beaten and he had a just cause. The Emperor, one comes to the conclusion, had no such aims, nor the Rajah had the noble motives which Sarkar assigns to his actions. The inheritance of Prince Ajit was not yet restored to him, nor was the danger of Mewar being conquered after Marwar, and of Sisodias being crushed after Rathors, yet over. Where was then, the Rana's sense of duty and honour as a knight, and kinsman, and patriot? It was pure love of mischief and evil ambition, for which the Rana entered the war, and submitted seeing that he had miscalculated. This lesson was, however, learnt at a terrible cost, for which the Rana was responsible, not the Emperor, who seized the first opportunity to conclude peace.

The war with Marwar went on. At last the Rathor leaders saw reason, and in 1698 Prince Ajit asked for the Emperor's pardon. The Emperor readily granted it and conferred mansabs and jagirs on Ajit, and a mansab of 3000 even on Durgadas, the arch rebel, who had given so much trouble to him, and was also appointed Faujdar of Patan in Gujerat. (M.A., 395). But they abused the trust placed in them, and rebelled again in 1701, and the Emperor had to take the field again. They submitted again in 1705 and were again pardoned and honoured. By their rebellion once again in 1706 they however, demonstrated that the Emperor's confidence was misplaced in them. The war was not over when the Emperor died in 1707. This narration of facts demonstrates, as nothing else can, the sincerity and good faith of the Emperor, and the evil ambition and love of mischief of Ajit Singh and Durgadas. His intentions were, in fact, of the best. If he had the intentions, which Sarkar suggests he had, what was there to prevent him from carrying them out? Why should he have given up the plan of annexing Marwar and dividing Rajputana? Why should he have forgotten its commercial importance? Why should he have pardoned his opponents? Why should he have allowed his implacable enemies to thrive? In spite of the unprovoked conflict which they forced upon the Emperor, in spite of the incalculable harm that they had done to the Imperial cause, in spite of the heavy financial burden they imposed upon the Imperial treasury, in spite of the threat even to his crown that they held out, the Emperor was ever ready to forget and forgive. Whenever the opportunity for peace offered itself, he seized it, but his confidence and trust were abused.

It is therefore clear, beyond a shadow of doubt, that for the Rajput war and the incalculable misery it wrought, and the unimaginable harm

it did, Durgadas, Prince Ajit and Rana Rai Singh were to blame, not Aurangzeb. But Aurangzeb has been the victim of some of the greatest misrepresentations in History.

' KHURSHEED MUSTAFA.

AN APPRECIATION OF SHAH WALIYULLAH AL-MUHADDITH AD-DIHLAWĪ

HIS LIFE

SHĀH Waliyullāh al-Muḥaddith ad-Dihlawī traces his descent from ‘Umar, the Great, the second of the (Rāshidūn) Caliphs. On his mother’s side his lineage goes back to Imām Mūsā al-Kāzim (d. 799/183).¹

Of his forefathers, Shaikh Shamsud-Dīn al-Muftī was the first to come to India.² He settled down at Ruhtak,³ where he founded a *madrasah* and was later appointed Muftī of the town. After him his descendants held his post successively with credit until Maḥmūd, son of Qāḍi Qādhin, though a learned man, preferred a military career. Maḥmūd’s successors did not, however, neglect education, their ancestral heritage, and achieved distinction in the domain of both brawn and brain.

Shaikh Maḥmūd had married into a Sayyid family of Ṣunipāt⁴ where he fixed up his residence and had a son born to him—Shaikh Aḥmad by name who was bred and brought up under the supervision of his grandfather (on the mother’s side) Shaikh Abdul Ḡhanī b. Shaikh Abdul Ḥakīm al-Ṣunipatī.

1. Mawlana Isma‘il Gudharwi: *Waliyullāh*, p. 30. In his ‘*Imdād fī Ma‘athir al-Amjād Shāh Ṣāhib*’ himself gives his lineage in the following words:

و سلسله نسب این فقیر بآ میرالمومنین عمر بن الخطاب میرسد ، باین طریق فقیر ولی الله بن الشیخ
عبد الرحیم ابن الشہید وجہ الدین بن معظم بن منصور بن احمد بن محمود بن قوام الدین عرف قاضی
فاذن بن قاضی قاسم بن قاضی کبیر الدین عرف قاضی بدہ بن عبد الملک بن قطب الدین بن کمال الدین بن
شمس الدین مفتی بن شیر ملک بن محمد عطاء ملک بن ابو الفتح ملک بن محمد عمر حاکم ملک بن عادل ملک بن فاروق
بن جرجیس بن احمد بن محمد شہر یار بن عثمان بن ہامان بن ہمایون بن قریش بن سلیمان بن عفان بن عبد الله
بن محمد بن عبد الله بن عمر بن الخطاب رضی الله عنه و عنہم اجمعین۔“

2. Mukhtar Aḥmad : *Iḥlāt-i-Khāndān-i-‘Azīzī*, p.

3. This is a small township situated at a distance of 30 miles to the west of Delhi and was once a historical town of importance.

4. Abū Yahyā Nowshahrawī: *Tarājim-i-‘Ulamā’-i-Hadith-i-Hind*, p. 7. But Shāh Ṣ. himself writes
صون پت vide, *at-Tafhimāt al-Ilāhiyah*, Vol. II, p. 152.

As Shaikh Aḥmad grew up, he went back to Ruhtak, his ancestral homestead, where he lived on with his family until he died. Though reputed scholars themselves, his son, Shaikh Maṣṣūr, and his grandson, Shaikh Muḥammad Mu'azzam, preferred the career of sword to that of the pen.

Shaikh Wajihud-Dīn, son of Shaikh Md. Mu'azzam and the grandfather of Shāh Walīyullāh, the hero of our brochure, besides being a learned man and a pious saint, was a soldier of great repute. In the war of succession fought between 'Ālamgīr and his brother Shujā', the Shaikh took the side of the former. In the most critical moment of the war when 'Ālamgīr's forces were on the verge of a disastrous defeat, had no courage to face the wild elephants requisitioned by Shujā', and were retreating leaving behind only four soldiers in the field to fight the innumerable hordes of the enemy, it was Shaikh Wajih who summoned courage and placed himself at the head of those valiant soldiers to attack and cut the trunk of the chief of the wild elephants. The furious animal rushed back in agony and caused great havoc in the almost victorious army of Shujā'. This now turned the tables, and the erstwhile retreating army of 'Ālamgīr came out victorious in the contest. As a mark of appreciation of the gallant services rendered by the Shaikh Muḥiyud-Dīn, 'Ālamgīr presented him with a sword and offered him a higher rank in his army, which latter the Shaikh unceremoniously refused to accept. Later on, the Shaikh was sent to fight against Sivaji, but on his way thither he was killed in a skirmish that took place between his party and a gang of robbers.¹

Shaikh Wajih's son, Shāh 'Abdur-Rahīm,² the most renowned scholar of his time and one of the compilers of the celebrated *Fatāwa-i-Ālamgīriyah*,³ written at the age of about sixty-one, had by his second wife a son born to him in Shawwāl 4, 1114/1702,⁴ to whom the old father fondly gave the name of Walīyullāh (the friend of Allah). Shāh 'Abdur-

1. Abū Yahya : *Tārājīm*, p. 8 ; Manzūr Aḥmad : *Al-Furqān* (Walīyullāh Number, the article of Mnāzīr Aḥsan entitled : آغوش موج کا ایک درنا بندہ p. 189).

2. Shāh 'Abdur-Rahīm, son of Shaikh Wajihud-Dīn was born in 1054/1644, and died in 1131/1719. He studied with his father and the eminent philosopher Mirza Muḥammad Zāhid Harawī. At the early age of eleven he undertook the study of Fiqh and Ḥadīth and enjoyed great reputation as scholar. He was survived by his sons, Shāh Walīyullāh, Shāh Ahlul-Lāh, and Shāh Ḥabībullāh, of whom Shāh Walīyullāh was the eldest.

3. This valuable and comprehensive work on Fiqh (jurisprudence) entitled *al-Fatāwā al-Hindiyyah*, was compiled at the instance of 'Ālamgīr by a group of 'Ulamā' with Mullā Nizām at their head. Shāh 'Abdur-Rahīm's name was, to begin with, included in the group by Mulla Nizām but was subsequently dropped by 'Ālamgīr himself. This incident is said to have happened as a result of the prayer of Shāh Ṣ.'s *murshid* (spiritual guide) *Khālifa*, Abū'l Qāsim, who disapproved of the idea that his beloved disciple should be weaned away from the service of his Lord.

4. Hidayet Ḥusain : *Al-Juzw al-Laṭīf*, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII, (1912) p. 171.

Rahīm also named his son Qutbud-Dīn, after the name of Khwājā Qutbud-Dīn Bakhīyār Kakī¹ for whom he bore very great reverence, and also as 'Azī mud-Dīn, which last indicated the year of his birth according to the well-known Abjad calculation. Prophetically enough, he fully justified the significance which all his three names carried with them inasmuch as he actually figured in history as Walīyullāh, the friend of God, Qutbud-Dīn, the pole of the religion, and 'Azī mud-Dīn, the chief of the religion. Though in his writings he generally assumed the name of Aḥmad, his fourth name, he became popularly known as Walīyullāh.²

HIS STUDENT CAREER

At the age of five, Shāh Walīyullāh began his Arabic alphabet, and at seven he completed the reading of the Qur'ān.³ It was at this time that his circumcision ceremony took place, and he was initiated into the Islamic institutions of prayer and fasting.⁴ Then he took to the reading of Persian literature and Arabic grammar.⁵ By the fifteenth year of his life, he gave a finishing touch to the study of Logic, Philosophy, Astronomy, Mathematics, Fiqh, Uṣūl, Ḥadīth, Tafsīr, and Taṣawwuf, under the personal direction and supervision of his illustrious father.⁶

In the early age of fourteenth, his father had him married and initiated him into the mysteries of mysticism.⁷ Within the short space of a year, the precocious boy obtained from his father the Khilāfat⁸ in the Naqshbandīyah order.⁹

HIS ROLE AS A TEACHER

Thus, at the age of fifteen, he gained complete mastery over all the sciences esoteric and exoteric—a marvel of his age or for that matter of any other age.¹⁰ Then he started his career as a teacher in the Madrasa-i-Rahīmīyah in Delhi—an institution that was founded by and was named

1. A well-known Indian saint, Khalifa of Khwāja Mu'inud-Dīn Chishtī, died 633 A.H.

2. Abu Yahya: *Tarājim*, p. 10.

3. Journal of A. S. B., Vol. VII, p. 171.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 163-165.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

6. For the full course pursued by the Shāh Ṣ. see *Al-Juzu' Al-Laṭīf* (*supra*, p. note 4).

7. *Ibid.*, 171.

8. Khilāfat (خلافت): In mystic terminology it means the recognition by the Shaikh of the spiritual leadership of his disciple.

9. A well-known ascetic order of ṣūfīs which was founded by Khwāja Bahā'ud-Dīn Naqshband. His real name was Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī. He was born in 718/1318, and died 791/1388.

10. *Supra*, p. note 4.

after his father, Shāh 'Abdur-Raḥīm. He had worked here for barely two years when in the year 1311/1719 at the age of only seventeen he succeeded to the chair of his father in the madrasah—an event that synchronised with the accession to the throne of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh (r. 1131/1719). Shāh Ṣ worked in this seat of learning for twelve long years until he left in 1143/1731 for Hijāz to perform his pilgrimage.¹

HIS ACTIVITIES IN HIJĀZ.

Though already a ripe scholar and an experienced teacher, Shāh Ṣ's thirst for knowledge could only be quenched when, during his sojourn in Hijāz, he sat at the feet of such distinguished traditionists as Shaikh Wafdullāh and Tājūd-Dīn of Mecca, and Shaikh Abū Tāhir al-Kurḍī al-Madanī (d. 1145/1733), from whom he obtained the *ijāzah* (permission) and *sanad* to teach and transmit Hadith to others.

In Shaikh Abū Tāhir, our Shāh Ṣ. found a savant of rare scholarship, sterling character and uncompromising patriotism whose company could not, naturally enough, fail to evoke in him his long-cherished hope for the resurgence and resuscitation of the then decadent Muslim society of India. In the course of conversation, Shāh Ṣ. freely and fearlessly discussed with his Shaikh many burning problems of the day regarding the future of the *millat*. The learned Shaikh not only approved the viewpoints of his Indian pupil but was also very greatly impressed by his erudition. As a matter of fact, the Shaikh paid a very high compliment to his pupil's scholarship when he said : *انه كان يسند عني اللفظ و. كنت اصحح المعنى منه* : "Waliyullāh narrates the wordings on my authority whereas I correct the meaning through him."²

In the course of fourteen months³ which he passed in Hijāz Shāh Ṣ. gained a thorough insight into the sciences of Hadith and Jurisprudence (*فقه*), and felt himself called upon to declare himself as Mujaddid (Reformer) of his time.⁴

As a mark of the realisation of his role as a Mujaddid, Shāh Ṣ. often received, in dreams, clear hints and direct guidance from both the Holy

1. Muḥsin al-Taymī al-Tirhutī : *Al-Yāni' al-Jani'*, Bareilly, 1287 A.H.) p. 1 ; also Manzūr Aḥmad, *al-Furqān* p. 212.

2. Muḥsin al-Taymī : *Al-Yāni' al-Jani'*, p. 117.

3. The duration of his journey to Hijāz extended over two years (1143-1145). Shāh Ṣ. stayed at Ḥaramain (Mecca and Madina) for 14 months in the course of which he twice performed pilgrimage, and the rest of his days were spent on his way back to and from Hijāz, as Shāh 'Abdul Aziz has it in his *Malfuzāt*, p. 93.

4. The idea of Mujaddid has its origin from the Apostolic Tradition :

قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يبعث الله في امتي بعد كل مائة رجلا يعيد دينا دينها

"The Messenger of Allah said, God will, on the eve of every century, raise a person from my community who will revive my religion," vide Shāh Ṣ's *At-Tafhimāt al-Ilāhiyah*, Vol. I, p. 40.

Prophet and the Divinity Himself—a privilege which emboldened him to assume the surname of 'Uwaisi.'¹

HE COMES BACK TO DELHI

On his return to Delhi in 1145 A.H., Shāh Ṣ. resumed his old duties of Ṣadr (Chancellor) in the madrasah. But his popularity as an educationist spread far and wide and students not in their tens but in their hundreds and thousands began to flock to his madrasah—a fact that necessitated the reconstruction and reshuffling of the madrasah-building itself. On his coming to know of this difficulty, the then Emperor, Muḥammad Shāh (r. 1719-1748) offered our Shāh Ṣ. a larger and more commodious building for the accommodation of his madrasah—an offer which was gladly and thankfully accepted.² Accordingly, the madrasah was shifted

1. 'Uwaisiyat' (أويسية): In mystic terminology, it means getting direct spiritual guidance and insight from the Holy Prophet. The term comes from 'Uways, the famous saint. It is generally known and believed that 'Uways, though a contemporary of the Prophet, had not had the privilege of seeing him but, nevertheless, mysteriously enough received spiritual guidance from him.

Dr. Burhān Aḥmad Fārūqī, the author of *The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawḥīd* has, as it appears from the footnote, p. 25, 1st and 2nd Edition, on the authority of Prof. F. Krenkow categorically denied and disowned the historical existence of the personality of 'Uways, a view with which we do not concur and which we hold to be too sweeping and unkind. Historical proofs which I am going to adduce here will amply bear out my statement. Both Ibn Sa'd (d. 230 A.H.), the author of *Ṭabaqāt*, and Abū Nu'aym Iṣṣpahānī (430 A.H.), the author of *Ḥilya*, whose integrity as the authorities on *Asmā'-i-Rijāl* has never been challenged, are definite about and make no secret of the historical existence of 'Uways (*Ṭabaqāt*, Vol. VI, pp. 111 and 112, *Ḥilya*, Vol. II, p. 79). Imām Bukhārī (d. 256 A.H.) never questions the existence of 'Uways. All that he does is that he mentions him in his *Kitāb al-Ḍu'afā'*. Both Imām Mūsliḥ (d. 261 A.H.) and Imām Aḥmad (d. 241 A.H.) have not merely believed in the existence of the historical figure of 'Uways but have also narrated traditions about the excellences of 'Uways himself. Commenting on the person of 'Uways, 'Abdullāh b. 'Adī (d. 385 A.H.) speaks of him as 'بل هو ثقة صدوق' (he is trustworthy and truthful, vide *Lisan*, Vol. I, p. 471) and stoutly refutes the so-called statement of Imām Mālik to the effect that he doubts the existence of 'Uways. Imām Sam'ānī (d. 562 A.H.), Imām Dhahabī (d. 748 A.H.), Imām Ibn Ḥajar (d. 858 A.H.) and other authorities on *Asmā'-i-Rijāl* are unanimous on this that 'Uways was a historical personage, nay, he actually lived at Kūfa and that 'Umar and 'Alī themselves met him at a place near 'Arafāt. This is not all. All the traditionists of note without exception hold that 'Uways b. 'Amir al-Qarānī was اشرف التابعين, the noblest among the Followers of the Companions of the Prophet. The statement that Imām Mālik (d. 179 A.H.) doubted the personality of 'Uways, if it has any basis at all, cannot stand in face of the definite and categorical statements about the existence of the personality of 'Uways made by the undisputed authorities on *Asmā'-i-Rijāl* as referred to above, especially so, when we recall that Imām Mālik never set foot outside Ḥijāz. To our mind the reason which might have encouraged some person here and there to doubt the personality of 'Uways, may be explained away by the fact that the celebrated saint 'Uways was, by his nature, unassuming and unostentatious in character and was not, in the least, given to the limelight of publicity and advertisement—agencies that can always make the worse appear the better reason.

2. Mawlvi Bashīrud-Dīn: *Dārul Hukūmat*, Delhi, Vol. II, p. 173.

to the Imperial premises where the Shāh continued teaching and instructing his students and disciples for more than a decade, until he died on the 29th of Muḥarram, 1176/1763 during the reign of Shāh 'Ālam (r. 1759/1806).¹

THE RETROSPECT

THE PERIOD OF CHAOS AND THE ASCENDANCY OF THE FOREIGNERS

Shāh Ṣ., as we have already seen, was born during the reign of 'Ālam-gīr, and died when Shāh 'Ālam was reigning nominally on the throne of Delhi. Thus, he witnessed the rule of as many as ten Emperors over the throne of Delhi—'Ālamgīr (r. 1658-1707), Bahādur Shāh I (r. 1707-1712), Mu'izzud-Dīn Jahāndār Shāh (r. 1712-1719), Farrukh Siyar (r. 1713-1719), Rafi'ud-Darajāt (r. 1719-1727), Rafi'ud-Dawla (r. 1727-1737), Muḥammad Shāh (r. 1737-1748), Aḥmad Shāh (r. 1748-1754), 'Ālamgīr II (r. 1754-1759) and Shāh 'Ālam (r. 1759-1806). It is not a figment but a fact of history that during the reign of these Emperors, India had to pass through a period of internecine struggles and extreme unrest and chaos—rise of the Sayyids and the decline thereof as brought about by the Turāniyan Amirs, revolt of the Mahrattas and their bid for supremacy over India, revolt of the Sikhs, Nādir Shāh's invasion and the sack of Delhi by his soldiery, Aḥmad Shāh Durrāni's campaign and his decisive victory in the 3rd battle of Panipat (1761), supremacy of the Rohillas over the puppet rulers of Delhi, subsequent rivalry between the Irāniyan and the Turāniyan chiefs, advent of the Europeans on the soil of India, gaining of a foothold by the English over Bengal, and their subsequent intervention in the affairs of Bengal and Behar.

Shāh Ṣ. was an eye-witness of all these tumults and turmoils. As for the generally prevalent moribund condition of the Muslims of the world outside India, particularly of those under the Uthmāniyy Turks, his Hījāz journey provided him with the clue, as he himself writes: "Indian affairs are no secret to me, I was born and brought up there; I am acquainted with the affairs of the Arab cities too as I have travelled extensively over them, and have also heard about the condition of the people of Rome (Asia Minor) from sources at once authentic and reliable."²

Thus, he obtained first-hand information as to how deterioration had set in in the political status of the Muḥammadans all the world over.

1. It will not be out of place here to say a word or two with a view to arriving at the correct age of Shāh Ṣ. As it is, we have two different versions about his age. On the authority of the one as given by the author of *Hayāt-i Wali*, Shāh Ṣ. died in 1176/1763, at the age of 63 years. On the authority of another as given by no less a person than Shāh Ṣ.'s own son, Shāh 'Abdul 'Azīz, Shāh Ṣ.'s death occurred in 1176/1763, when he was 61 years and 4 months old. To me the latter view holds the field, as the numerals of Shāh Ṣ.'s historical name عظیم الدین when worked out corroborate my statement.

2. *Kalimāt Taiyibāt*, p. 158 (margin), Mujtabā'i Press, 1891.

As a master-mind of his age, political disruption of the Muslims of India, his homeland, could not but unhinge him and set him to thinking how he could raise his co-religionists out of the slough of despondency and quagmire of degeneracy into which they had fallen.

FANATIC MUSLIMS AND PREJUDICED 'ULAMĀ'

To diagnose the malady that was eating into the very vitals of the body-politic of Islam in India and to find out a proper and appropriate remedy for it now became one consuming passion with Shāh Waliyullāh. He therefore began to analyse the causes that were responsible for and led to the downfall of the Delhi Sultanate or for the matter of that of the Muslims of India as a whole. It is a truism to say that all the major powers of the world today have risen to their present height and stature by giving the go-by to the religions they profess, whereas the Muslims rose to the pinnacle of their glory only by following and acting up to their religion of Islam itself. Hence, the present downfall of the Muslims all over the world, those of India not excepted, can therefore be accounted for only by their abuse and corruption of the religion which once they held so dear. The political downfall of the Muslims of India had therefore as its background nothing but religious corruption and prejudices.

Most of the contemporary Indian divines who had been at the helm of the affairs of the Sharī'ah neglected the study of the Qur'ān and Hadīth and cared only for that of the *Fiqh* and *Ma'qūlāt*, the former for securing Government posts and the latter for holding verbal duals and hair-splitting controversies amongst themselves, and the result was soon obvious.¹ Departing from the lofty and vigorous teachings of the Qur'ān and Hadīth which made the early Muslims what they were, our so-called divines of the time degenerated into mere commoners who always engaged themselves in mutual brawls and recriminations which had their natural repercussions on the masses themselves. For nowhere among the nations of the world, does religion wield such a tremendous influence over its votaries as it does among the Muslims. Naturally, therefore, the Muslim divines have, so to say, always the masses at their beck and call and claim to implicit obedience is never challenged by the latter. Such being the case, whenever leadership is abused or goes wrong, the followers themselves go astray. The demoralisation of the led, i.e., the Muslim masses of India, therefore followed that of the leaders, the Muslim divines, as a matter of course. This was not all. On the other hand, most of the pīrs, spiritual guides, were exploiting the credulity of the ignorant and simple masses for their own worldly gain by making display of their so-called *karamāt* and hypnotic arts,² and that to the utter neglect of the

1. Shāh Shāhib: *Inṣāf*, p. 86.

2. Shāh Ṣ.'s; *Al-Maqālat al-Waḍīyah fī al-Waṣīyat wa al-Naṣīḥah*.

laws of the Shari'ah as to what was lawful (حلال) and what was unlawful (حرام) — a state of things that could not but bring about the downfall of the Muslims of India. By observing the laws of their religion, the Muslims became the torch-bearers of the world, and by neglecting them they were now falling headlong into the abyss of degradation. If any reforms were now to be introduced into the decadent Muslim society, they had to come from within and not from without. It was at this critical and psychological moment that Shāh Waliyullāh appeared on the scene.

SHĀH Ṣ. AS A REFORMER

The Hijāz-trip of our Shāh Ṣ. proved to be the stepping-stone to his successful campaign against the popular heresies and innovations that held sway over the 'Ulamā in particular, owing to the latter's ignorance of the true import of the religious sciences—the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth. It was on his return to India that we find him a changed man altogether. Narrating about his father, Shāh Waliyullāh, Shāh 'Abdul 'Azīz says that on his father's return from Hijāz, he devoted himself exclusively to the teaching of Ma'ārif (esoteric sciences) and Ḥadīth amongst his disciples and votaries.¹ He further observed that whatever his father received in *kashf*, mystic experience, he committed it to writing.² It was then that he claimed to be the duly qualified *Mujaddid*, Reformer, and *Waṣī*, Trustee of his time,³ and gave a new orientation to the Islamic sciences by making a critical survey of their subject-matter in the many books he in his life-time published on Tafsīr, Ḥadīth, Fiqh, Taṣawwuf and Islamic Philosophy, both in Arabic and Persian.⁴

PROJECTS OF REFORMS

Having travelled widely and having studied the problems that confronted the fast decaying and degenerating Muslim society of the day, Shāh Ṣ. was able correctly to diagnose the diseases that were eating into the very vitals of the body-politic of Islam. As a remedial measure, he wanted, above all, to disabuse the minds of the Muslim intelligentsia of

1. Manẓūr Aḥmad: *Al-Furqān*, Waliyullāh Number, p. 221.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

3. In the opinion of Shāh Ṣ. the term 'mujaddid' means a religious genius who has a thorough insight of the knowledge of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, is fully acquainted with the nice distinctions existing as between what is unlawful (حرام), avoidable (مكروه), recommended (مستحب), and permitted (مباح), and can purge the Shari'ah of all the extremes of the religious laws, whereas the term *waṣī* means the one who has a complete mastery over all the religious sciences of Islam by having communion with the Prophet of Islam himself; vide *Tafhimāt*, Vol. I, p. 40.

4. A complete list of the books of Shāh Ṣ. is to be had from Abū Yahya's *Tarājim-i-'Ulamā-i-Ḥadīth-i-Hind*, p. 42.

their misunderstandings and misapprehensions about the value of the teachings of the Holy Qur'ān, the fountain-head of the Islamic Shari'ah, whose verbal recitation by the generality of the Muslims had then become and to all appearances and purposes still remains a convention. He was fully convinced of this fact, that once the conception of the Muslims about the teachings of the Qur'ān was put on a sound rational basis, all other reforms, economic or otherwise would follow as the night follows the day. Accordingly, the first thing he did was to publish his *Fathur-Rahmān*, a popular Persian translation of the Qur'ān intended to be at once comprehensive and intelligible to the average reader.* But the service he thus rendered to the cause of Muslim regeneration in India was not, unfortunately for the Muslims, acclaimed and appreciated by all sections of the community. As a result, a reactionary element among them went so far as to declare it as a *bid'a*, innovation, and raised such a tremendous uproar and agitation in the country against it that it made the life of Shāh Ṣ. well-nigh impossible. But Shāh Ṣ. was not the man to be daunted and cowed by the howlings of the obscurant and reactionary forces. As a first step towards the propagation and popularisation of the teachings of the Qur'ān amongst the Muslim public, he boldly incorporated his *Fathur-Rahmān* into the curriculum of his madrasah, which was to serve as a model of all the institutions of its kind throughout the length and breadth of India.

Shāh Ṣahib's work as a reformer did not merely end in his publication of the popular translation of the Qur'ān. To enlighten the Muslim intelligentsia on the rational and correct exposition of the Holy Qur'ān, he published in Persian *Al-Fawzu'l Kabīr*, a treatise on the principles of the sciences of exegesis, the first of its kind, perhaps the best also that has clearly and succinctly discussed and explained the *Mutashābihāt* (the equivocal verses), the *Muhkamāt* (the sound verses), the *Nāsikh* (the abrogator), the *Mansūkh* (the abrogated), and other abstruse and intricate problems of the Qur'ān—a unique contribution of which Indian Muslims may justly be proud. He also published two other treatises on the Qur'ān, viz., *Al-Fathu'l Kabīr* and *Tāwīl al-Aḥādīth*, of which the latter discusses those verses of the Qur'ān that mark the progressive and gradual development of the teachings of the leading apostles before Muḥammad (صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم) and gives a scientific and reasoned expositions of the stories narrated in the Holy Qur'ān—a field that till then remained untrodden and untraversed by his predecessors.

Hadīth (tradition or saying of the Holy Prophet), which constitutes the second greatest authority of Islamic Shari'ah, was not neglected by the Shāh Ṣ. either. He realised in his heart

*Since *Bahr-i-Mawwāj* (the Surging Sea), the Persian Tafsīr of Malik al-'Ulamā, Shihābūd-Dīn Dawlatabādī (d. 849 A.H.), the teacher of the Emperor Sher Shāh Sūrī, also gives us a complete translation of the Qur'ān, it is likely to be sometimes mistaken for the first Persian translation of the Qur'ān in India. But the fact is, it is more a Persian commentary than a mere translation. Shāh Ṣ.'s *Fathur-Rahmān* therefore claims to be the first Persian translation of the Qur'ān in India.

of hearts that in order to raise his decadent community a critical and intelligent study of Hadīth was essential as a supplement to that of the Qur'ān. With a view, therefore, to fully equipping his co-religionists with the sinews of Islamic Sharī'ah he prepared his two commentaries, the former in Persian and the latter in Arabic on al-Mu'aṭṭā' of Imām Mālik (d. 179 A.H.), a most reliable and very early collection of Apostolic Traditions—a book that deals with 'Ibādāt (modes of worshipping), 'Aḥkām (Divine injunctions), Mu'āmalāt (dealings), Hudūd (punishments), and 'Aqā'id (creeds) and other Islamic teachings.

To revitalise Islamic polity, he produced his rare and original Persian work on Hadīth called 'Izālat al-Khifā' an Khilāfat al-Khulafā' which not only deals with the teachings relating to the questions of Khilāfat and Imāmat but also makes a critical survey and a comprehensive review of the first fifty years of the Muslim rule beginning from the days of the Prophet of Arabia down to those of his two immediate successors—Ḥaḍrat Abū Bakr and Ḥaḍrat 'Umar—a period that will always be reckoned as the most glorious in the history of Islam.

This was not all. In his monumental work Hujjat al-Lāh al-Bālighah, which may justly be regarded as an encyclopædia of Islamic sciences and which holds a unique position in the literature of the East and the West by reason of its diction, wealth of information and modernity in outlook, Shāh Ṣ. sifts authentic traditions from those that were unauthentic, chiefly for the guidance of the Muslim intelligentsia. Further, in his work Shāh Ṣ. makes four gradations of Hadīth works.¹ In the first he includes along with the Ṣaḥīḥ of Imāms Bukhārī and Muslim the Mu'aṭṭā' of Imām Mālik. And in the second grade he puts the Musnad of Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and the rest of Ṣiḥaḥ Sitta. As for the remaining Hadīth-works, he classifies them under the third and fourth grades and says that they serve no useful purpose so far as the decisions of the Sharī'ah are concerned.

Shāh Ṣ. further maintains, against the consensus of 'Ulamā', that the most authentic work among those collections of Hadīth is the Mu'aṭṭā' of Imām Mālik and not the Ṣaḥīḥ of Bukhārī. And the reason why people preferred Bukhārī to Mu'aṭṭā' was, to his mind, that unlike Mu'aṭṭā' Bukhārī contains a fuller account of all the four sciences narrated by the Prophet, namely, Jurisprudence (فقه), history of the life of the Prophet (سيرة) and his battles (مغازي), commentary on the Qur'ān (تفسير), and prophecies regarding trials and tribulations that will happen prior to the day of resurrection (الفن وعلامات الساعة).

As to why Shāh Ṣ. himself gives preference to al-Mu'aṭṭā' over the Ṣaḥīḥ of Bukhārī, he adduces the following arguments:—²

1. All the traditions recorded in the Mu'aṭṭā' have come down to us from the Prophet to Imām Mālik through only one or two guarantors,

1. Shāh Ṣ. Hujjat al-Lāh al-Bālighah, p. 105-106, Vol. I.

2. Shāh Ṣ. Al-Musawwa on the margin of al-Muṣaffā, pp. 8-10 Farūqī Press.

and therefore their *sanad* can easily be scrutinised and their transmitters, most of whom are the learned inhabitants of Madina whose trustworthiness has never been questioned by the learned *Imāms* (traditionists), can be critically examined.

2. Both *Imām Shāfi'i* and *Imām Muḥammad* have studied the *Mu'aṭṭā'* with its compiler *Imām Mālik* himself, and have made their own criticism on the work. True, they have differed from the compiler in his *istinbāt* (deductions) but have not even a word to utter against the *isnād* (the chain of the transmitters) of the book.

3. All the other collections which were made after al-*Mu'aṭṭā'*, such as the works of *Imāms Bukhārī*, *Muslim*, *Abū Dāwūd*, *Nasa'i*, and *Tirmidhī*, are but so many appendices and commentaries of al-*Mu'aṭṭā'* itself, inasmuch as these works supply other correct *isnāds* for the traditions stated in al-*Mu'aṭṭā'*, be they *Marfū'*, *Mursal* or *Mawqūf*.¹

Thus *Shāh Ṣ.* proves that the traditions recorded in al-*Mu'aṭṭā'* are fully secure and free from any blemishes that may be attributable to narrations of other collections. He therefore observes:—

"You should know for certain that the door for *Ijtihād* (i.e., to derive religious laws out of the *Qur'ān* and *Ḥadīth*) has been practically closed today excepting that you should keep the *Mu'aṭṭā'* before you."²

As for his reforms towards *Fiqh*, *Islāmic Jurisprudence*, suffice it to say that *Shāh Ṣ.* denounced in the strongest term possible the 'Taqlīd Jāmid,' blind following of any of the *Madhāhib-i-Arba'ah*, the four schools of *Islamic Jurisprudence*. He did not oppose *Taqlīd* as such but what he did oppose was that his co-religionists should follow one of the four schools of *Islamic Shari'ah* without rhyme or reason.³ Two books of his, viz., *Inṣāf fī Sababī'l Ikhtilāf* and *'Iqdu'l jid fī'l Ijtihād wa't-Taqlīd*, are devoted to the propounding and propagation of this view. Though he was a *Ḥanafī* by persuasion, he considered it his religion to be tolerant to the followers of other *Juridical schools*.⁴ If anything, he stood for a compromise among all the four schools as far as it was feasible and practicable without much sacrifice of one's allegiance to any particular school of thought. For, following one particular *Juridical school* with rigidity and inflexibility would give rise to 'Aṣabiyyah or uncompromising orthodoxy, while on the other hand the pursuit of all the *Juridical schools* without any principle and as opportunity offers itself would mean a veritable chaos—both the alternatives were bound to be prejudicial to the

1. A *Ḥadīth* is *Marfū'* if its *sanad* goes back to the Prophet, *Mursal* if the *sanad* ends with the name of a Companion (صحابي), and *Mawqūf* if it refers to a *Tābi'i* (Follower) only.

2. *Shāh Ṣ.* : *Muṣaffā*, p. 12.

3. *Shāh Ṣ.* : *Fuyūḍ al-Ḥaramain*, pp. 64, 65, also *Ham'āt* (written in 1148 A.H.), p. 7. *Islami Press*, *Tuhfa-i-Muḥammadiyah*.

4. *Shāh Ṣ.*, *Tafhimāt*, Vol. II., pp. 202 and 242.

interest and solidarity of Islām and the Muslim nation as a whole. He commended the study of al-Mu'aṭṭā' and opined that it could serve as a basis of compromise among the followers of all the Juridical schools, if its teachings could be followed and acted upon. Of all the Madhāhib-i-Arba'ah, he preferred the Ḥanafīte school inasmuch as the views of its Imāms either agreed to the one or to the other school of thought, that is to say the Ḥanafite school has made the greatest possible rapprochement to the other schools of Islamic thought.¹

Islamic Philosophy and Taṣawwuf (Mysticism) too did not escape the notice of our Shāh Ṣ., inasmuch as he made a very valuable contribution to these sciences also.

He has devoted his 'Alṭāf al-Quds towards the elucidation of Latā'if of the mystics, namely, body, mind, and will in other words تدبير بدن (the function of the liver), عقل (the function of the cerebrum), and اراده (human perception) and the various stages of its development.

As for his Al-Saṭ'āt, in this book Shāh Ṣ. discusses the various processes of Divine Illumination (تجلی الهی) and how to get communion with God.

So far as his Ham'āt is concerned Shāh Ṣ. has consecrated it to the discussion of the history of Islamic Taṣawwuf and the reasoned exposition thereof.

Through Al-Budūr al-Bāzighah, al-Khayr al-Kathīr and al-Hujjat al-Lāh al-Bālighah, etc., Shāh Ṣ. has struck a new note about Islamic Philosophy. He, like Imām Ghazzālī, finds in Taṣawwuf a culminating point of the theory of knowledge and a full play of the quality of 'ihsān' as adumbrated by the Prophet himself in the following extracts:—

(1) "وَاخْبِرْنِي عَنِ الْإِحْسَانِ، قَالَ: إِنْ تَعْبَدَ اللَّهَ كَأَنَّكَ تَرَاهُ، فَإِنْ لَمْ تَكُنْ تَرَاهُ فَانْهَ تَرَاهُ." (2) "And tell me of ihsān; said the angel to the Holy Prophet. He replied, "to worship God as though you see Him. If you do not see Him verily He is seeing you."

Besides his rare and unsurpassable contributions in Persian and Arabic towards the uplift and betterment of his co-religionists in India Shāh Ṣ. left behind him a number of trained disciples who zealously and faithfully carried on the legacy of their master so as to arrogate to themselves the proud epithet of HIZB-I-WALIYULLĀHĪ, amongst whom figured such distinguished savants as Muḥammad 'Ashiq and Khwāja Muḥammad Amin. As a matter of fact, on the death of Shāh Ṣ., his noble band of disciples devoted themselves to the work of regeneration of their fellow Muslims as keenly and sincerely as they did during the life-time of their late-lamented Shaikh. It redounds to the credit of our Shāh Ṣ. that it was his teaching that was responsible for the religious war declared against the Sikhs by the then Muslim society of India under the leadership of the late Shāh Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd Bareilwi

1. Fuyūd, p. 103.

2. Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī, Vol. I, p. 12, Egypt.

(1201-1246 A.H.) of happy memory—an event that was known under the name of the Wahhabiyah Movement in India.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, Shāh Waliyullāh was the first Indian Muslim to feel for the moribund and decadent Indian Muslim society that came into being in the wake of Aurangzeb's death. With a view to reclaiming the members of his benighted community, Shāh S. introduced among his co-religionists many reforms of far-reaching effect and that in the teeth of strong and fierce opposition from the reactionary elements of his own society. To the very great credit of Shāh S. be it said, that his untiring zeal and indefatigable labour in this direction bore abundant fruit and successfully stifled the voice of the opposition. And we shall not be far from the truth if we say that it was the personality of Shāh S. that brought Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī down to the plain of Delhi to inflict a crushing defeat on the Mahrattas in the 3rd battle of Panipat (1761 A.D.).¹

His Persian translation brought the Holy Qur'ān within easy reach of the Muslim masses of India, and led the way to its translation into different provincial vernaculars. The science of Tradition which had so long remained a Cinderella among the Fuqaha-ridden Islamic society of the time, became popular through him. As a matter of fact, today there is hardly any traditionist in India whose *isnād* (the chain of transmitters) does not go back to Shāh S. India's very great services to Ḥadīth in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, of which a lion's share goes to our revered Shāh S. have been admitted by no less renowned scholars than the late 'Allāma Rashīd Riḍā and his like.² This is not all. It was again his writings that broadened the outlook of the Indian Muslims in general and the 'Ulamā' in particular, which latter had, till then, been so very fanatic and bigoted. Furthermore, it was his sermons and writings that not only purged the Indian Muslims of all their superstitious beliefs and rituals but also revolutionised the Islamic Taṣawwuf, placing it, as they did, on a more scientific and rational basis.

Shāh Waliyullāh's varied and manifold services to the cause of the uplift of the fast-degenerating Indian Muslims has rightly earned for him the title of "IMAM," as the late 'Allāma Obaydullāh Sindī has put it in language at once unambiguous and unequivocal.

M. S. HASANAL-MA'SŪMĪ.

1. Obaydullāh Sindī : Shāh Waliyullāh aur unki siyāsi Tahrik, p. 57. See explanatory notes by M. Nurul Haq 'Alawī therein, pp. 57, 171, 179.

2. Muḥammad Fuwād Abdul Bāqī : Miftāhu'l Kunuz al-Sunnah, p. 3.

THE NATURE OF THE SUMMUM BONUM IN ISLAM

UNLIKE vegetable kingdom or animal world where the function of life ends merely in growth, decay and the propagation of the species, the life of an individual human being, or for the matter of that, of the human race, as a whole, has a greater destiny to fulfil. Man eats to live but does not live only to eat. At any rate, he does not live by bread alone. For, if he were to live merely for the sake of living, he would be no different from either a plant or an animal. Accordingly, he must needs have the summum bonum, the highest good of his life to achieve or the very purpose of his creation is bound to be defeated and frustrated.

Ever since the dawn of history, the problem of the summum bonum has engaged the attention of the thinkers of all ages. To give even a brief résumé of all the different theories that have been advanced from time to time on the subject falls outside the purview of my paper, excepting, of course, the one put forward by the theologians of Islam. All the Muslim scholastic philosophers, both the Mu'tazilites and the orthodox alike, have held that the Beatific Vision, رؤية الباري is the summum bonum of life under the Islamic dispensation—a conclusion to which the Holy Qur'ān undoubtedly refers when 'it says للذين احسنوا الحسنى وزيادة "For those who do good is the best (reward) and more (thereto)"¹ (26: X) inasmuch as the commentators without exception have identified the best reward for the believers in paradise with the Beatific Vision.² But though all the scholastic philosophers of Islam are unanimous on this that the Beatific Vision, رؤية الباري is the summum bonum of the life of a true believer, they have differed widely as to the nature of that Beatific Vision, i.e., summum bonum.

The Mu'tazilites are unanimous³ on this, that God will not be seen with the physical eyes either in this world or in the next⁴ as in their opinion He is above time and space and not a corporeal being.⁵ With

1. Al-Ash'ari, *al-Ibāna*, p. 15.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Al-Ash'ari, *Maqālāt*, Vol. 1, pp. 157 and 216.

4. Al-Ash'ari, *al-Ibāna*, p. 18.

5. Al-Ash'ari, *Maqālāt*, I, p. 155.

regard to the spiritual vision of God, Abū'l Hudhail (+235/849) and the majority of the Mu'tazilites¹ hold, "We shall see God with our minds' eye, i.e., we shall know Him through our hearts." Hishām al-Faṭī and his pupil² Abbād b. Sulaimān have on the other hand, denied even that much,³ i.e., in their opinion, men, finite that they are, cannot have the vision of God Who is Infinite, even spiritually. They have, therefore, maintained that what human beings can know is merely His name⁴ and nothing more as He is too high even to be conceived. The latter were pure nominalists. Perhaps they were the forerunners of the nominalist philosophers of the later days.

The Mu'tazilites have advanced the following proofs in support of their contention, namely, that the Ultimate Reality can only be known through our hearts and not be seen with corporeal eyes.

I. Proofs from the Qur'ān :—

(a) لا تدركه الابصار وهو يدرك الابصار "Vision comprehendeth Him not, but He comprehendeth (all) vision."⁵ (103: VI).

They have advocated that the clause هو يدرك الابصار is of general⁶ application so as to mean that God sees the eyes both in this world and in the next; and that when this has been connected with the clause لا تدركه الابصار of the same verse through the conjunction وار the latter must also be of general application so as to mean that eyes will neither see Him in this world nor in the next. For, of the two connected clauses, if one is known to be of general application, the other also must be so.

(b) ان ترى "Thou wilt not see Me"⁷ (143: VII), said God, with emphatic negation in reply to Moses' supplication namely رب انظر اليك, 'My Lord! Show me (Thyself), that I may gaze upon Thee.'⁸ (143: VII).

(c) فقد سألوا موسى اكبر من ذلك فقالوا، اربنا الله جهرة فآخذتهم الصاعقة بظلمهم "They asked a greater thing of Moses aforetime, for they said: 'Show us Allah plainly.' The storm of lightning seized them for their wickedness."⁹ (153: IV). "Had they (the people of Moses)," asserted az-Zamakhsharī (497/1103-538/1143), "asked for a possible thing from him, they would not have been called 'wrong-doers' and would not have consequently been overtaken by the storm of lightning, just as Abraham was neither called a transgressor nor was he stricken with storm, when he asked of his Lord to show him the quickening of the dead" as the Qur'ān has it

1. Al-Ash'ari, *Maqālāt*, Vol. I, pp. 157 and 216.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 495.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 157 and 216.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 165 and 166.

5. Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 18.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Az-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, (Egypt), I, p. 346.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 234 and 235.

واذ قال ابراهيم رب انى كيف تحى الموتى And "when Abraham said (unto his Lord): my Lord! Show me how Thou givest life to the dead" (ii: 260).

2. Proofs from optical science.

"In order that one may see something," averred the Mu'tazilites, "the following conditions must be fulfilled¹ by the seer as well as the seen, as the case may be."

(a) 'One must possess the soundness of the sense of sight. It is for this reason that the degree of vision varies in proportion to the soundness or otherwise of the sense of sight.

(b) The object of vision must be visible and present to the eye (the sense of sight), which must not be indifferent to it, nor must it be under the influence of sleep or anything akin thereto.

(c) The object of vision must be in front of, or opposite to the eye just as a thing to be reflected in a mirror must needs be opposite to it.

(d) It must not be too small to be seen.

(e) It must not be too fine to be looked at, i.e., it must be a coloured object and be sufficiently coarse.

(f) It must not be too distant from the eye and the visible distance is to be judged in accordance with the power of the seer's sense of sight.

(g) It must not be too near to the eye either. For, when the object to be seen touches the surface of the eye, the eye loses the power of vision altogether.

(h) There must not be anything opaque interposing between the eye and the object of its vision.

In the opinion of the Mu'tazilites, since God as an object of vision, does not satisfy the relevant conditions laid down above, He cannot be seen with bodily eyes.

Once the Mu'tazilites had denied the corporeal vision of God, they had to explain away all such verses of the Qur'an as went against their contention. The following verse may be cited as an illustration: وجوه يومئذ ناضرة الى ربها ناظرة "That day will faces be resplendent, looking toward their Lord"² (22 and 23: LXXV).

In their opinion الى ناظرة as occurs in the above verse means الترفع (hoping) الى رجاء (expecting) and الى ربها stands for الى ثواب ربها.

They have adduced the following lexicographical proofs³ in support of their meaning.

(i) The people (Arabs) say: انا الى فلان ناظر ما يصنع بى (I am expecting from such a one what good he will do for me)."

(ii) "واذا نظرت اليك من ملك والبرح دونك زدتنى أمعا"⁴ As I expect from you,

1. (a) As-Sayyid ash-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, *Sharhu Mawāqif*, VIII, pp. 135 and 136.

(b) The conditions in question have been attributed to the opponents who can safely be identified with the Mu'tazilites.

2. Az-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshaf*, (Egypt), II, p. 509.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Muḥibb al-Dīn Afandī, *Tanzilul Āyāt*, p. 138.

the King (a gift) while the ocean is below you (in point of generosity) you increase your favours towards me."

(iii) وصمعت سرورية مستجدة بكفة وقت الظهر حين يعلق الناس ابراهيم وياون الى مقاتلهم
تقول عيني نوظرة الى الله واليكم

"And I heard a Sarwite female beggar at Mekka saying once at noon when people shut their doors and take shelter in their midday resting-places 'my humble eye is expecting (something) from Allah as well as from you.'"

The people of the Sunnah have, on the other hand, held that God will be seen in the next world with physical eyes¹ in the same way as the full moon is seen.

Al-Ash'arī as their spokesman has advanced the following proofs in support of the proposition :

I. Proofs from the Qur'ān :

(a) رب ارنى انظر ايك "My Lord! Show me (Thyself) that I may gaze upon Thee."² (143 : VII).

He has contended that had the vision of God been impossible of realisation, Moses would not have asked for it.

(b) فان استقر مكانه فسوف ترائى "If it stand still in its place, then thou wilt see Me."³ (143 : VII).

Al-Ash'arī has held that since the vision of God has been attached to a condition, namely, the standing still of the mountain admitting of realisation, it shows that the vision itself is realisable.

II. Proofs from the tradition :—

ترون ربكم كما ترون القمر ليلة البدر لا تصارون في رؤيته "You will see your Lord as you see the full moon whilst you will not be harming one another in regard to His vision."⁴

III. Proofs from the consensus of opinion, Ijmā', of the Companions of the Prophet :—

ان الله تراه العيون في الاخرة "Verily the eyes will see Allah in the next life."⁵

IV. Logical proofs :—⁶

(a) God can show us everything that exists.

He exists.

Therefore He can show Himself to us.

(b) He who sees things sees himself.

God sees things.

Therefore He sees Himself.

1. Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 10.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

4. (a) Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 16. (b) Al-Tirmidhī with the commentary of al-Imām Abū Bakr b. al-Arabi al-Mālikī, Vol. X, p. 18. (c) Abū Dawūd on the margin of *al-Mu'aṭṭa* of the Imām Mālik with the commentary of az-Zarqānī, p. 182. (d) Shaikh Waliuddin, *Mishkāt*, p. 500 with a slight variation in the *matan*, reading.

5. Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 17.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 17 and 18.

- (c) He who sees himself can make himself seen.
God sees Himself.

Therefore He can make Himself seen.

- (d) The highest good is realisable in the highest world.
Beatific Vision is the highest good.

Therefore Beatific Vision is realisable in the highest world.

V. Philosophical proofs :—¹

Those who deny the Beatific Vision of God reduce Him to a non-entity a mere abstraction (stripping God of His reality).

Refutation by the Mu'tazilites of the orthodox arguments :—

- (1) Refutation of the Quranic proof :—

(a) رَبِّ ارْنِيْ اَنْظُرْ اِلَيْكَ "My Lord! Show me (Thyself) that I may gaze upon Thee." ² (143 : VII).

Az-Zamakhsharī maintains that Moses said this in spite of his conviction and statement to the people that the vision (corporeal) of God was an impossibility to him, only to elicit some Divine revelation to this effect, for the satisfaction of his own people who were persistent in their demand on him to show God in person, and not because of the fact that he knew that the Divine vision was a possibility, as the people of the Sunnah have asserted.

(b) فَاِنْ اَسْتَقَرَّ مَكَانُهُ فَسَوْفَ تَرَانِيْ "If it stand still in its place then thou wilt see Me." ³ (143 : VII).

Az-Zamakhsharī has argued that the vision of God is an impossibility inasmuch as it has been made conditional upon the standing still of the mountain in question. As it was later razed to the ground and could not remain firm as a result of the revelation of the Divine Glory, in the opinion of the Mu'tazilites the orthodox assertion in favour of the possibility of the vision of God fails.

II. Refutation of the proof from the tradition :—

تَرَوْنَ رَبَّكُمْ كَمَا تَرَوْنَ الْقَمَرَ لَيْلَةَ الْبَدْرِ لَا تَضَارُونَ فِي رُؤْيَاهُ "You will see your Lord as you see the full moon whilst you will not be harming one another in regard to His Vision." ⁴

The Mu'tazilites have held that the tradition in question is of the category of Ahād⁵ and as such is not acceptable⁶ when in conflict with such an explicit verse of the Qur'ān as لَا تَدْرِكُهُ الْاَبْصَارُ وَهُوَ يُدْرِكُ الْاَبْصَارَ

1. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

2. Az-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshaf*, (Egypt), I. 346.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 347.

4. I. c.

5. (a) Imām ul-Haramain, *Irshād*, p. 225. (b) Ahād (A.), pl. of Ahād, meaning units in arithmetic. In the science of tradition it is used as an abridged plural of *Khabar al-Wāhid*, which as contrasted with *Mutawātir Hadīth* communications, comes not from a larger number of trustworthy Companions (*aṣhāb*) but from a single person (extract), E. I., Vol. I, 182.

6. Aḥmadī Amin, *Ḍuḥā'l Islam*, III, pp. 27 and 28. N.B. This is my secondary source. Professor Aḥmad Amin has not mentioned the original authority from which he has quoted his statement.

"Vision comprehendeth Him not, but He comprehendeth (all) vision," (103: VI).

Counter-refutation by al-Ash'arī of the Mu'tazilite arguments through the Quranic verses.

(I) وجوه يومئذ ناضرة الى ربها ناظرة "That day will faces be resplendent looking toward their Lord."¹ (22 and 23: LXXV).

Al-Ash'arī has maintained² that here in the above verse the word ناظرة is not amenable to the following meanings:—

(a) "Considering" as the next world is the place of realisation and not of consideration.

(b) "Hoping for," adopted by the Mu'tazilites,—as it is attended with troubles and disgust, whereas there is for the dwellers in paradise what no eye has ever seen nor ear has ever heard from among the accessories and amenities of life, and that on their mere wishing for the same.³

(c) "Feeling sympathy for" is also absurd, as it ill-becomes the creatures to feel sympathy for their Creator. In the opinion of al-Ash'arī, the expression must, therefore, mean "Seeing with the eyes." And this is strengthened by the association of وجه "Face," and by the preposition الى which implies the direction of sight.

(d) "Again الى ربها in the above verse" contended al-Ash'arī,⁴ "cannot figuratively be interpreted as الى ثواب ربها as the Mu'tazilites have done, on the ground that the Quranic verses must be understood literally unless a good reason can be shown to the contrary."

II. لا تدركه الابصار وهو يدرك الابصار "Vision comprehendeth Him not but He comprehendeth (all) vision."⁵ (103: VI).

The Mu'tazilites have argued that as the second clause in the above verse is general, i.e., applies to God both in this world and the future, the first also must be general and apply to this world as well as the future. Al-Ash'arī has contended⁶ that Mu'tazilite argument of generalisation falls to the ground when الابصار is generalised to mean "eyes of heart" as well as "eyes of head," inasmuch as the verse will then deny that the believers can comprehend God even spiritually—a predicament which is nonsensical.

Be that as it may in the light of the Mu'tazilite argument put forward on the problem at issue, al-Ash'arī had to move away from his original stand-point as we have it on the authority of the Imāmu'l-Ḥaramain who says that the Imām al-Ash'arī has maintained⁷ that God will be seen neither in space and time nor with modality as He sees us, while He is not in space and time nor is He with any modality.

1. Al-Ash'arī, *al-Ibāna*, p. 13.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 18 and 19.

7. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyin*, pp. 149 and 150.

Now the question arises as to how to reconcile the view of al-Ash'arī as adumbrated in his *Ibāna* that God will be seen with physical eyes unconditionally in the next world with that as given above by Imāmu'l-Haramain? To our mind *al-Ibāna* is one of the earliest works of al-Ash'arī which must have been written immediately after his conversion to orthodoxy: and as such the point of view, he enunciated therein, was, and had to be, popular and for the matter of that an anthropomorphic one, and not the one which he himself, as one of the greatest scholastic philosophers of Islam, held.

It stands to reason, therefore, that the view as set forth by Imāmu'l-Haramain and accepted by the later Ash'arites like Ghazzālī¹ (d. 505/1111) and the Imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī² (d. 606/1209) is the view bona fide of al-Ash'arī, which he, as it can safely be presumed, could not have but communicated particularly to his intellectually gifted pupils.

Further, the Imām Najmuddin Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142), a mouthpiece of the Mātūridite⁴ section of the Muslim scholastic philosophers, holds: "That the believers have a vision of God Most High in paradise and that He is seen, not in a place nor in a direction or by facing or the joining of glances or the placing of a distance between him who sees and God Most High."

The arguments of the orthodox schools, summarised above, make it clear that the orthodox have virtually accepted the Mu'tazilite viewpoint on the subject, namely that God can be seen only spiritually and not with the bodily eyes.

ABDUṢ SUBHĀN.

1. Ghazzālī, *Ihyā*, I, p. 79.

2. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātiḥ al-Ghaib*, IV, p. 285 read with VI, p. 5.

3. Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥanafī al-Mutakallim al-Mātūridī al-Ṣamarkandī is the titular head of the Mātūridite school of Theology which, with the Ash'arite school, forms orthodox Sunnite Islam. He died at Samarkand in 333/944. (Extract), E. I. Vol. III, pp. 414 and 415.

4. (a) *'Aqā'id al-Nasafī* (Fakhr al-Matābi') Lucknow, p. 10. (b) Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, Appendix I, p. 310.

A VISIT TO THE RAMPUR STATE LIBRARY

I UNDERTOOK to edit Ni'matullāh's *Tārikh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghānī*, an important general history of the Afghans in India, and annotate it at the suggestion of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, K.C.I.E., and my Supervisor Prof. Muḥammad Zubair Ṣiddiqī, M.A., B.L., (Ph.D. *Cantab.*). In connection with this work, I made a thorough study of several catalogues of the Persian MSS., in different libraries of the world. I learnt that there was also an abridged version of it, known as the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī*, an English Translation of which was published by Dr. Dorn under the title 'History of the Afghans, from the Persian of Neamatullah.' I consulted the three MSS. of the *Tārikh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī*, preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, and the English translation of the *Makhzan* by Dr. Dorn. I copied one of the Society's MSS. and collated it with the other two MSS. of it, which are in the Society. But I had no MS. of the *Makhzan* at my disposal. I, therefore, decided to visit some important libraries¹ of India, where I could procure a MS. of the *Makhzan*.

On enquiry I received information from Mr. Imteyāz 'Alī 'Arshī, the talented and scholarly librarian of the Rampur State Library that it had two MSS. of each of the two books.² One of the two copies of the *Tārikh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī* was dated 1038 A.H. A collation of this manuscript, it being the earliest of all the known MSS. of the *Tārikh*, with my own was very essential for its critical edition. With this end in view and in the hope that I might have the opportunity to avail myself of several other

1. I visited Oriental Public Library, Bankipur, Aligarh Muslim University Library, Habibganj Library (Dist. Aligarh), Allahabad University Library, Socrates Library, Mahmudabad, etc., along with Rampur State Library.

2. The two books with the description of their MSS. will be critically examined in the next article entitled "The *Tārikh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī*."

important and rare MSS. in the State Library, I visited it¹ in March and stayed there for about two months.

The library owes its origin to Nawwāb Fayḍ-Allāh Khān (A.H. 1189-1208 = A.D. 1775-1793), son of Nawwāb 'Alī Muḥammad Khān. He was the founder of the dynasty and of the city of Rampur² and was a great patron of learning. There were many learned men at his court.³ By his order the "*Fatāwā-i-Fayḍ-Allāh Khānī*" was composed in three volumes by the scholars of his court on the lines of the *Fatāwā-i-Ālamgirī*. A manuscript of this *Fatāwā* is preserved in the library.

The successive rulers, Nawwāb Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahadur, Hājī Ghulām Muḥammad Bahadur and Aḥmad 'Alī Khān Bahadur, also patronised learned men⁴ and took great interest in the development of the library. Two historical works, one in Persian by Rif'at and another in Urdu by Mu'azzam 'Abbāsi, were dedicated to Nawwāb Hājī Ghulām Muḥammad Bahadur.

The next ruler Nawwāb Muḥammad Sa'id Khān Bahadur (A.H. 1256-1271 = A.D. 1840-1854) was a great patron of learning and appointed many scribes and decorators from Kashmir and Lucknow for copying and embellishing MSS. He purchased many books and MSS. for the library. At first the library was only a part of Tushakhāna; but during his time it was placed under a separate management and was thrown open to the public.

His successor Nawwāb Sayyid Yusuf 'Alī Khān (1271-1281 A.H. = 1854-1864 A.D.) was a distinguished scholar and poet and added to the collection of MSS. and staff. He employed scribes to copy unique and

1. I acknowledge my deep debt of gratitude to the President, Shama Prasad Mukerjee and my Supervisor Prof. Muḥammad Zubair Ṣiddiqī, the Head of the Department of Islamic History and Culture Calcutta University, for having given me permission to visit the Rampur State Library. I express my indebtedness to the Prime Minister of the Rampur State, Mr. Baḥshir Ḥusain and the Educational Adviser to the Rampur State, Mr. Ghulam-al-Sayyidain, the former Principal of the Training College, Aligarh who permitted me to inspect the Library. I am also thankful to Mr. 'Arṣhī, the Librarian and Mr. Mas'ūd Shāh Khān, the Accountant and many others, who rendered me all assistance and gave me every facility that was essential for my work.

2. For the history of Rampur see *Imperial Gaz. of India*, vol. XXI, pp. 182-190.

3. The following learned men flocked to the Court of Nawwāb Fayḍ-Allāh Khān :—

(a) Maulvi 'Abdul 'Alī, called Baḥr-al-'Ulūm, Lucknow (d. 1225 A.H. = 1810 A.D.)—see *Encyclopedia of Islam*, p. 584; the *Risāla-i-Qutbiya*, composed by his son 'Abdul 'Ala and al-Nadva in 1910 A.D. No. 12, p. 7. and the *Hadāiq-al-Hanafiyā*, p. 467.

(b) Quḍrat-Allāh Ṣiddiqī, an inhabitant of Mavi, near Kahar, a town in Rohilkhand, the author of the *Jām-i-Jahān Numā* and the *Takmilat-al-Shu'arā'* and

(c) Ḥakim Bābar, the author of the *Fuṣul-i-Fayḍ-Allāh Khānī*, etc.

4. The following learned men flocked to their Courts :—

(a) Shāh Ra'ūf Aḥmad—see the *Tazkira-i-'Ulamā-i-Hind*, p. 66 and the *Khazanat-al-Aṣfiya*, Vol. II, p. 703 ;

(b) Anbar Shāh Khān—see the *Intekhab-i-Yadgār* of Amīr Mina'ī, p. 4 and

(c) Ḥakim 'Āta-Allāh Khān, the author of the *Tazkira-i-Khuld-be-mithāl*.

rare MSS. In his time books and MSS., were purchased to the value of Rs. 12,258. Muftī Muḥammad Sa'adullāh¹ (d. 1294 A.H.=1876 A.D) and other scholars dedicated their works to this Nawwāb.

Nawwāb Kalb 'Alī Khān (A.H. 1281-1304=A.D. 1864-1888) was a great friend of art and learning and purchased a large number of rare and valuable MSS. He spent Rs. 43,608 on the library, and his love of books is borne out by his autograph and signature in several MSS. He purchased the *Sad Pand Luqmān*² for Rs. 1,000. He appointed Raḥīm Shāh, the Inspector of the Jewel House, as librarian. An incomplete list of books and MSS. was prepared during his time by Munshī Amīr Aḥmad, Minā'ī, the author of the *Intekhāb-i-Yādgār*. Under his fostering care a large number of books were written and dedicated to the Ruler by distinguished scholars, who adorned his court.³ Ja'far 'Alī Khān, a nobleman of Maw, (Dist. Shamsābād), presented him with a MS. of *Jāmi'u't-Tawārīkh*, which had some miniatures. The Nawwāb Shāhib was so much pleased that he gave him a gift of Rs. 2,000 and kept him as his guest for two years, with an allowance of Rs. 300 a month. Nawwāb Kalb 'Alī's life was cut short when he was writing in Persian a history of Cathay and China. An incomplete MS. of it may be seen in the library.

Nawwāb Muṣhtāque 'Alī Khān (1304-1306=A.H. 1887-1889 A.D.) did much to improve the condition of the library. He collected about 323 volumes when still an heir-apparent. He appointed Bakhsī 'Abdu'r Raḥim librarian and General Muḥammad 'Azamu'd-Din, chief officer of the library. Books and MSS. to the value of Rs. 7,885 were purchased during his time.

Nawwāb Hāmid 'Alī Khān Bahadur (A.H. 1306-1348=A.D. 1889-1930) allotted a new building in the fort for the library⁴ and employed Ḥakīm Ajmal Khān the famous ḥakīm and nobleman of Delhi, as librarian, in addition to his hospital duties. The latter made many improvements. It was during his time that the first volume of the catalogue of Arabic books and MSS. was published. Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad 'Alī Khān, "Shawq," who was appointed instead of Ḥakīm Ajmal Khān as librarian, published the second volume of the catalogue. These catalogues, which abound in errors, do not contain full information regarding the works and their authors. During the long rule of Nawwāb Hāmid 'Alī Khān a sum of Rs. 87,398 was spent on the library.

1. For his life see the *Hada'iq-al-Hanafiyā* p. 488 and the *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā-i-Hind*, p. 74.

2. It will be described shortly in MS. No. 7.

3. Sa'd-Allah Mufti, 'Abdul-Haque Khayrābādī, son of Mawlana Faḍl-i-Haque, and the ex-Head Maulvi of the Calcutta Madrasa and Dāgh, the well-known Urdu poet of India, etc., flocked to the Court of Kalb 'Alī Khān Bahadur.

4. This is the present library building. Nawwāb Muṣhtāque 'Alī Khān laid the foundation of this library building, but he died before it was constructed. It was completed in the time of his successor in 1309 A.H. (1891 A.D.) at the cost of Rs. 40,000. It consists of three rooms, one in the middle and one on each wing with a gallery running round in the central room. Its rooms are paved with stone mosaic.

The present ruler, His Highness Nawwāb Sayyid Rezā 'Alī Khān, son of Nawwāb Hāmid 'Alī Khān, ascended the throne in 1930 A.D. He patronises art and literature. In 1932 A.D. Mr. J. A. Chapman, formerly Librarian of Imperial Library, Calcutta, was employed as librarian to prepare the catalogue in English on modern lines. He stayed at Rampur for four years and gave the necessary library training to Mr. Imteyāz 'Alī 'Arshī. The latter is a good scholar of Arabic, Persian and Urdu. He is very intelligent and painstaking. He came to the library in 1932 A.D. when everything was in a chaos. He organised the library. I saw him looking after everything minutely. His love of learning made him decline lucrative posts offered him by the Nawwāb. He dedicated the *Makātib-i-Ghālib* (Urdu),¹ the *Kitāb-al-Ajnās* (Arabic),² the *Intekhāb-i-Ghālib* (Persian and Urdu),³ the *Dastūr-al-Faṣāḥat* (Persian)⁴ and the *Naderāt-i-Shāhī*⁵ to the present Nawwāb. Mr. 'Arshī is working at present on the *Farhang-i-Ghālib*, a complete Urdu Diwān of Ghālib, the Persian letters of Ghālib, the commentary of al-Qur'ān in Arabic by Ṣufyān-al-Thawri (d. 161 A.H.=777 A.D.), etc.

Later on Chapman's policy of preparing catalogue in English was abandoned and the task of the preparation of the accurate lists in Oriental languages of all MSS. and printed books has been taken up. The lists are almost complete. At present Maulvi Wāhid 'Alī Khān, the Registrar of the library along others is preparing the catalogue of the printed books. It is hoped that after the publication of the lists of books, the long-cherished desire of the scholars of the world and specially of the Indian scholars will be fulfilled to a certain extent and they will flock to the library for research.

The library is divided into two sections—*Shu'ba-i-Khāṣ* and *Shu'ba-i-'Ām*. The former is the collection of all MSS. and books relating to the Shi'ite cult, placed under the charge of Mr. Maḥmud-al-Ḥasan, while the latter is the collection of books on other subjects. The latter is subdivided generally into Arabic, Persian and Urdu sections and is placed under the charge of Mr. Wājid 'Alī Khān, who has succeeded his father to this post. The books in European languages are directly under the charge of the librarian.

The library has MSS. on the following subjects :— Astrology, Astronomy, Biography, calligraphical specimens, commentaries on the Qur'ān,

1. This is the collection of those 129 letters in Urdu of Mirzā Ghālib, which were written to the Nawwābs of Rampur State and their relatives, published in 1937 A.D.

2. This is a rare *Resala* of Abu 'Ubayd Qāsim bin Salām Haravi, Baghdādī. It was published with notes and Introduction in 1938 A.D.

3. This is a collection made by Ghālib himself from his Persian and Urdu Diwāns for the Nawwāb of Rampur in 1866 A.D. It was published with notes and annotations in 1942 A.D.

4. This is the preface and *Khātima* of the book of Yakta Lakhnawi in Persian, published separately as the *Tazkira-i-Shu'arā* with notes and annotations in 1943 A.D.

5. This is a collection of the Persian, Urdu and Hindi speeches of Shāh 'Ālam II, the King of Delhi, published with an Introduction in 1943 A.D.

Chemistry, Dictionary of the Qur'ān, Ethics, Etymology, Fortune-telling, Fables, Fiction, Poetry, Geography, History, Index of the Qur'ān, Jurisprudence, Lexicography, Literature, Logic, Mathematics, Medicine, Music, Philosophy, Prosody, Rhetoric, Theology, Traditions, various Readings of the Qur'ān, Veterinary Science, etc.

It also possesses many unique MSS., rare paintings and fine specimens of calligraphy. There are also a large number of old printed books, which being out of print, may be regarded as valuable as manuscripts. The total number of volumes preserved in the library is about 27,897, out of which 10,501 are manuscripts.* These MSS. belong to the oriental languages—Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Hindi, Turkish, Pashto, Bhasha, Sanskrit, Nagiri and Punjabi.

It is one of the most important libraries in the world and perhaps the biggest oriental manuscript library in India. It is visited annually by twenty to twenty-five scholars who work there and are benefited by its precious collection. There is in it a splendid collection of Arabic and Persian MSS., well housed and cared for and one which does great credit to its founder and patrons. It was a great pleasure to find books so well housed as they are here and to have such an intelligent librarian as Mr. 'Arshī, in charge of them. Though probably there are more Persian MSS. in Europe than in India—and there is certainly no library here, which can compare with the vast collections of the British Museum, the India Office, the Bodleian, and the Berlin libraries—yet I am proud to say that there are still many valuable MSS. hidden away in India. The chief feature of the collection of this library is that apart from being full of ancient Arabic works on medicine, it is even richer in the writings of Indian authors, who have done so much for the collection and preservation of older works and the adaptation of the ancient system of medicine to their own surroundings and requirements. In view of the fact that this splendid collection is almost unknown in Europe, and not so well known even to the learned men in India, steps should be taken to make it more easily accessible to scholars.

The best collection of the library consists of the Arabic MSS. on Theology and Logic. There are many exceedingly valuable MSS. of interest to scholars all over the world. Besides MSS. the library possesses a large number of miniatures by old Iranian and Indian painters and some of them have the name of their painters written on them and for this very reason they are of great value. A large number of MSS. bear signatures and seals of the Mughal Emperors, scholars and chiefs. The following few MSS. are worth mentioning :—

(1) There is a copy of al-Qur'ān, transcribed by Imām Ja'far-i-Ṣādiq (d. 148 A.H. = 765 A.D.). It is written in fine Kūfī script in black with the headings of the sūra in gold. A note dated 202 A.H. =

* Mr. H. Beveridge says that there were 8720 MSS. in the State Library (see JRAS, 1901, p. 74) and Mr. A. Suhrawardy corrects his statement and says, "The number of Arabic and Persian MSS. was 8587 up to September 1915" (see JRASB, Vol. XIV 1918 p. CCVI).

817 A.D. by one 'Isā 'Alī-Yaqtivī confirms its authenticity. The whole copy is void of diacritical marks and vowel-points. This is older than the copy of the pocket edition of the al-Qur'ān, transcribed by Ibn-i-Muqla, which is also preserved in this library. Ibn-i-Muqla is a well-known and reputed scribe of the court of Baghdād, to whom is ascribed the invention of the Naskh style. He died in 328 A.H. (939 A.D.).

(2) There is another copy of al-Qur'ān, written on parchments and ascribed to Ḥaḍrat 'Alī, the fourth Caliph and the first Imām (d. 40 A.H.=660 A.D.). The script is purely Kūfic in which dots have been used for diacritical marks. Later on this copy has been ornamented by calligraphists.

(3) There is a beautiful copy of al-Qur'ān (33 folios) in fine Naskh within a six-line coloured border, with two double page title, one of the best specimens of the art of calligraphy. In the centre of the first page is a prayer from the Qur'ān with the sūra headings in gold, blue and red alternately, in a broad margin. Every page of the MS. is sprinkled with gold. Its binding is a good example of Persian lacquer. The fly-leaf bears a note by the then Nāzim Ṣāhib of the Library dated 15th September, 1923 A.D., to the effect that the MS. was presented to Hāmid 'Alī Khān Bahadur of Rampur in Bombay by Sheikh Muḥammad Irānī, a merchant of the city.

(4) There is a unique copy of a commentary of al-Qur'ān in Arabic by Sufyān-al-Thawri. The author was an acknowledged master of his age in the Quranic Science and the Traditions of the Prophet. He died in 161 A.H. (777 A.D.). Mr. 'Arshī is working on this commentary.

(5) There is a rare autograph copy of the Muslim Law entitled *Fatāwā-i-Amīniya* (فتاویٰ امینیہ) by Md. Amīn bin 'Abdullāh, composed in 978 A.H. (1570 A.D.). It is written in Naskh. It begins thus: — باد(۹) انما علينا بتوفيق محامدك الخ —

(6) صد پندلقمان مع رساله خواجه عبد الله انصاری — There is a very famous religious tract entitled *Sad Pand Luqmān* with a treatise by Khawja 'Abdullāh Anṣārī, transcribed by the celebrated Iranian calligrapher, Mullā Mir 'Alī (d. 957 A.H.=1539 A.D.), who is one of the most accomplished Nasta'liq writers. The MS. bears the autographs of the Mughal Emperors and of Jahān Ārā Begam. It bears two notes by Shāh Jahān. In the first note the Emperor says that the MS. was received for his library in Akbarabād in Rabi'-al-Awwal, 1039 A.H. (1629 A.D.). Immediately after the Emperor's signature there is a note which suggests that it was bought for one thousand rupees. In the next note he says that he gave it to his beloved daughter Jahān Ārā Begam in Zulhijja, 1040 A.H. (1630 A.D.). On the left side of the first note is the following note by Jahāngīr

الله اکبر تاریخ سیوم محرم سنہ ۱۰۵۰ داخل کتابخانہ این نیاز مند درگاه الهی شد حوزہ جہا نگیرہ این اکبر۔ پند نامہ لقمان حکیم و سخنان عبد الله انصاری کہ بخط ملا میر علی ست

There is a note by Jahān Ārā on the fly-leaf at the end of the MS. in which she highly praises the sayings of 'Abdullāh Anṣārī. Most probably it is the only authentic note made by a Mughal lady of royal blood. Nawwāb Kalb 'Alī Khān of Rampur purchased it in 1300 A.H. (1882 A.D.) for Rs. 1000 from a man of Benares. It begins thus: — الحمد لله رب العالمين اين چند بند سود مند است که تقيان الخ

The *Risāla-i-Khwāja* 'Abdullāh Anṣārī begins thus:—

یا رب دل سار تو بر حمت جان ده درد همه را بصبری در مان ده

(7) There is a unique copy of the romantic poem entitled *Mathnavī Zikr-al-'Aysh* by 'Āsī (?). The name of the author appears on fol. 12 thus: — آسای زرخ و لبش چو بلبل بر بوی گل و گلاب شد مست

It was composed in 932 A.H. (1428 A.D.) according to the chronogram on the last folio of the MS. The total number of verses is 4620. The MS. contains nine beautiful decorated pictures. It is written in excellent Ta'liq in Persian hand. It is not dated. It begins thus:—

ای نام تو فتح گنج مقصود نکشاده در خزاین جود

(8) A MS. of the *Diwān-i-Hāfiz** (d. 791 A.H.=1338 A.D.) with the preface by Gul Andām is preserved in the library. Over and above its remarkable calligraphy, this MS. is noteworthy on account of its exquisite illuminations and artistic and finished ornamentation in gold on the margins which are well displayed on the Abri paper on which the MS. is written. There are also eleven miniatures in excellent style, including one of Akbar receiving three literary men. Evidently the MS. was designed and prepared for Akbar. Nawwāb Kalb 'Alī Khān purchased it for Rs. 50 only, as it appears from a note on fly-leaf.

(9) The *Diwān-i-Rif'at* is a diwān of the lyrical poems of Ghulām Jilānī of Rampur, poetically called Rif'at (d. 1235 A.H.=1819 A.D.). The present MS. was written in *shikasta* in the author's time (i.e., 1230 A.H.=1814 A.D.).

(10) There is a manuscript of the *Mathnavī* of Mawlānā Rūmī. It was transcribed by 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf. He was a Ṣūfī scholar of the time of 'Ālamgīr. The transcriber tells us in the preface that he has prepared the text of the poem from eighty MSS., written by a Persian scribe.

(11) There is a collection of the poems of 'Alī Ḥazin of Isfahan. The MS. was copied by a pupil of the poet in beautiful Nasta'liq. Its preface was written by 'Alī Ḥazin himself. The poems, composed after the MS. was copied, have been added on its margins by the author himself.

* Sayyid Muṣṭafā 'Alī Sabz Puṣht of Gurakhpur, possesses a MS. of the *Diwān-i-Hāfiz*. The MS. was copied by one Muḥammad Ibn Sayeed 'Abdullah al-Qārī in Dhulhijja, 824 A.H. (October, 1421 A.D.) This is the oldest MS. of it known to me to be extant. I am grateful to my Supervisor Prof. M. Z. Siddiqī, who showed me this copy.

(12) The *Diwān-i-Bahlūl*—This is a collection of the lyrical poems of Bahlūl, who died before 970 A.H. (1562 A.D.) The MS. was written in fine Nasta'liq in 1090 A.H. (1679 A.D.). Some portions of it are worm-eaten. It begins thus:—

شبنمی از بحر ودشت عشق شد گل شک ما مخزن اسرار شد خاک گل نمناک ما

(13) There is a unique manuscript of the poems, composed by the Emperor Bābur. It was transcribed for the Emperor in 935 A.H. (1528 A.D.). One Rubā'ī at the end with several corrections on the margins is in Bābur's own handwriting. It appears from a note by Shāh Jahān that the Rubā'ī was followed by the Emperor's signature; but unfortunately it has been erased. On the title page there is a note by Bairam Khān-i-Khānān, dated 965 A.H. = 1557 A.D.

(14) The *Diwān-i-Kāmrān* is a rare poetical work,* composed by Prince Mirzā Kāmrān, son of Bābur (d. 956 A.H. = 1549 A.D.). It was transcribed by Faḍlū'l-lah Muṣharraf in the 11th century of the Hijra era. The MS. bears the seal of 'Alī Muẓaffar Khān, one of the chiefs of the court of Muḥammad Shāh.

(15) تعبیر و یا is a very interesting work on interpretation of dreams, composed by Abu Rayḥān Andalusi (?). The MS. was presented by the Emperor Akbar to Bairam Khān, with an autograph note by 'Abd-al-Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān (d. 1030 A.H. = 1626 A.D.), the Prime Minister of Akbar. It is written in excellent and distinct Ta'liq and has illuminated frontispiece and is undated. It begins thus:—

(16) المونس فی نزعة اهل المخلص — This is a very rare and interesting selection from the mathematical works in four treatises by Sheikh Muḥammad bin Ayyub-al-Māzandarānī(?). Some mischievous hand has erased the name of the transcriber. It was written in Naskh in 778 A.H. (1376 A.D.).

(17) The *Dastūra'l-bab-fi-'Ilmi'l-Hisāb* is a very rare and important book on mathematical calculation. It was composed by Hāji 'Abdu'l-Hāmid Muḥarrir Ghaznavi in 760 A.D. (1361 A.D.) during the reign of Firūz Tughlaq, when the author was more than 70 years of age. He wrote it for his son. It was divided into 5 *qisms*, 32 *babs* and 177 *faṣls*. It contains the methods of accounting followed in the Public Treasury and those of mathematical calculation, i.e., addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, etc. It also gives the explanation of the technics of weights and measures, which were used by the Arabic writers.

The present MS. of it contains 254 pages. It is written in Arabic character on Murādābādī paper. It is incomplete at the end, eaten up by white ants and very much pasted up with paper here and there

* There is another copy of the book in the Bankipur Library. It has been edited by the late Prof. Mahfuz-al-Haque. His edition is based on the Bankipur MS., but the Rampur MS. contains more poems.

rendering the text in many places unreadable. This is a unique copy known to me to be extant. The date of transcription and transcriber's name are not known.

(18) The *Filnāma* (فیل نامہ) is a rare and interesting treatise on elephant taming, composed by a certain man at a certain time. It is divided into seventeen chapters. It is written in Nast'aliq. The following elephant drivers have left prescriptions for the treatment of ailment of elephants.

بہیکن خان - سید علی - گھامسی خان - شاہ محمد فوجدار ،
حسن خان ، موسی خان ، جان محمد ، ولی محمد ، شاہ محمد ، ابراہیم خان ، کالخان ، روشن خان

(19) ذخیرہ خوارزم شاہی — It is a very old and valuable copy of the second volume of the famous encyclopædia of Medical Science by Zainu'd-din Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'il bin Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusain al-Jurjānī * (d. 535 A.H. = 1140 A.D.). From a note on the fly-leaf it appears that this MS. was presented in 1282 A.H. (1865 A.D.) to Nawwāb Kalb 'Alī Khān (d. 1304 A.H. 1886 A.D.) of Rampur by Ṣadr-al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Nizām-al-Dīn. The headings are in Kūfī character. The MS. is dated 560 A.H. (1164 A.D.).

(20) The *Kitāb-al-Fuṣūl* — This is a unique MS. of a work in Arabic on *Ṭibb-i-Unānī* by Mūsā b. 'Abdullāh of Cordova, a Hebrew physician of the 7th century of the Hijri era. It was transcribed by Yūsuf b. 'Abdullāh, a brother of the author in 657 A.H. (1258 A.D.). It is written in remarkable Spanish style of Naskh script, with notes in Hebrew on the margins, most probably in the author's own hand.

(21) The *Rasm-i-Ālāt* is a rare work on mechanism in which the author Rāis-al-'Amal Abū Bakr-al-Jawzī, a scholar of the 6th century A.H., gives direction for making mechanical appliances. It was dedicated to Maḥmūd the King of Kifa (in Syria). It was transcribed in the 13th century A.H.

(22) The *Kitāb-al-Ghazā-wal-Jehād* — This is a unique and illuminated copy of a work on military science, dealing specially with lance exercises. It was composed by Lajīn-al-Tarāblasī, an acknowledged authority in military science. The author flourished in the 8th century A.H. The present MS. was transcribed in the same century.

These MSS. are mentioned here being jewels of the library. We shall now come to its collection of history. It is not rich in historical works. There are only about 360 MSS. in Persian. Very few of them can claim to be valuable or rare. A brief list of the important MSS. is given below :—

(A) General history of India —

(1) The *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī* (fol. 143 ; ll. 15 ; size $8 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$; $6\frac{1}{2} \times 3$) is a compendious general history of India from the time of Mu'izzud-dīn Muḥammad b. Sam to the reign of Akbar. It was compiled in

* For details see India Office Library Catalogue MS. No. 2280.

1005 A.H. = 1596 A.D. by 'Abdul Haque b. Saifuddin Dehlavī (d. 1052 A.H. = 1642 A.D.). On fol. 52 b he says that at the time he was writing his history, forty years and more of the reign of Akbar had elapsed. The MS. is written in good Indian Nasta'liq with gold and coloured borders, the headings being written in red. It is slightly defective at both the ends. It opens abruptly in the middle of the preface and breaks off in the middle while giving the account of Sultān Firuz b. Sultān Husain, King of Multān. It is slightly worm-eaten and water-stained and its pages are wrongly arranged.¹

(2) The *Mukhtaṣar-i-Laṭīf* (fol. 49; ll. 13; size $7\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$; $7 \times 2\frac{3}{4}$) is a unique copy of a compendious short general history of India from the time of Sultān Shihābuddin Ghōrī to the fourth year of the reign of Farrukh Siyar (1124-1131 A.H. = 1712-1718 A.D.). It was composed by Rup Nara'in Khatri of Siyalkut at the instance of Nawwāb Luṭfullah Khān-i-Sādiq on the 12th Jamada I, 1131 A.H. (1817 A.D.). It is divided into 10 *bābs* (chapters). The first *bāb* (fol. 3a-29a) deals with the Sultāns of Delhi very briefly and the rest with the rulers of the provinces.

The colophon suggests that the MS. is the author's autograph. The title page bears the seal of Shams-al-Dowla Bahadur Ṣādiq. The MS. is written in *Shikasta* within double red and blue borders with the headings in red. It is slightly worm-eaten and water-stained. It begins thus.—
 لب الآب جميع تواريخ و اخبار و خلاص الخلاص الخ

(3) The *Haft-i-Gulshan* (fol. 204; ll. 15; size $11\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$; $8 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$) is a general history of India from the earliest times to 1132 A.H. (1719 A.D.). It was composed by Muḥammad Hādī, entitled Kāmwar Khan.² It is written in Indian Nasta'liq with the headings in red. It appears from a note on the title page that the MS. was brought for the library from Shamsabād in 1878 A.D.

(4) The *Tawārikh-i-Fathiyan* (fol. 105; ll. 25; size 18×9 ; 15×7) is a general history of India from Sultān Maḥmud Ghaznavī to the end of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1131-1161 A.H. = 1719-1748 A.D.) with an Introduction dealing with miscellaneous historical, geographical and religious matter. It was transcribed by Shamsuddin 'Alī in 1267 A.H. (1850 A.D.) in *Shikasta-amiz Nasta'liq*.

Fol. 104a contains a short autobiography of the author, Mir Faṭḥullah Khān entitled Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān. From it we learn that one of his ancestors, Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān, came to India from his native city Tashqand, in the reign of Jahāngīr (1014-1037 A.H. = 1605-1627 A.D.), and under that Emperor held several important posts. He died in 1044 A.H. (1634 A.D.). The author's father, Mīr 'Abdullāh held the post of Qurbigī (keeper of the arsenal) under Prince Muḥammad 'Āzam, and

1. For further information of the book see Elliot, Bibliographical Index pp. 273-280 and his *History of India*, Vol. VI, p. 175-181.

2. For the detailed account of the author and the work see Bankipur Catalogue, Vol. VII, No. 541; Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. VIII, pp. 13-16 and Dr. Ethe's India Office Catalogue No. 394.

received the hereditary title of Yūsuf Mūḥammad Khān. In the time of Farrukh Siyar, when Nizāmu'l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh Chīn Qulij Khān (d. 1161 A.H.=1748 A.D.) was appointed Governor of Malwa, there he took the author with him with the Emperor's consent. The author remained attached to the service of Nizāmu'l-Mulk, and held several high posts under him. He records the history of his patron in detail and in most cases as an eye-witness.

The history proper, which ends on fol. 70b, is followed by short biographical notices of some eminent men, followers of Nizāmu'l-Mulk, beginning with the Nawwāb Hāmid Khān Bahadur and ending with Shamsu'l-Mulk 'Abdu'l Ḥayy Khān (d. 1196 A.H. 1781=A.D.). Though the historical portion terminates with the account of the death of Ghāzi-u'd-din Khān Firūz Jang, the eldest son of Nizāmu'l-Mulk at Aurganabad in 1165 A.H.=1752 A.D., yet the biographical portion of the book contains dates as late as 1172 A.H. (1758 A.D.). Folios 1a-3a contain a table of contents. An old piece of paper, pasted on the modern fly-leaf at the beginning bears the author's seal with the inscription and the date 1139 A.H. (1726 A.D.). Fol. 3b and 105b are blank. It is slightly worm-eaten and water-stained.

(5) The *Dastūr-al-Siyar* (fol. 320; ll. 12-15; size $10\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$; $8 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$) is a general history of India. It was composed by Kāmil Mah (Shāh) in the time of Wājid 'Alī Shāh (1263-1273 A.H.=1847-1856 A.D.), the last King of Oudh, at the instance of his father-in-law and Prime Minister Nawwāb 'Alī Naqī Khān (d. 1278 A.H.=1871 A.D.). The work is divided into two *faṣls*, the first dealing with the pre-Islamic rulers of India, and the second with the Muslim rulers. The second *faṣl* is subdivided into 12 *ṭabaqat*. The twelfth one, dealing with the Timurid kings of India, forms the bulk of the work.

The MS. ends abruptly in the section, dealing with Nādir Shāh's invasion of India in the time of the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh (1131-1161 A.H.=1719-1748 A.D.). No other copy of the work is known to me to be extant. It is written in Indian Nasta'liq within double red and blue borders. There are numerous short lacunæ and fol. 26b, 56b, 149b, 219b, 258b, 260b and 285 are blank. It is slightly worm-eaten.

(B) Sultans and Emperors of Delhi:—

(6) The *Tuhfah-i-Akbar Shāhī* also known as the *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī* (fol. 47; ll. 23; size $11\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$; $9\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$) is a history of the life and reign of Sher Shāh. It was composed by 'Abbās Khān b. Sheikh 'Alī Shirwānī, shortly after 987 A.H. (1579 A.D.), the author states in a short prefatory note at the instance of Akbar. It contains information received from accomplished and trustworthy Afghans, who had been in close touch with Sher Shāh from the time, he rose to power to the end of his reign.*

* For an account of the author and an abridged English version of the work see Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 301-433 and also see Storey's *Catalogue—A Bio-bib-biographical Survey of India*, Sect. II, Fasc. 3, Muslim History of India.

The present MS. was transcribed by Muḥammad 'Abdullāh in 1122 A.H. (1710 A.D.). The MS. written slantwise, is in *shikasta* on thick card-board within blue and gold borders. It does not contain the history of Islām Shāh and the later Suri kings of India about whom the author mentions in the Introduction.

There is a revised and enlarged edition of it by Ibrāhīm Batnī, who brought the history down to 1021 A.H. (1612 A.D.). Its two MSS. are preserved in the Bodleian Library.¹

(7) The '*Ahdnāma-i-Salāṭīn-i-Ludhi-wa-Sādāt-wa Afghān*, (fol. 20; ll. 8; size $12\frac{1}{2} \times 8$; $9 \times 4\frac{1}{4}$) is an interesting album, containing the portraits of eighteen rulers of Delhi belonging to the Sayyid and Afghān (Lūdi and Sūr) dynasties, beginning with Nuṣrat Shāh, who ascended the throne in 801 A.H. (1398 A.D.), and ending with Sikandar Shāh Sūr, the last ruler of the Sūr dynasty.

Each portrait bears the name of the ruler, the date of his birth, coronation, the length of his reign and death and also mentions his capital city and places where he was crowned and buried. But unfortunately these dates are not always correct. Here and there the place, prepared for writing the date of birth, has been left blank.

On the colophon (dated 1235 A.H. = 1819 A.D.), it is stated that the album was prepared at the instance of Bedār Bakht or Prince Mirzā Muḥammad Bābar, son of Shāh Zafar, from a copy belonging to Tushakhana and when finished, was made over to Raqmullāh Khān, the librarian of the Prince's library. The present MS. is written on thick card-board in fair Indian Nasta'liq within illuminated border in the eighteen water-colour drawings.²

(8) The '*Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghānī* is an important general history of the Afghans in India from Adam to the death of Khwāja Uthmān (1021 A.H. 1612 A.D.), when the Afghans lost all power and finally submitted to Jahāngir. It was composed by Khwāja Ni'matullāh b. Khwāja Ḥabibullāh Harani in 1021 A.H. (1612/13 A.D.).

The MS. No. 381 of the State Library was transcribed by 'Abdul Ḥamīd Khān on Wednesday, the 11th Ziqad, 1038 A.H. As far as my investigation goes it is the most complete and the oldest copy of the book in the world.³

(9) The '*Makhzan-i-Afghānī* is an abridged version of the '*Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī*, described above. There are two MSS. of it preserved in the Rampur State Library, Nos. 379 and 380. So

1. cf. Sachau-Bodleian Library Catalogue MS. Nos. 177 and 178.

2. There are also two other '*Ahdnāmās*—(1) '*Ahdnāma-i-Salāṭīn-i-Ghūrī-wa-Khilji* and (2) '*Ahdnāma-i-Salāṭīn-i-Tughlaq*. They are also prepared at the instance of Mirzā Muḥammad Bābar in 1234 A.H. (1818 A.D.).

3. There is also preserved another MS. of it. The two MSS. will be dealt fully in the next article on the '*Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī*.

far as I know there are only four MSS: of this book in India, the third one being at Patna city in the possession of Mr. Rai Mathura Prashad,¹ and the fourth one is preserved in the Kapurthala State Library.

(A) The Rampur MS. No. 379 of it is in size $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$; $7 \times 3\frac{3}{4}$. It contains 615 pages, having 13 lines a page and 13 to 16 words a line, excluding the first and the last page, containing 8 and 9 lines respectively. It begins thus:— *حمد بکه مؤرخان و بایع نگار و مستخبران بدایع افکار الخ*

In the Introduction of the book it is stated that it was composed by Nī'matullāh in 1018 A.H. with the help of Haibat Khān.²

It is divided into three *bābs* and three *daftar*s:—

Introduction	.. An account of the work.
Bāb I	.. History of the Afghans, from Adam and Ya'qūb Isra'el to the King Ṭālūt.
Bāb II	.. History of King Ṭālūt and the migration of the Afghans to the mountains of Ghur.
Bāb III	.. History of Khālīd b. Walīd, to the end of 'Omar Fārūq, and the history of the Afghans up to 835 A.H. (1431 A.D.), when Sultān Shāh the uncle of Sultān Bahlūl, held Sirhind in jagir.
Daftar I	.. History of the Ludi Sultāns of India.
Daftar II	.. History of the Sūri Kings of India up to the death of Khwāja 'Uchmān.
Daftar III	.. An account of the Afghan dervishes.
Khātima	.. Genealogy of the Afghans. ³

Its Daftar II begins like a book with *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم* which indicates that it is a separate chapter altogether, borrowed from a different book. This daftar ends with the remark of a certain Ibrāhīm Batnī on page 470.⁴

1. I am grateful to Mr. Syed Hasan 'Askari, Patna College, who kindly informed me that his friend Rai Mathura Prashad, Patna city, possessed a MS. of the *Makhzan*. I approached him, who borrowed it for me from the owner of the MS.

The MS. is in size 9×6 ; $6\frac{1}{4} \times 4$. It comprises 343 pages, having 15 lines a page and 10 to 12 words a line, excluding the first and the last page, containing 10 and 7 lines respectively and page 146, 16 lines. It begins like those of Rampur and tallies with them, often correcting their texts; but terminates with Daftar II, which begins and ends like the Daftar II of those of Rampur. It is an old copy but well preserved. It is written in fine Nasta'liq.

2. From the contents of the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī*, it appears that it is an epitome of Nī'matullah's original book the *Tārikh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī*, composed in 1021 A.H. with some alterations introduced therein. The man, who brought the author's original work into the present form, is not known. However, the two books will be critically examined in the next article on the *Tārikh-i-Khān-i-Jahānī*.

3. Here the transcriber failed to arrange the contents of the book properly; for Daftar III contains the life of the *Sheikhs* as it is stated on p. 7 in the Introduction and *Khātima*, to which there is no reference on p. 7 at the time of dividing the book into *bābs* and *daftar*s, contains the genealogies of the Afghans contrary to the statement made on pp. 4-5

چنانچه شمه ذکر خوارق ایشان در خاتمه کتاب مسطور خواهد شد انشاء الله تعالی

4. See also Dorn's *History of the Afghans*, Vol. I, p. 184.

مصنف اصل این تاریخ شیرشاهی عباس شروانی است چون بعضی مقدمه احوال باز بهادر و وقایع کر رانیان و مذاکر لوحانیان و بعضی مقوله دیگر داخل درین نبود بنا بران ناقص می نمود. درینولا احقر العباد ابراهیم بتی آنرا از تاریخ نظامی که اونیز احوال شیر شاه و اسلام شاه نوشته است و بعضی مقدمه از کتاب مخزن افغانی از تصنیف نعمت الله سامانی است انتخاب نموده داخل این تاریخ کرده با تمام رسانید بدعای خیر از خواننده و نویسنده تاریخ امیدوار گشت والله اعلم بالصواب.

“The original author of this *Tārikh-i-Sher-Shāhī* is ‘Abbās Sarwani. But as this work is deficient in some particulars, such as the affairs of Bāz Bahadur, the memoirs of the Karranis and the Luhanis, and in some other matters, the history was incomplete. So in these days the humble servant Ibrāhīm Batnī has made extracts from the *Tārikh-i-Nizāmī*, which also contains the history of *Sher Shāh* and *Islām Shāh* and he has selected sundry matter from the *Makhzan-i-Afghanī*, written by Ni‘matullāh Samahī (?) and having introduced them into this history, has made it complete; which he hopes will be kindly received both by reader and writer and God knows better.”

The passage shows that this chapter is really from an enlarged version of the *Tārikh-i-Sher-Shāhī*, which Ibrāhīm Batnī wanted to complete. This chapter of the *Makhzan* begins and ends like that of the *Tārikh-i-Sher-Shāhī*, revised and enlarged by Ibrāhīm Batnī.* It means that this chapter was bodily incorporated into the *Makhzan* from the revised copy of the *Tārikh-i-Sher-Shāhī*. The other sections of this MS. also, however, begin with *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم* which suggest that they are new chapters later on included in the book. The MS. ends thus:—
و گفتار ایشان هم بجای نمی رسد گنجایش نیست والله اعلم بالصواب تمت

It was transcribed by Fayḍ ‘Alī in 1210 A.H./1795 A.D. at the instance of a certain Begam Šāhibah. It is written in bold Indian Nasta‘liq within double red and blue borders with the headings in red. The last few pages are worm-eaten, but the contents of those pages are readable.

(B) The next MS. No. 380 of the *Makhzan* is $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$; $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$. It contains 346 pages, having 15 lines a page and 16 to 18 words a line, with the exception of the first and the last page, which contain 12 and 2 lines, respectively. It begins and ends just like the preceding copy. These two Rampur MSS. are practically identical one being a copy, as it were of the other, as there is slight variation in the readings in both the texts.

The MS. with the headings in red, is written in fine Indian Nasta‘liq. Some pages of the beginning specially 1-13 are badly worm-eaten and water-stained and from page 276 onwards specially pp. 336-346 are slightly worm-eaten, but rendering the text unreadable at some places.

* Sachau, Bodleian Library MS. Nos. 177 and 178.

The copyist's name and the date of transcription are not known. The seal of Nawwāb Karimullāh Khān, son of Nawwāb Fayḍullāh Khān, dated 1235 A.H. (1819 A.D.) is borne on the title page with the following remarks: — این کتاب مخزن افغانی در ملک محمد دلیر خان اگر کسی دعوی کند باطل و عاقل است

(10) The *Tārīkh-i-Bābarī* (fol. 124; ll. 15; size $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$; $6 \times 3\frac{1}{4}$) is a copy of a rare and important history of Bābar's conquest of India, with an account of the wonders of this country.¹ It was composed by Sheikh Zainuddin Khawani poetically called Wafā'i (d. 940 A.H. 1533 A.D.).²

It is stated in a note on the title page in the same hand as the text that the author held the post of Ṣadr under Bābar, who very often mentions his name in his Memoirs. Besides writing this history, Wafā'i translated 'Bābar's Turkish Memoirs' into Persian.³

It has no preface and opens with the headings 'His Majesty's fifth expedition to India.' The narrative begins with Friday the 1st Ṣafar, 932 A.H. (the 17th November, 1525 A.D.) and comes down to 936 A.H. (1529-30 A.D.). It is written in fine Indian Nasta'liq within double red and blue borders, with the headings in red. It is slightly worm-eaten and water-stained and the last folio is badly damaged.

(11) The *Tārīkh-i-Ārif-i-Qandahārī* (fol. 115; ll. 21; size 9×6 ; $6 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$) is a unique copy of a work treating the history of Akbar from his birth to the month of Ṣafar 988 A.H. (1580 A.D.). It was composed by Ḥajī Muḥammad 'Ārif Qandahārī. He gives a short account of his life on fol. 29b. According to his own statement he was a servant of Bairam Khān, whom he accompanied on his pilgrimage to Mecca and was present in his camp when Bairam Khān was killed by an Afghan at Patan, a town in Gujarat, on the 14th Jamada I, 968 A.H. (1560 A.D.). After him 'Ārif accompanied his young son Mirzā 'Abdur-Raḥīm (d. 1036 A.H. 1627 A.D.) to Ahmadabad, whence he started alone on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He embarked 'Kambā'it' for Jidda, but the ship was driven by contrary winds to Hurmuz. There he left the ship and, visiting the holy shrines of Basra, Baghḍad and Syria reached Mecca and performed the Ḥajj.

The history is written in a simple, plain, straightforward style and deals with all the important events of Akbar's life and reign. The author's liberal-mindedness is evident from the fact that he openly criticises his patron, Bairam Khān, for his rebellion against Akbar and curses those who had misled him. The work is not divided into chapters and sections, but the events are recorded chronologically year by year under several headings. The last event recorded is the return of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm from Badakhshān to Kabul in Ṣafar 988 A.H. = 1580 A.D., after reconciling Mirzā Sulaimān with his grandson Shahrukh Mirzā. The

1. See Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 288, where the same work is described under the title *Tabaqāt-i-Bābarī*.

2. For Wafā'i's life see Badāyūnī's *Muntakhab-at-Tawārīkh* pp. 341-471.

3. See Rieu, B. M. Catalogue, p. 926.

work is frequently quoted by Ferishta in the *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī* and by Sarupchand in *Ṣaḥīḥul-Akḥbār*.¹

The MS. is defective at the beginning, where the first folio is lacking, and it is also defective after folio 69, where one or two folios seem to be lacking. Folios 13 and 14, which should come after fol. 12, have been wrongly placed by the binder at the end. The MS. is written in fine Persian Nasta'liq within gold and blue borders with the headings in red. The folios have been mounted on new margins. It is slightly worm-eaten and water-stained.

(12) The *Durjun-Nafā'is* (fol. 429; ll. 17; size $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$; $6\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$), is a rare copy of an abridgment of the *Akbar-nāma* by Sheikh Munawwar, arranged and completed by his nephew 'Abdul-Shakūr Bazmī, son of Sheikh 'Abdul-Jalil Chishti Fārūqī Akbarābādī. This Bazmī appears to be the same person as the author of *Rat Padam* which was composed in 1028 A.H. (1618 A.D.) in the same metre as Faiḍī's *Nal-Daman*. His biographers make a mistake in calling him the son of Sheikh Munawwar, for he calls him his maternal uncle in the preface to this work. Bazmī died at Agra in 1073 A.H. (1662 A.D.).²

After describing the author, Sheikh Munawwar, as a well-versed historian, and a great favourite of Nawwāb Jahāngīr Qulī Khān (d. 1041 A.H.=1631 A.D.), Bazmī states in his preface that his uncle, finding 'Abul-Faḍl's *Akbar-nāma* too lengthy, and therefore tiresome to the students of history, abridged it but that he died leaving it unrevised and disarranged. He adds that it was he who revised and arranged the work after his uncle's death, and completed it with a preface of his own.

It ends as the original text does with Akbar's forty-sixth regnal year. For the history of the remaining period of his reign the author refers to the continuation of *Akbar-nāma* by Mirzā Ja'far Āṣaf Khān (d. 1021 A.H.=1612 A.D.).

This MS. was transcribed during Bazmī's time in 1065 A.H. (1655 A.D.) by Sheikh Pīr Muḥammad (d. 1065 A.H.). It is written in Shikasta-amiz Nasta'liq within double red and blue borders. The headings, which are written in black in the text, are repeated in red in the margins. It is slightly worm-eaten and water-stained. It contains a note on fol. 429b by Murshid Qulī Khān³ stating that the MS. came into his possession from the library of Prince Rafi'uddarajāt, the brother of Sulṭān-i-Ālam Farrukh Siyar.

1. Elliot has a short note on the work in his *History of India*, Vol. VI, p. 572, where he omits 'Arif in the author's name and remarks: "I cannot learn that there is any copy of this work extant." There is also a photograph copy of the Bodleian Library Add. 2778. in this library. Sayyid Aḥḥar 'Alī, M.A., (Ph.D.), the Persian Professor of the Delhi University, is working on it. His edition is almost complete and is waiting for publication.

2. See Rieu, B. M. Catalogue, p. 1036.

3. Murshid Qulī Khān was the son-in-law of Shujā-u'ddin, Governor of Bengal, by whom he was appointed governor of Katak. Being defeated by Muḥabbat Jang in 1152 A.H. (1739 A.D.), he fled to the Deccan, where he died.

(13) The *Ma'āthir-i-Jahāngīrī* (fol. 58; ll. 11; size $12\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$; 9×5) is a history of the early life of Jahāngir, composed by Kāmgār Husain (d. 1050-1640) in the third year of Shāh Jahān's reign (1040 A.H. 1630-31 A.D.).

This beautiful MS. was transcribed by Daya Ram Kul *alias* Tūṭa in 1293 A.H. (1876 A.D.). It is written on gold-sprinkled paper in good Indian Nasta'liq within broad gold and coloured borders, with a beautiful double page 'Unwān.¹

(14) The *Aurang-Nāma* (fol. 31; ll. 13; size $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$; $5\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$) is a unique copy of a work comprising a detailed history of the eventful period, while Aurangzeb succeeded in crushing his rivals and establishing himself on the throne. In the concluding lines the author Khwāja Qāsim Dānā Arzānī, requests the Emperor to grant him a plot of land in the pargana of 'Ālamgīrpur, Malwa, where he wanted to settle down. There is nothing new in the work, all the facts contained in it have already been related at length by Khafī Khān and the other historians of Aurangzeb's time. This MS. is written in shikasta with the headings in red. It is slightly worm-eaten.

(15) The *Tārikh-i-Chaghata'i* (fol. 204; ll. 17; size $10\frac{3}{4} \times 6$; $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4$) is a history of the Timurids of India from their origin to the twenty-first year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1131-1161 A.H. = 1719-1748 A.D.). Muḥammad Shāfi' Warid b. Muḥammad Sharīf Tehrānī began to compose it on the 11th Ramaḍān, 1139 A.H. (1726 A.D.) and completed it in 1152 A.H. (1739 A.D.).

From the preface it appears that it contains four *ṭabaqāt*, but the present MS. contains only one *ṭabaqā* and the other three which were devoted to kings, amirs, faqirs, 'ulama and poets are missing. It was transcribed in 1261 A.H. (1845 A.D.). The MS., with the headings in red, is written in fine Indian Nasta'liq.

An earlier recension of the work designated *Mir'at-i-Wāridāt*, ends with the 16th year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh.² The MSS., in which the history concludes with the invasion of Nādir Shāh, bear, for the most part, the title of the *Tārikh-i-Chaghata'i*.³

(16) The *Tārikh-i-Muẓaffarī* (fol. 224; ll. 19; size $12\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$; $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$) is the history of the Timurid kings of India from their origin to 1212 A.H. (1797 A.D.). The last recorded event is the death of Nawwāb Aṣaf-ud-dawla, Nawwāb of Oudh (1188-1212 A.H. = 1774-1797 A.D.). According to Elliot the work was composed in about 1215 A.H. (1800 A.D.) by Muḥammad 'Alī Anṣārī.⁴ The continuation added later on by the author, which according to Rieu⁵ brings the record down to 1225 A.H. (1810 A.D.) is not given in the

1. I have a copy of this MS. There is another MS. of it in the Allahabad University Library.

2. See Rieu, B. M. Catalogue, p. 275 and Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. VIII, pp. 21-24.

3. See Rieu, B. M. Catalogue, p. 924.

4. See Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. VIII, p. 316.

5. See Rieu, B. M. Catalogue, p. 283.

present copy. The MS.; with the headings in red, is written in fine Indian Nasta'liq. It is slightly worm-eaten and some folios are seriously damaged.

(C) Provincial Rulers—

(17) The *Tārikh-i-Shāhiya-i-Nishāpuriya* (fol. 87; ll. 15; size $10\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$; $7\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$) is a rare MS. It contains the history of Burhanul-Mulk, the founder of the Oudh dynasty, and his successors down to the accession of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh (1253-1258 A.H. = 1837-1842 A.D.). It was composed by Qāsim 'Alī b. Mirzā Muḥammad b. Mirzā Ja'far b. Mirzā Muḥammad Amir Hamadāni in 1254 A.H. (1838 A.D.). The present MS. breaks off abruptly in the section dealing with the accession of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh. The last folio, written in a different and much later hand, records the last events of the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh, with an account of his death.

Qāsim 'Alī describes the contemporary events to most of which he was an eye-witness and which were left out by the author of the *'Imādus-Sa'adat*, a history of the Oudh dynasty, brought down to 1216 A.H. (1801 A.D.). This MS. contains on fol. 87b an extract from the beginning of *'Imādus-Sa'adat*. It is written in ordinary Indian Nasta'liq with the headings in red. It is slightly worm-eaten and water-stained.

(18) The *Tārikh-i-Farah Bakhsh* (fol. 156; ll. 16; $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$; $6\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$) is a history of the Rohilla Pathans from their first arrival in Kaithar during the reign of Sher Shāh (948-952 A. H. = 1542-1545 A.D.) down to the date of the composition of this work. After praising Nawwāb Fayḍullāh Khān (d. 1208 A.H. 1793 A.D.), his capital Rampur, the river Kosi, on the bank of which the city is built, Shew Prashad tells us in the Introduction that he composed it at the order of Colonel Cullis, of the Cantonment of Bilgaram. This is the same book as the *Tārikh-i-Fayḍ Bakhsh* noticed by Rieu. According to Rieu it was dedicated to Kirkpatrick and not to Colonel Cullis.*

The present MS. was transcribed in 1235 A.H. (1819 A.D.) during the time of Nawwāb Aḥmad 'Alī Khān, ruler of Rampur. It is written in nim-shikastah with the headings in red. It is slightly worm-eaten and water-stained.

(19) The *Waqi'āt-i-Fath-i-Bangala* (fol. 38; ll. 17; size $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$; $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4$) is the history of Allahwardi Khān Mahābat Jang, Ruler of Bengal (1153-1169 A.H. = 1740-1756 A.D.). It was composed by Muḥammad Wafā. It is divided into three chapters, the first dealing with the victory of Mahābat Jang over the Marathas in 1156 A.H. (1743 A.D.); the second with the rebellion of Muṣṭafa Khān and his pursuit by Haibat Jang, the son in-law of Mahābat Jang in 1158 A.H. (1745 A.D.); the third, with the death of Haibat

*See Rieu, B. M. Catalogue, p. 306.

Jang in 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.). Each of the three chapters is composed in short sentences and each one is so contrived that it forms a chronogram for the event, described in the chapter—that makes the history no inconsiderable feat of intellectual ingenuity.

No other copy of the work is known to me to be extant ; but a transcription of this copy is being made at the instance of a scholar of Patna. It is written in fair Indian Nasta'liq with the headings in red. It is slightly worm-eaten.

(20) The '*Ibrat-i-'Arba'i-Baṣar* (fol. 79 ll. 10, size $10\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$; $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$) is a history of Bengal from the fall of Sarfarāz Khān in 1151 A.H. (1738 A.D.) to the death of Sirājuddawla in 1170 A.H. (1756/57 A.D.).

The title of the work expresses in a chronogram, the date of Sirājuddawla's death (1170 A.H.=1756 A.D.) and the entire work is written in short sentences, each so worded that the numerical powers of the letters amount in the aggregate to the same number 1170 A.H. It was transcribed by Pandit Raja Ramkul alias Tūṭa Brahmine Kashmiri in 1290 A.H. (1873 A.D.). It is written in elegant Indian Nasta'liq within gold and coloured borders with a beautifully illuminated double page 'Unwān. It is slightly worm-eaten.¹

(21) The '*Tārikh-i-Munshi* (fol. 205 ; ll. 13 ; size $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$; $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$) is a history of the Nāzims of Bengal from the time of Aurangzeb to 1281 A.H. (1865 A.D.). It was composed by Muḥammad Najaf 'Alī Khān in 1281 A.H. and was dedicated to Sayyid Maṣṣūr 'Alī Khān, Nawwāb of Murshidabād. The author calls himself a native of Jhajjar and the servant of the above Nawwāb, an account of whose family is given fully in the work. It is divided into four muqaddima, eight bayan and a khatima. The MS. is written in fine Nasta'liq with the headings in red on blue paper. It is slightly worm-eaten.

(22) The '*Hālāt-i-Rājagān* is a unique and illuminated MS. of a work containing the life accounts of 8 Hindu Rajas of ancient times. It was transcribed in the 11th century A.H.²

In the following few sentences, I may sum up what I have described before. As no proper catalogue of the MSS. presented in the library, has been published up till now, I have written this article in order to make its richness and importance known to the world of scholars. In this article after tracing the history of the growth of the library and the good services rendered to it by different librarians, I have given a short description of some of its important and rare MSS. including specially some of the rare and useful historical ones, which have been little utilised by the scholars.

S. M. IMAMUDDIN.

1. It has been lithographed at Benares in 1824 A.D.

2. I have a copy of this MS. and I am working on it.

AKBAR AND 'ABDULLA KHAN

THAT in the latter part of the 16th century the tree of kingship bore some of its finest fruits is a fact which still remains unaccounted for by the students of history. An age which could boast of Elizabeth of England and Philip II of Spain in Europe, was no less fruitful in the sister continent of Asia. The names of Akbar of India and Abdulla of Turan will add glory and renown to any period. Not only did their countries under their inspiring leadership take long strides in the internal progress of the state but their very genius too, led to far-reaching consequences in their dealings with each other. The high standard of statesmanship which characterised their relations, will make an interesting chapter of history.

'Abdulla Khan had risen to power solely through his military prowess. He took upon himself the role of defending Transoxiana against the onslaught of Borak Khan, a tribal leader from the north-eastern steppes of Central Asia. His success had made him a national hero and he was looked upon by his subjects as one who would realise the fondest hopes and dreams of Shaibani Khan. 'Abdulla also shared the passion of his people. He was bent upon incorporating Badakhshan and Persia in his empire, which were to serve as stepping stones to further extension conquest.

The Emperor of India, too, had his aspirations. His grandfather Babur had conquered the Indian Empire but the possession of such an extensive and fertile country could not make him forget the charms and pleasures of his youthful days in Transoxiana. Babur's successor and son, Humayun, had almost reconquered a major portion of his ancestral territory, but fate willed otherwise, and he had to turn back because of the rebellion of his younger brother. Akbar too, could never forget the land which had once formed the core of the empire of his great ancestor, Timur. He looked upon 'Abdulla Khan as usurper who should be dispossessed in order to establish the Mughals in the land of their forefathers.

Another factor, cultural in nature, led Akbar to the same conclusion. Egotistic and vain though it might appear, nevertheless it was a truth borne out by the facts of history that the Mughal Emperors considered themselves born with a mission, to establish peace and tranquillity in this world full of bickerings and dissensions. Though none of these monarchs were completely free from this sense of duty, Akbar was, more than any

of them, highly conscious of it. We can imagine him looking with horror and disgust at the land of the Uzbeks where religious persecution was the order of the day and burning with a desire to unsheath his sword in the cause of righteousness.

But the Emperor of India was nothing if not a realist. Dreams he had, but he was equally aware of his limitations and the strength of his contemporary. 'Abdulla was a hard nut to crack. The present was not the time to indulge in reckless expedition against Transoxiana and attempting its conquest. That task was to be relegated to the future when 'Abdulla might become weaker or be succeeded by a weakling. The pressing necessity of the moment was to defend Badakhshan and Persia from the all-devouring ambition of the Uzbek monarch.

The period under review is marked by two distinct trends of policy in the relation between the two Emperors. The first period extends from 1556 to 1589, when 'Abdulla was warlike and aggressive and his noble contemporary in India mainly remained on the defensive. In the second period covering the last years of Akbar's reign till 1605 the tables were turned. Weakened by growing old age, tormented by the shadows of approaching death and disillusioned by the rebellious attitude of his son, 'Abdulla became meek and humble and, again and again, approached the Mughal Emperor to counteract the designs of the Shah of Persia against his own empire. The Mughal Emperor, thanks to the various forces at work, found himself in the lucky position of realising his cherished dream. But the internal condition of his empire was anything but satisfactory, and he was thus obliged to let slip this opportunity.

Turning to Badakhshan, it was then ruled by Mirza Sulaiman, a relative of Akbar. Living, as he did, in the age of great personalities, he shared some of their ambition without any of their qualities. The kingdom of Badakhshan was far too small to satisfy his ambition and he cast his covetous eyes east and west for further expansion. He attacked Kabul when the great Akbar, still in his teens, succeeded to the throne on the premature death of his father. But the sturdy Mughal Governor of that place, Mun'im Khan, proved more than a match for him and forced him to retreat. Then he turned against Balkh. Unable to stand the sudden onslaught, the Uzbek Governor, Pir Mohammad, pretending submission, approached Sulaiman for peace, offering Aibak and Khulm as its price. At the same time he asked the Uzbek princes for assistance in the hope that when that would be available he could throw off the mask. Later the Mughal ambassador, M. Beg Barbs, who had come to settle the terms of the treaty, was murdered and Pir Mohammad advanced with his army to punish Mirza Sulaiman for the unwarranted aggression. He realised the foolishness of his action and fled home with his army. But the pursuers proved too quick for them and the Mirza had to pay for his rashness by the life of his son, Ibrahim I.*

* Akbarnama, Vol. II. p. 188.

The sudden onrush of the Uzbegs terrified Mirza Sulaiman. Not only had his castles in the air fallen to the ground but his very existence was threatened. He appealed to the Emperor of India, for his assistance against the Uzbegs, begging forgiveness for his attack on Kabul. Akbar was too shrewd a diplomat not to make the best of this heaven-sent opportunity. Then, if ever, the situation could be turned to the best advantage by making Badakhshan a buffer state to keep the Uzbegs at arm's length. The Mirza's apologies were graciously accepted with a promise of every assistance against the enemy.

'Abdulla in the meantime had not lost sight of Persia. His ambassador Haji Altamash arrived in Delhi in 1572. Abul Fazl gives a very brief account of the event, giving the object of the visit to revive old relations and to renew friendship so that with the help of the Emperor he might act effectively against the princes of Turan. Another object was that he might continue in peace, without the fear of the invasion from the world-conquering armies. The Emperor, on his return from Gujrat received the ambassador and sent him back with a reply to the letter which he had brought. He denied the Uzbek ruler the usual courtesy of sending a return embassy as, according to the court-historian, it was no use showing courtesy to a person against whom hostilities were to be shortly resumed. In addition to that the celebrated author of *Akbar-nama* refers to certain proposals which the ambassador had brought which widened the gulf between the two monarchs. The proposals, no doubt, were kept a secret and the court-historian was not permitted to divulge it to anyone. A study of the happenings in Central Asia, however, threw light on this subject. With the end of Shah Tahmasp drawing nearer, the prospect of a civil war in Persia loomed large on the horizon. In fact, the claimants to the throne had realised the inevitability of a conflict and the ambassador of Khodaband, the eldest son of the Shah had already arrived at the Mughal court to win the favour of the Indian monarch. Shrewd diplomat as 'Abdulla was, he sensed the atmosphere. The heaven-sent opportunity he had waited for so long had at last come. If he could utilise it to his advantage, the dream of an Uzbek empire extending over the length and breadth of Central Asia might at last be realised. One of the greatest obstacles in his way was the Indian monarch who looked upon every move of 'Abdulla with suspicion. The only way to win him was to promise him a share in the booty. Hence it would not be far from truth to conclude that the proposal contained a scheme for the partition of Persia. The Mughal Emperor, as explained before, was determined to oppose, tooth and nail, any such objective.

Hardly had the Uzbek ambassador left India, when a civil war broke out at Badakhshan. The seed of this fratricidal strife had been sown years ago. Khanum, the widow of Mirza Kamran, while going to her father at Kashghar, attracted the attention of Mirza Sulaiman. Her ravishing beauty so much infatuated the old man that he sought her hand in marriage. This excited the jealousy of another spouse, Haram Begam,

who contrived in such a way that the prize went to her own son by Mirza Sulaiman, Ibrahim Mirza. As related before, the young man was killed in a skirmish with the Uzbeks. He left behind, Khanum and her seven-year old boy, Shahrukh Mirza, to mourn his death. The nobles who were always looking for an opportunity to fish in troubled waters, incited Khanum to put forth the claim of his child against his grandfather and the latter's domineering better-half, Haram Begam. The situation portended to become grave but for the wisdom of Shahrukh, who waited upon his grandfather and issued orders for the arrest of the conspiring nobles.

Shortly after the disappointed clique got another opportunity of stirring up trouble when 'Abdulla Khan invaded Hisar. The inhabitants of the unfortunate town solicited the support of Sulaiman who mustered his resources to go to the rescue of the besieged. At this juncture Muhammad Quli, one of the noblemen, revolted and he was supported by Khanum. The latter with her child Shahrukh retired to the heights of the Hindukush where she was joined by Muhammad Quli. The preparations being complete, the rebels advanced with lightning speed to battle and conquest. The governors of Andarab and Kahmard were forced to yield. But by this time Mirza Sulaiman completed his preparation and the rebels, to their disappointment found that they were no match for him. Success was almost assured to the old man when something unexpected happened which changed the course of events. The victorious soldiers of Sulaiman were faced with the option of either risking the lives of their families at Qunduz, which had been captured by the rebels by remaining faithful to Mirza Sulaiman or going over to Shahrukh and saving their kith and kin. In that tumultuous period of the Central Asian history when fealty to the sovereign was an exception rather than a rule, they likely enough deserted their master en bloc. Shahrukh, whose very existence was in peril, had the good fortune to find himself one morning master of the situation. The heart-broken old man asked his grandson for peace, but they could not agree on the terms. Sulaiman went to Kabul to seek Mirza Hakim's support but the latter directed him to Delhi. The Emperor accorded Mirza Sulaiman warm reception and promised his support to recover Badakhshan.

The alarmed Khanum sent 'Abdur Rahim Beg and M. Ishāq to explain her case to Akbar and also ask the hand of his daughter in marriage to Shahrukh.* The Emperor found himself in a dilemma. If he did not accede to her request the dissatisfied Khanum would throw herself on the mercy of 'Abdulla who would thus secure Badakhshan without even a fight. At the same time the Emperor had given his solemn oath to Sulaiman, and he had to stick to it. The exigencies of the situation, however, had the better of honesty and the ambassadors of the Khanum were graciously received. Akbar's duplicity disappointed Sulaiman and he left Agra ostensibly to visit Hejaz, but in reality to seek assistance

* *Akbarnāma*, Vol. II, 295.

elsewhere.¹ He found a favourable response from Shah Ismail who placed some Iraqi troops at his disposal. But here, too, his bad luck did not leave him, and following the death of the Shah the Persian auxiliaries deserted their new master. The reckless Mirza, then, in a state of desperation, invoked the aid of 'Abdulla. This frightened Shahrukh who immediately came to terms with his grandfather.

To revert to the Persian affair, 'Abdulla sent another ambassador, 'Abdur Rahim, who arrived in India in 1577. This time, the court-historian states that he brought a proposal for the partition of Persia between the two monarchs. Strangely enough this time Mirza Fulad led the Mughal embassy for a return call, though he was instructed to acquaint the Uzbek ruler with the Emperor's flat refusal to listen to any such move. Politics, as in many other cases, was here, too, made subservient to religion and 'Abdulla was informed that the Persian king being connected with the Holy Prophet, action against Persia was nothing short of a sacrilege. Such an object of reverence had the Persian king become with the Mughal Emperor that 'Abdulla was even reprimanded for referring to him lightly in his correspondence.

Abul Fazl did not unravel the mystery which surrounds the whole episode. It would have been in the fitness of things for Akbar to follow the precedent set already. The despatch of a Mughal embassy could serve no useful purpose when the Emperor was averse to entertain any scheme for the division of the Safavi kingdom. The real object, however, came to light when the changed situation was taken into account. Akbar, who thoroughly understood 'Abdulla's mind, anticipated real danger to Badakhshan. In view of it he actually collected an army under Yusuf Khan, Sa'id Khan, and Raja Bhagwan Das to be sent for the assistance of Shahrukh. He did not see any harm in informing 'Abdulla about this affair, using diplomacy before resorting to arms. The ambassadors were to open negotiation regarding Badakhshan and also to learn the motive of the Uzbek monarch.

Akbar's keen interest in the affairs of Badakhshan, forced 'Abdulla to take immediate action. Not letting the grass grow under his feet, 'Abdulla pounced upon the small kingdom and devoured it without much ado.² The unfortunate Sulaiman and Shahrukh were thus turned adrift and both of them came to the Mughal court in the hope of getting support from the Emperor.

Alarmed at 'Abdulla's advance in Badakhshan Mirza Hakim too, consequently sent an ambassador to Akbar to solicit his assistance. The Emperor's response was quick and he was assured that an attack on Kabul would be resisted by an army led by one of the princes. To convince 'Abdulla of the sincerity of his offer of help to Mirza Hakim, Akbar himself

1. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, 423.

2. *Ibid.*, 652.

arrived in the Punjab in 1585.¹ In spite of the assertion of Abul Fazl that the Emperor's object was to quell the rebellion and end the strife by a tour through the province, it was evident that it was 'Abdulla's ambition which had drawn the Emperor to those regions. Not only was Kabul seriously threatened by the Uzbek advance, but the Persian kingdom too had come in the orbit of danger owing to his recent success. 'Abdulla would move heaven and earth to attain his second objective. To checkmate the designs of the Uzbek monarch and also to conquer Kashmir and Thatta, the Emperor's presence in the Punjab was an unavoidable necessity.

'Abdulla in the meantime had not remained passive. Failing in his attempt to persuade Akbar to his own point of view he was employing other means to accomplish his object. His purpose was to create trouble within the Mughal Empire itself, so that Akbar's energy might be diverted to that region to give the Uzbek monarch a free hand to deal with Persia. In the hour of necessity he, too, looked to the tribesmen to assist him, and financially supported their leader Jalal Roshania to set the revolt agoing. Besides, his party, under Faridun² was working in Kabul to undermine the influence of the Mughal Emperor in that region.

The death of Mirza Hakim in July, 1585 afforded Faridun an opportunity to set his machinery in motion. With the purpose of creating bad blood between the Emperor and the family members of Mirza Hakim, he attempted to detain at Kabul his two sons as well as the two sons of Shahrukh whom Mirza Hakim on his death-bed had directed to the Emperor. He argued that the Mughal Emperor, well aware of the seditious nature of the Mirzas, would punish their sons. But Akbar was too cautious to allow such things to happen on the very frontiers of the empire. He took immediate measures to prevent the plot. First came Wali Beg Zulqadar and Fathulla to disburden the Mirzas of any doubt regarding the Emperor's generous intention towards them. The final scene of the drama was enacted by Man Singh, who took charge of the administration, sent Mirza's children to Delhi, and threw Faridun into prison.³

In March, 1586 'Abdulla again contacted the Mughal Emperor through his ambassador Mir Quraish.⁴ This new move on the part of the Uzbek monarch was explained by the court-historian as due to apprehension created in 'Abdulla's mind by the presence of the Emperor in the Punjab, his designs against Transoxiana and the construction of bridges on the Indus together with other preparations. This is an explanation no doubt, but only a partial one. For the rest we have to look elsewhere. 'Abdulla's attempt to confine the Emperor's activity to the Empire by creating trouble had failed. Jalal Roshania could only be a source of nuisance to the Mughal Emperor and nothing more, and the success in Kabul

1. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, 702.

2. *Ibid.*, 702.

3. *Ibid.*, 702/9.

4. *Ibid.*, 721.

was short-lived. Besides, the incorporation of Kabul in the Mughal Empire had entirely changed the situation. In the past 'Abdulla could lead the invading armies to Persia without the fear of being attacked from the rear, due to the unwillingness of Mirza Hakim to allow the Mughal armies to pass through his territory. But the death of that prince had removed this impediment from the path of the Emperor. To crown all, the information that Shah 'Abbas had sent an envoy to seek Akbar's support would have unnerved 'Abdulla completely. That Persia could not be conquered without the good-will of the Emperor had now become a certainty. Hence the new approach.

Like many other documents of this period the letter which the ambassador carried was lost to oblivion. Nevertheless the reply sent by the Indian Emperor incidentally referred to some of the points stressed in it. The Uzbek monarch attributed discontinuance of correspondence with India to the Emperor's heresy and his preoccupation with wars. He also justified his conquest of Badakhshan on the plea of Shahrukh's insolence.

In August, 1586 Mir Quraish returned to his country. The Emperor despatched Hakim Humam and Sadr Jahan to the Uzbek court, the former as the Mughal envoy and the latter commissioned specially to convey the Emperor's condolence to 'Abdulla on the death of his father.

The Emperor's letter* to 'Abdulla is significant and calls for critical analysis.

The opening sentences concerned the duties of a king which guided Akbar in his day-to-day administration. It held out a noble conception of kingship. According to it, the crown was not a mere ornament to be gloried and enjoyed. It entailed great responsibilities to the people in all spheres of life. Next followed a refutation of the charge of heresy levelled against the Emperor by the Uzbek monarch. The Emperor gave a long explanation. That he was a Muslim was an established truth. The misunderstanding arose from the fact that he undertook to decide the religious points on which the *ulema* disagreed. To show his further zeal for Islam, the Emperor referred to his intention of punishing the *firangis* who had harassed the pilgrims to Mecca.

The Emperor then, referred to the Persian question and the peril to its ruler. Not only that some of his own officers had revolted but the Sultan of Turkey, too, at this unfortunate moment, had contemplated an attack on him. The latter being descended from the Holy Prophet, the Emperor thought it his bounden duty to assist him especially when he had solicited his support.

In the closing sentence the Emperor alluded to Badakhshan. To the Uzbek monarch's justification for incorporating Badakhshan, the Emperor had nothing to say, but he could not agree with 'Abdulla to refuse him shelter when Shahrukh repented for his past conduct.

The letter was silent on the division of Persia. There were, however,

*. Vide *Ruqqat-i-Abul Fazl*.

unassailable facts to prove that an agreement was arrived at on this issue.* 'Abul Fazl, in one of his letters to Hakim, said "His Majesty has turned his attention to the conquest of Turan but is prepared to change the course of his conquest towards the island of Farang if a satisfactory treaty is forthcoming." In addition to this *Akbarnama* contained the following remarks in connection with Hakim Humam's return—"We conveyed the praise and supplication of the ruler of Turan who represented that the conquest of Herat and Khorasan was due to the blessed influence of the world Lord." 'Abdul Mumin in his letter to Murad III also referred to this friendship. 'The Padshah of India has strengthened the bonds of friendship with this significant House by sending Hakim Humam, one of his chosen courtiers, with presents, gifts and loving letter and has formed an alliance.' Imam Quli in his letter to Jahangir says, "As between the noble kings—dwellers of Paradise—'Abdulla Khan and Akbar Padshah—an alliance for the conquest of the road to the holy places had occurred—due to the religious alliance and unity between the sovereigns, a great portion of Iraq and Persia and whole of Khorasan were conquered."

The terms of the treaty were deliberately kept a secret by the two monarchs. The above statements however, provided a few openings to the mystery which surrounded the whole transaction. 'Abdulla appeared to have pointed out to Akbar the desirability of waging a religious war against the Shia heretics of Persia, who interfered with the Sunnis on their way to Mecca. Akbar, in reply, referred to the age-long alliance between the rulers of Persia and India and the Shah's connection with the Holy Prophet. These facts stood against any attempt towards extinction of Persia. The Emperor however intended to seize Qandahar and would not be averse to the Uzbek monarch's seizing some of the northern provinces of Persia. For the rest, the best course for the two monarchs would be to meet in Khorasan and find a way to assist Shah 'Abbas to establish himself in Persia.

Hakim Humam returned from Turan in 1589. 'Abdulla, in his letter, attributed the occupation of Herat and the conquest of Khorasan to the blessed influence of his devotion to the Mughal Emperor and informed him that he was sending Ahmad 'Ali Ataliq and Mir Sadr Jahan as his envoys to the Mughal court.

'Abdulla's acquiescence in Akbar's proposals might appear strange at first sight, but a close study of the situation would reveal the wisdom of such an attitude. The young Shah 'Abbas was growing in power and prestige every day. Endowed with a fiery imagination and a thirst for power, he would stop at nothing short of an attempt to add Transoxiana to his own kingdom. With this ambitious end in view, he contacted the Sultan of Turkey for peace, and solicited Akbar's support in the great task. This should have naturally revived Akbar's old dream of possessing his

* *Islamic Culture*, 1937, p. 88.

ancestral land. Weakened by growing old age, with a son whose fealty was doubtful, it would not be possible for 'Abdulla to stand against this combination. Hence this marks the beginning of a new trend in Indo-Turanian policy. 'Abdulla henceforward became humble and the Indian monarch aggressive.

This very year Muhammad Zaman declared himself son of Shahrukh and raised the standard of revolt.¹ He approached the Emperor for assistance but the latter informed him that he had made peace with the Uzbeks and could not wage war against them. Mohammad Zaman was asked to come to the court but he refused. He continued the struggle against the Uzbeks and defeated 'Abdul Mumin in the following year.

'Abdul Mumin's envoy² who was coming to India in 1590 met with a premature death in the Jhelum. In this way neither the object of 'Abdul Mumin in contacting the Emperor nor the contents of his letter even saw the light of the day. Sayyid Muhammad Šādiq 'Ali, in his commentary of the *Akbarnama* observed that Akbar had the envoy drowned as he was bearing 'Abdul Mumin's proposal to marry Akbar's daughter. What made Šādiq 'Ali to hold this view is difficult to guess, contemporary historians being generally silent on the matter. *Iqbalnama* simply mentioned that the letter contained certain improper allegations whereas Abul Fazl referred to a rumour that 'Abdul Mumin had demanded the surrender of the Badakhshani Aimaqs who were given refuge at court. In the absence of precise facts, the only thing that is certain is that the letter contained some impudent remarks. The hot-headed 'Abdul Mumin suspected Akbar's hand in the activities of Muhammad Zaman and this naturally enraged him. Akbar's offer of shelter to the Badakhshani Aimaqs only increased his indignation. In the circumstances it was not improbable that he demanded the hand of Akbar's daughter to insult him. But the allegation that the Emperor had the envoy drowned is on the face of it, incredible. In view of the Emperor's nature and the exigencies of the moment this allegation does not appear plausible.

Hardly had the people stopped discussing this event, when Moulvi Husaini arrived at the Mughal court as an envoy from 'Abdulla Khan.³ The fact that Shah 'Abbas had entered into an agreement with Turkey and solicited the Mughal Emperor's assistance in a joint action against Turan had very much alarmed 'Abdulla. The Uzbek monarch also realised that impudence of his hot-headed son would only add fuel to the fire. Moulvi Husaini was despatched to calm down the Emperor and counteract the move of the Shah of Persia. In his letter 'Abdulla revealed to the Emperor that the latter's presence in the Punjab had created apprehensions in his mind regarding his intentions and suggested that the Hindukush be recognised as the boundary-line between the two kingdoms.

1. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, 864.

2. *Ibid.*, 876.

3. *Ibid.*, 885.

As Moulvi Husaini died at Lahore in 1592, his family and household effects were sent to his native country. In April, 1594, two years later, 'Abdulla, it appears, repeated the former request through Mulk Saleh Bokhari. Akbar could now sense the weakness of his contemporary and henceforward it was the Mughal Emperor who gained an upper hand in the game of diplomacy as well as in the field of war. Qandahar having fallen, Zamindawar and Garmsir were wrested from the Uzbeks and when the latter tried to recover their lost possessions they were defeated and repulsed.¹

Ashraf Naqshbandi² was associated with Sultan Husaini of Lucknow and a friendly letter was addressed to 'Abdulla. Its principal points were as follows :—

(i) Akbar pointed out that his activities were never unfriendly towards 'Abdulla and to prove this contention he cited various examples :—(a) When Shah 'Abbas sent Yadgar Sultan Shamlu asking for assistance he was refused. (b) Shahrukh's request that he should be given jagir in Kabul, Kashmir, Bajaur or Tirah was turned down as the said territories lay in the neighbourhood of 'Abdulla Khan's dominion. (c) Qandahar was captured so that the Turanians, under the wrong belief that it was a Persian possession, might not try to annex it. (d) A pretender in Badakhshan proclaiming himself son of Shahrukh solicited his assistance, which was not given.

(ii) To clear 'Abdulla's doubt regarding the Emperor's intentions, he was informed that the Emperor and his entourage would shortly leave the Punjab.

(iii) The Emperor could not grant 'Abdulla's request to refuse shelter to Shahrukh because he had repented for his impudence.

(iv) In reply to 'Abdulla's request to Akbar to forgive his son, the Emperor graciously remarked that as he considered Mumin as his nephew the question did not arise.

Khwaja Ashraf and Sultan Husain had an audience with 'Abdulla on 9th September, 1597, at Kursi. 'Abdulla deputed Mir Quraish to accompany the Mughal envoy back to India, but when they approached Herat the Uzbek monarch died. The two ambassadors continued their journey to Qandahar where Mir Quraish parted company.

The death of 'Abdulla was followed by chaos and confusion in Turan. 'Abdul Mumin succeeded his father, but his reign was short-lived. His tyranny spurred a group of nobles to action who gave him a short shift. In its wake came full-blooded civil war which sapped the vitality of the empire created by 'Abdulla.

The news of 'Abdulla's death and 'Abdul Mumin's misrule percolated into India. Akbar was advised by his councillors to proceed to Turan, but he preferred to conquer the Deccan first. He, however, consulted his

1. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, 1027.

2. *Ibid.*, 1052.

sons if they would like to go to that country, and when he saw that they were not very eager he gave up the idea. The death of Akbar in 1605 closed this chapter of Indo-Turanian relation.

It will not be out of place here to estimate the success which each of the two Emperors achieved. 'Abdulla incorporated Badakhshan in his empire but failed to conquer Persia. Akbar succeeded in saving that kingdom from the grips of 'Abdulla, but his dream of a Mughal empire in Turan could not be realised and he left it to his successors.

RAMESH CHANDRA VARMA.

THE TERM QONALGHA (قنلغہ) AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

“THE term *Qonalgha* occurs frequently in the Mughal *firmāns*. What is its exact significance?” This question has been put to me by two different friends, one in Allahabad and the other in Guzerat; and as it is of general interest, the attempted answer is given here, in order to invite further elucidation from Turkī scholars.

The word belongs to Chaghātā’ī Turkī, and occurs, apart from the *Mahbūb al-Qulūb* of Amīr ‘Alī Shīr Nawā’ī (d. 906 A.H.), quoted below, at least twice in the *Wāqī’āt-i-Bāburi* (Turkī original), under the year 935 A.H. in the following passages:—

(i) In a letter addressed to Khwāja Kalān, who was in Kābul, Bābur specifies things which must be done there. One of these is:

ینہ کلور بارور ایلیچی بواسہ اینک علوفہ و قنلغہ سی

(*Babur-Nameh*, ed. Ilminski, p. 464).

(ii) In another passage, Bābur says:—

طاهر فی اکره کا ییبار یلدی کا بلدین کیلا دور کا نلار کا قونالغہ یوسونلوق انعام بولغان
یار ماقلارنی براتینی الیب باردی

(*Ibid.*, p. 472).

The term in question has not been rendered by Mirza ‘Abdur Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān in the Persian version of the *Waqā’i’*. In the first passage, the word is reproduced defectively as قامہ in the Punjab University Library manuscript¹ of the *Waqā’i’*, f. 248 a, where the letter of Bābur in which the word occurs is quoted in full in the original Turkī, though the letter is omitted in the lithographed Bombay edition of 1308 A.H. (see p. 233, 1.7). In the second passage also (same MS. f. 252 a), the word is left untranslated thus:—

طاهر را باکرہ فرستاده شد بکابل آمدکان زرهای که بطریق قونالغہ انعام شده بود
برات انها را گرفته رفت ،

1. This excellent copy was transcribed in 1021 A.H. in Delhi and is contemporary with the translator of the *Waqā’i’-i-Bāburi* (Abdur-Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān died in 1036 A.H.).

2. The lithographed edition, p. 235 gives the corrupt form قومالغہ instead.

Pavet de Courteille (*Mémoires de Baber*, ii, 388) has rendered قنله in the first passage as " frais de séjour " (cost of lodging), and in the second (ii, 402) as " indemnité " (indemnity). Both these meanings are given to s. v. قونالغه by the same author in his *Dictionnaire Turk-Oriental*, with passage (ii) as *shāhid*.

The above two passages are rendered as follows by Mrs. Beveridge :

(i) " again :— the daily allowance and lodging of envoys going backwards and forwards." (*The Memoirs of Babur*, p. 646).

(ii) " Tāhir (was) started from Agra . . . taking money-drafts for the customary gifts of allowance and lodging to those on their way from Kābul." (*Ibid.*, p. 658.)

Mrs. Beveridge has obviously taken قنله or قونالغه to mean in both passages expenses incurred by a traveller for lodging.

Qonalgha (قنله) is included in the list of about forty miscellaneous cesses, which, according to the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* (ed. Blochmann, p. 301), Akbar had remitted. قنله is given there in a footnote as a variant from the Delhi lithographed edition of the *Ā'in*, but that form is certainly wrong.¹ Due, however, to the uncertainty of its reading to him Blochmann had adopted the form قنله in his text with a query mark, which mark Jarrett repeated in his translation of the *Ā'in* (ii, p. 67 note), adding in a note that he could not trace this doubtful word.

The earliest land-grant *firmān* of Akbar available to me, which has the term in the form قنله (written in the *firmān* defectively as قنله), is dated in the last month (Isfandārmadh) of the 40th regnal year of Akbar where the cess is included in the list of the cesses of which the particular land-grant was declared free, and which were not to be levied (being *ابواب ممنوعه*). The passage in which it occurs is as follows (the dots occur only rarely):—

سپل حکام و عمال و کروریان و حاکم داران حال و استقبال آن محال . . . لعل مال و جهات
و اخراجات و سایر جهات مثل قنله و شکس و حرساه و ضابطاه و مهرانه و داروغخانه
و محصله ده بهم و صد دومی و قانون کومی و تکرار زراعت و ترکاری و زکوه الجمعی (؟) و
ضبط رساله بعد از ششخص چک و کل تکالیف دیوانی و جمع اخراجات سلطانی مراحم
رسانند،²

1. The word is distinctly pointed as قنله in a *firmān* of Aurangzeb which I have before me.

2. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXI (1904), photo-litho facing p. 68. Such formula seems to have come to the Moghal court from Persia. Cf. the following extracts from the *nishāns* of the Court of Abul Ghāri Sultān Husain-i-Bāqara (r. 878-912) given in the *Munsha'at of 'Abdallāh-i-Marwārid* (Punjab University MS.):
از مال و جهات و سایر متوجّهات و کل تکالیف دیوانی :
معاف و مرفوع القلم دانسته اصلاً چیزی حواله ندارند و متعرض نشوند (f. 39 a.) و از نهی مذکور
مال و اخراجات از داروغخان (read داروغخانه) و در بسته و زکوة و پانی گاهانه و ضابطاه و
محصنه و محصله و حق الا و ارجه و مشرفانه و غیر ذلک تطلبند و استانند و کماشکان امور دیوانی و ناظامان

Exactly the same formula (from *ترسانند* to *بعلت مال*) is repeated in a second land-grant *firmān* of Akbar issued in the 48th regnal year, except that in it *نقله* is written instead of *نقله* of the previous *firmān* (J.R.A.S.B. loc. cit.). In the following reigns this formula becomes the standard formula which, with only slight additions and omissions, occurs in the *firmāns* of the 11th and the early 12th centuries (See Mawlwī Bashīr Aḥmad's *Farāmin-i-Salāṭin*¹ pp. 16, 32, 41, 45 sq., 48 sqq., 61, 64, 75 and 108, where however the editor has always erroneously written *نقله*, probably following the above-mentioned Delhi lithographed edition of the *Ā'in*).

The following extracts from two land-grant *firmāns*² of (a) Shāh Jahān and (b) Aurangzeb, dated respectively in 1048 A.H. and 1078 A.H. (the original has instead: the 11th regnal year), which I have before me, would show how the formula used in Akbar's *firmāns* was being repeated in those of the subsequent reigns. The relevant passage in Shāh Jahān's *firmān* is as follows (copied as in the original):—³

و بعلت مالوجہات و اخراجات مثل ملغہ و شکش و جریانہ و ضابطانہ و محصلانہ و
مہرانہ و داروغگانہ و سکار و شکار و دہ نیم و مقدمی و صد دوی و قانون کوئی و ضبط
ہر سہالہ و تکرار زراعت و کل تکالیف دیوانے و مطالبات سلطانی نے مزاحمت نہ رسانند³

اعمال سلطانی اصلاحیہ امور نہ کردند . . . و کاشتکاران ایشان در انجا مدخل نہ کنند و دہ یازدہ رسم الصداریہ
و دہ نیم حق التولیہ نطلبند و نہستانند (f. 17a) سیل فرزندان کا مکار و امرای نامدار و مدور عظام و
وزرائ ذوی الاحترام و باقی متصدیان امور از متولیان و مبشران امور اوقاف سلطانی انکہ در تمشیت امر
مذکور و تقویت معتد مشارالہ اہتمام بجای آورند (f. 29a)

In a *firmān* 'dated A.H. 893 of Sultān Ya'qūb (r. 884-896, A.H.) of the Aq Qoyunter Turkomāns of Adharbāijān occurs the following:—

رقبات و جہات مذکور . . . بر مدرسہ مذکورہ جزء معاف و مسلم و مرفوع القلم داند و بعلت
مال و منال و تمار و خراج و مواشی و مراعی و وجوہ العین و جہات و پیشکش جمعی و غیر جمعی و دوشلک
یکمی و استصوابی و خراجیات جمعی و سہمی و خارجی سالانہ و رسوم داروغگی و چریک شیلان بہا و
حق التقریر و وجوہ عملداری و رسم الحماہ و ساری و سایر تکالیف دیوانی بہر اسم و رسم کہ باشد و تفاوت
و باز دید و حرز و مساحت و شمارہ و تعدیل و طرح و بیکار و غیر ذلک متعرض . . . نہشوند و تعرض
نہسانند و مطالبہ نہنایند (Fāris Nāmāh-i-Nāṣiri, Vol., I., 82)

1. On pp. 81 and 100 of this work, two *firmāns* of Aurangzeb are given which omit all reference to *qonālgha*.

2. Both documents are beautifully written, but Aurangzeb's is in a larger hand and is more carefully dotted.

3. Apparently such formula had come down to the Mughal Court from earlier times. A *nishān* of Sultān Husain-i-Bāyqarā of Herāt reads as follows:

مال و اخراجات از داروغگان و در بستہ و زکوٰۃ و پای گاورانہ و ضابطانہ و محصلانہ و محصلانہ و
حق الا وارجہ و مشرفانہ و غیر ذلک نطلبند و نہستانند و دہ یازدہ رسم الصداریہ و دہ نیم حق التولیہ نطلبند و نہستانند
(Tarassulat 'Abdullah-i-Marwārid, Punjab University MS. f. 17a).

The relevant passage in Aurangzeb's *firmān* reads as follows:—

وبعلت مالوجہات و اخراجات مثل قنلغه و پیشکش و جریانہ و ضابطانہ و محصلانہ
و مہرانہ و داد و غنکائے و پکار و شکار و دہ نیمی و مقدمی و صد دولی (و) قانونکولی و ضبط
بر سالہ بعد از تشخیص چک و فکر از رزاعت و کل تکالیف دیوانے و مطالبات سلطانے
مزاحمت فرسائند،

Thus قنلغه is always included among the *وابواب منوعہ* originating from Akbar, and is preceded by such words as *سائر اخراجات* or *سائر جہات* or *اخراجات* or simply *اخراجات* or *عوارضات*.

The terms *مال و جہات* و *سائر جہات* have been explained in the *Ā'in* (ed. Blochmann, p. 294) thus:

آنچه بر اراضی مزروعی از راه ریع قرار یابد آترا مال گویند و از انواع محترقہ
گزیدہ جہات خوانند و باقی را سائر جہات،

We can see from this explanation that *qonalgha* was one of the miscellaneous imposts, other than land revenue and the tax on selected handicraftsmen. This is, however, only a negative explanation, an indication of what it was not. As to what it was, its various meanings, the following explanation of the word given in the *Nūr al-Abṣār** (my copy, folio 316 b.) is helpful. It says:—

قونارغہ و قونالغہ بضم اول و فتحہ ثانی و سکون راء مہملہ و دوم بلام ساکنہ و غین معجمہ
مفتوحہ: روزینہ، امیرنوائی در محبوب القلوب بذکر صیاد گوید بیت -

قونالغہ آلیب قاید ا قویس ادرم اتی سی ارپہ و قوشی طعمہ ہم
و خوراک کہ آدم از رعیت می گیرد، و مایہ شیر، و ظرف دوغ و جفرات،

In the same work on f. 415 b, we have:

قونارغہ و قونالغہ: روزینہ و خوراک کہ آدم حاکم از رعیت می گیرد،

Thus we see that the term *qonalgha*, *qonlāgha*, *qonalqa* or *qonārgha*—various forms of the same word, means in Nawā'ī's *Mahbūb al-Qulūb* "daily allowance," in the *Wāqī'āt-i-Bāburi* "daily allowance or lodging allowance given to envoys," and in the *firmāns* of Indian Mughals "diet obtained by officers from the ryots."

MOHAMMAD SHAFI'.

* This is a grammar and vocabulary of Turki, compiled by Rāy Dhan Singh (with Kāshī as his *takhalluṣ*), son of Rāy Birbal Kāyasth Asthāna (?) of Malānwā (ملانوه), Malāwā of the Ā'in (Jarrett's translation, ii, 94, 179), in the *Sirkār* of Lucknow. He compiled the work, as stated by him, for Rājā Ajit Singh (d. 1775 A.C.) grandson of Rājā Balrām of Ballamgadh (see *Gazetteer of the Delhi District*, Lahore, 1913, Part A, p. 228 sq.), in the reign of Shāh 'Ālam II. The work was completed with the assistance of Sheikh Hayāt 'Alī, who is apparently identical with Mawlawī Hayāt 'Alī of the *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawisān*, who was, according to that work, "peerless in the knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Turki." My copy (ff. 472, size 11½ x 7½, ll. 16) was transcribed in 1195 A.H. The work is divided into four parts, each called *اشعہ*, viz. i (f. 1) در بیان ملہ صرف و نحو; ii (f. 47) در بیان اوامر; iii (f. 195) در بیان اسامی جوامد; iv. a (f. 376) در کار خانجات; iv. b (f. 454) در بیان مسائل. The Punjab University Library, also has a copy, containing only *اشعہ اول و دوم*.

DEVIL'S DELUSION

(TALBĪ'S-IBLĪS OF ABU'L-FARAJ IBN AL-JAWZĪ)

(Continued from *Islamic Culture*, April 1947, p. 183).

ACCOUNT OF THE WAY WHEREIN THE DEVIL DELUDES THEM IN THE MATTER OF EXTRAVAGANT SAYING AND PRETENSIONS*

YOU should know that knowledge produces fear, self-abasement, and protracted silence. If you consider the learned of old time, you find that they are mastered by fear and clear of pretensions. So Abū Bakr said : Would that I were a hair on a Believer's chest ! 'Umar, when dying, said : Woe to 'Umar if he be not pardoned ! Ibn Mas'ūd said : Would that when I die I might not be raised again to life ! 'Ā'ishah said : (XIX, 23) *Would that I were a thing of naught, forgotten !* When Sufyān ath-Thaurī was dying he said to Hammād b. Salāmah : Do you hope that one like me may be pardoned ?

Now, I would observe, such utterances as these proceeded from these exalted persons only out of their profound knowledge of God, inasmuch as such knowledge produces fear and awe. God says (XXXV, 28) : *God is feared by only the learned among His servants.* The Prophet said : I know God more than all of you and fear Him more than all of you. Now certain Ṣūfis, being far removed from knowledge, observing some of their own actions, and finding that some of them had experienced mercies resembling spontaneous miracles, made vast claims. We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir, the Ḥāfiẓ, a tradition going back to Abū Mūsā aḍ-Diyālī, according to which the latter said : I heard Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī say : I would that Resurrection-day had arrived that I might pitch my tent over Gehenna ; being asked by someone, Why, he replied : I know that if Gehenna were to see me, it would cool down, so that I should be a mercy to creation. We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabīb al-Āmirī a tradition going back to Abū Mūsā ash-Shiblī according to which the latter said : I heard Abū Yazīd say : Were Resurrection-day to arrive, and the people of Paradise were to be taken into Paradise and the people of Hell into Hell, I should ask to be taken into Hell. Being asked, Why, he replied : That all creatures might know that His bounty and His grace are with His saints in Hell.

This language, I would observe, is most improper, since it involves contempt for that Hell of which God makes so much, describing it with so much force, when He says (II, 22) *Beware of Hell-fire, whose fuel is men and stones,* and (XXV, 12) *When it seeth them from afar, they hear the*

* Continued from p. 364 of the Arabic text.

crackling and the roar thereof, etc. Further we have been told by 'Abd al-Awwal a tradition going back to Abū Hurairah, according to which the Prophet said :¹ This fire of yours which men kindle is one-seventieth part of the heat of Gehenna. The Companions said : By Allāh that is assuredly sufficient, O Apostle of God. He said : Verily it exceeds it by 69 parts, each of them equal to the one part. This is quoted in both *Ṣaḥīḥ*. And among the traditions peculiar to Muslim is one of Ibn Mas'ūd according to whom the Prophet said :² On that day Gehenna shall be brought having 70,000 reins, seventy thousand angels pulling each rein.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a tradition going back to Ka'b according to which 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to him : Ka'b, frighten us. He said : Prince of Believers, do what a man can do. If you were to bring to the Resurrection the works of seventy prophets, you would despise your performance in consideration of what you saw. 'Umar hung his head for a time, and presently raising it, asked for more. Ka'b said : Prince of Believers, if as much of Gehenna were opened as an ox's nostril in the East, the brain of a man in the West would boil till it melted from the heat. Again, 'Umar hung his head, and presently raising it, asked for more. Ka'b said : Prince of Believers, on Resurrection-day Gehenna will give forth such a roaring that neither angel in proximity (to the Throne) nor chosen prophet will be left who does not fall upon his knees saying, Lord, my soul, my soul, I ask thee this day for naught but my soul.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī a tradition going back to Zadhan,³ according to which the latter said : I heard Ka'b of the Doctors⁴ say : When Resurrection-day arrives, God will assemble the first and the last on one plot of ground, the angels will descend and form rows, and God will say : Gabriel, bring me Gehenna. Gabriel will bring it, drawn by seventy thousand reins, till it gets to a distance of a hundred years' journey from the creatures, when it will send forth a roaring which will cause the hearts of the creatures to fly, then a second, at which no angel in proximity nor commissioned prophet will be left who does not fall upon his knees, then a third, at which hearts will rise to the larynxes, minds will be dazed, and each man will have recourse to his work ;⁵ even Abraham the Friend will say : By my friendship I ask Thee naught save my soul, Moses will say : By my communing with Thee I ask Thee naught save my soul, Jesus will say : By the honour which Thou didst show me I ask Thee naught save my soul, not even Mary my mother.

Further, I would observe, it has been recorded that the Prophet said : Why, Gabriel, do I never see Michael smile ? Michael, he replied, has

1. The tradition is cited by the author from Bukhārī, but is found in Muslim, Cairo, 1290, II, 352,

2. *Lqç. cit.*

3. Died 82. Notice of him in the *Tahdhīb*, III, 302.

4. Ibn Maṭhī' al-Himyārī, died 32 or 34. Notice of him, *ibid.*, VIII, 438.

5. Apparently the meaning is : appeal to something in his life.

not smiled since Hell-fire was created, neither has my eye been dry since Gehenna was created, for fear that I might disobey God and be put therein by Him.

One day 'Abdallāh b. Rawāhah¹ was weeping and his wife asked him why he wept. I have been told, he replied, that I am to go down, but have not been told that I shall come up.

Now if, I would observe, this is the case with the angels, the Prophets, and the Companions, who are cleansed from all defilement; if they are so terrified by Hell-fire, how comes it that this pretender thinks so little of it? Further, he is confident of things about which he has no knowledge, his own sainthood and salvation, whereas only certain special persons among the Companions have been assured thereof. Yet the Prophet said: Whoso says "I am in Paradise" is in Hell. And here is Muḥammad b. Wasi² saying when about to die: My brothers, know ye whither I shall be carried? By God, than Whom there is no other god, I shall be carried to Hell, unless He forgive me.

If then the anecdote narrated of this pretender be true, it is an extreme case of "the devil's delusion." Ibn 'Uqail used to say: It is recorded that Abū Yazīd said: Now what is Hell? By Allāh, were I to see it, I would extinguish it with a piece of my patched cloak! or something of the sort. Now a person who says this, be he who he may, is an atheist, who ought to be executed; for contempt of a thing proceeds from denial of it: so one who believes in the Jinn feels horror in the dark, whereas one who does not believe in them feels no alarm, and may even dare the Jinn to capture him. When a man says anything of this kind he should have a lighted candle applied to his face. When he shudders, he should be told that is a torch from the fire of Hell.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a tradition going back to the younger Taifūr³ according to which the latter said: I heard my uncle, who was Abū Yazīd's servant, say: I heard Abū Yazīd saying: Glory unto me, glory unto me, how grand is my dignity! He then proceeded to say: My self is sufficient, sufficient, for me!

If, I would observe, this be true, it is possible that the transmitter misunderstood, since we may suppose that Abū Yazīd was citing what the Deity said of Himself, the words Glory unto Me referring to God, not to Abū Yazīd himself. Junaid explained the words away with something which resolves itself into what I have said, or else is meaningless.⁴

We have been told by Ibn Nāṣir a tradition going back to Ja'far al-Khuldī, according to which the latter said: Junaid, being told how Abū

1. A Medinese convert, who fought at Badr, and died at Mūtah in the year 8. Notice of him in the *Iṣābah*, Cairo, 1325, IV. 66, and elsewhere.

2. An ascetic who died in 120. The story is told by Ibn Sa'd, VII, II, 11, with some slight differences.

3. A later ascetic, also from Bistām, with kunyah Abū Yazīd.

4. In *Lisān al-Mizān* (III-215) the words are supposed to have been said in a state of spiritual intoxication.

Yazīd was in the habit of saying, Glory unto me, glory unto me, I am my Lord Most High, said: The man is absorbed in the presence of the divine majesty and utters that which absorbs him. The Deity has dazzled him so that he cannot see Him; he is conscious only of the Deity whom he describes. This, too, I would observe, is a piece of nonsense.

We have been told by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Kirmānī a tradition going back to 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī aṣ-Ṣarrāj,¹ according to which the latter said: I heard Aḥmad b. Salīm al-Baṣrī in Baṣra say one day in his lecture: Pharaoh never said what Abū Yazīd said. Pharaoh said (LXXXIX, 24) *I am your most high lord*; now a creature may be called "lord," e.g., lord of the dwelling; whereas Abū Yazīd said, Glory unto me, which may only be said by God. I asked him whether he was certain Abū Yazīd had said this. He replied that he was. I said that it might be supposed that this saying had been preceded by certain words showing that he was narrating how God said, Glory unto me! For if we heard a man say, (XVI, 2, etc.), *There is no god save Me*, we should know that he was reciting the Qur'ān. Moreover, I asked many of the members of Abū Yazīd's family in Biṣṭām about this matter, and they declared themselves ignorant of it.²

We have been told by Ibn Nāṣir a tradition going back to Abū Mūsā aḍ-Di'li, according to which the latter said: I heard Abū Yazīd say: I was making the circuit of the House,³ searching for it, and when I reached it, I saw the House circling round me.

Ash-Shīrāzī (one of the transmitters of the above) also records a tradition going back to Taifūr, the younger, according to which the latter said: I heard Abū Yazīd say: The first time I made the pilgrimage I saw the House; the second time I saw the Lord of the House, and not the House; the third time I saw neither the House nor its Lord.

Ash-Shīrāzī added another tradition also going back to Abū Mūsā aḍ-Di'li, according to which the latter said: I heard Abū Yazīd say, when asked about the Guarded Tablet, (LXXXV, 22): I am the Guarded Tablet. He adduced yet another tradition going back to the same Abū Mūsā according to which the latter said: I said to Abū Yazīd that it had come to me that there are three whose hearts are on Gabriel's heart. He said: I am the three. How so? I asked. He replied: My heart is one, my thought one, and my spirit one. It has also come to me, I said, that there is one whose heart is on Isrāfil's heart. I, he replied, am that one. I am like an all-devouring sea, without beginning or end.⁴

Ash-Shulūkī says: A man recited before Abū Yazīd the text, (LXXXV, 12): *Verily thy Lord's vehemence is severe*; Abū Yazīd said: By His life my vehemence is severer than His. Someone said to Abū

1. This is from the *Luma'*, p. 390.

2. The author has abridged the passage in the *Luma'*, to the disadvantage of the syntax.

3. The *Ka'bah*.

4. Similar assertions of Abū Yazīd are given in *Tadhkirat al-Auliya*, ed. Nicholson, I, 171.

Yazīd : I am told that you are one of the seven. He said : I am all the Seven. Someone said to him : Verily all creatures are under the banner of our lord, Muḥammad. By Allāh, he replied, my banner is mightier than Muḥammad's. My banner is of light, beneath which are all Jinn and mankind, including the prophets. He also said : Glory unto me, glory unto me, how vast is my realm ! The like of me is not to be found in heaven, neither is there any known figure on earth. I am He, He is I, and He is He.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī a tradition going back to Maṣṣūr b. 'Abdallāh, according to which the father of the latter said : Someone said to Abū Yazīd : You are one of the seven *Abdāl* who are the tent-pegs of the earth. I, he said, am all seven !

We have been told by Ibn Nāṣir a tradition going back to al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Salam according to which the latter said : Abū Yazīd entered a city and being followed by a crowd, turning to them, said : I am God, there is no god save me, so worship me. They supposed him to be mad and let him alone.

Al-Fārisī (Abu'l-Ḥusain Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, one of the transmitters of the last tradition) adds a tradition going back to Mūsā b. 'Isā, nephew of Abū Yazīd, according to which the latter said : I heard my father say : Abū Yazīd said : Once I was taken up and stood before Him, and He said to me : Abū Yazīd, My creatures would fain see thee. I too, my Beloved, I said, would wish them to see me. Abū Yazīd, He said, I would fain show thee to them. My Beloved, I said, if they wish to see me, and that is Thy wish also, and I cannot disobey Thee, bring me near to Thy uniqueness, clothe me with Thy Lordship, and raise me to Thy unity, so that when Thy creatures see me, they may say they have seen Thee, and Thou shalt be that¹ while I am not there. He did this unto me, set me up, decked me out, and raised me aloft, then said : Go forth to My creatures. I took one step from His presence towards them, and when about to take a second step, I fainted. He called out : Bring back My dear one, for he cannot endure to be away from Me for one hour.

We have been told by Ibn Nāṣir a tradition going back to Abū Mūsā according to which the latter said : It was narrated that Abū Yazīd said : Moses the prophet wished to see Almighty God ; I did not want to see Him, He wished to see me.

We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabīb a tradition going back to al-Junaid b. Muḥammad² according to which the latter said : Yesterday I was visited by a man from Bistām, who said he had heard Abū Yazīd al-Bistāmī say : O God, if it be in Thy foreknowledge that Thou shalt punish any of Thy creatures with Hell-fire, increase my body so that Hell shall have no room for anyone save me.

1. What they will see.

2. Apparently the famous ascetic.

I would observe that the impropriety of his previous pretensions is manifest ; this last is erroneous from three aspects. (1) He says " If it be in thy foreknowledge," whereas we know definitely that certain creatures must be punished with Hell-fire, some of whom God has mentioned by name,¹ such as Pharaoh and Abū Lahab. How then after this definite certainty can " if it be " properly be said ? (2) He says " increase my body ;" had he said " in order to avert it from the believers," it might pass ; but he wants to spare the unbelievers also, which is pretending to be more merciful than God. (3) His being ignorant of the magnitude of this fire, and confident of his ability to endure it ; neither of which things were in his possession.² He then proceeded to say : By Allāh yesterday I had a talk with al-Khidr on this question, and the angels approved what I had said. God Almighty also heard me and found no fault with me ; had He done so, He would have silenced me.

I would observe that had not this person been supposed to be deranged, it would be proper to retort with the questions ! Where was al-Khidr ? How did he know that the angels approved his statement ? And many a reprehensible saying has not brought immediate punishment upon its speaker. I have been told on the authority of his slave Maimūn that the latter declared Sumnūn³ used to call himself The Liar on account of some verses which he had composed, one of which was :

In none save Thee have I a share ;
Try me howe'er Thou wilt ; I'll bear.⁴

After that he would make the circuit of the schools holding a dripping chamber-pot, and bidding the boys " pray for your uncle the liar."⁵

I would observe that this makes me shudder. Can you suppose that he possessed the strength to which he pretends ? It is the result of ignorance of God ; had the man known Him, he would only have prayed for health.

We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabīb a tradition going back to Abu'l-'Abbās b. 'Atā⁶ according to which the latter said : I used to reject these miracles until I was told by a trustworthy person the following story of Abu'l-Ḥusain an-Nūrī,⁷ who confirmed it when I asked him. We were, he said, in a *sumairiyah*⁸ on the Tigris, when the people said to Abu'l-Ḥusain : Fetch out for us from the Tigris a fish weighing three

1. See XXVIII, 41 ; CXI, 3.

2. Apparently the confidence and the endurance. But the text seems to have suffered.

3. Died 278. Notice of him in *Qushairi*, I, 159-161.

4. *Qushairi* quotes this as Sumnūn's.

5. In *Qushairi*'s account Sumnūn suffered from suppression of urine, and pretended to pray for relief, when he was not doing so.

6. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sahl, died 309 or 311.

7. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, died 295. A somewhat similar miracle is told in his biography in *Kitāb Baghdad*, V, 134.

8. Some sort of craft.

pounds, three ounces. Abu'l-Husain moved his lips, and straightaway there came up from the water a fish weighing precisely that amount which came to rest in the boat. Abu'l-Husain was adjured by the company to tell them what form of prayer he had employed. I said, he replied, By Thy might if Thou dost not bring out of the water a fish weighing three pounds three ounces, I will drown myself in the Tigris.

We have been told by Abū Mansūr al-Qazzāz a tradition going back to Junaid, according to which the latter said :¹ I heard an-Nūrī say : When I was in Rakkah the neophytes of the place came to me, saying : We are going fishing, and do you, Abu'l-Husain, with your devoutness and your piety, your ascertained piety, produce for us a fish weighing three pounds, no more and no less. I said to my Master : If Thou wilt not at once produce for me a fish weighing what they say, I will fling myself into the Euphrates. Thereupon, I produced a fish which when I weighed it proved to weigh three pounds exactly. I, said Junaid, said to him : If, Abu'l-Husain, the fish had not been produced, would you have flung yourself in ? Yes, he replied.

We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Ḥabīb a tradition going back to Abū Ya'qūb al-Kharrāj according to which the latter said : Abu'l-Husain an-Nūrī said to me : I had some hankering after these miracles, and taking a rod from some lads stationed myself between two boats, and said : By Thy might, if Thou wilt not bring out for me a fish weighing three pounds, no more and no less, I will eat nothing. When this was told to Junaid, he said : He deserved to have a snake come out and bite him.

We have been told by Ibn Ḥabīb a tradition going back to 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Abān according to which the latter said : I heard Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz² say : My chief sin towards Him is my knowing Him.

I would observe : if this be taken to mean " Knowing Him, I have not acted in accordance with such knowledge, whence my sin is great, like the guilt of one who knows, yet disobeys," it is right ; otherwise it is improper.

We have been told by Ibn Ḥabīb a tradition going back to Aḥmad al-Halfa'i according to which the latter said : I heard ash-Shiblī say : Men love Thee for thy favour ; I love Thee for thy afflicting.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Qāsim a tradition going back to Abū 'Abdallāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Hamdānī,³ according to which the latter said : I visited ash-Shiblī and when I rose to depart he kept on saying to me and to my companions till we had left the house : Pass on, I am with you wherever you may be, and you are in my charge and my protection.

1. This story is taken from *Kitāb Baghdād*, V. 132, whose author communicated it to al-Qazzāz.

2. Aḥmad b. 'Isā, died 247 or 277. Notice of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, IV, 276.

3. Luma', p. 396. The same reporter's name is given in a MS. though a different name appears in the text.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a tradition going back to Maṣṣūr b. 'Abdallāh, according to which the latter said: Some people visited ash-Shibli during the illness from which he died, and asked him how he felt. He recited the verse

"Verily the Sultān of his love saith: "I take no bribe." So ask ye him (may I be his ransom) why he is moved to slay me."¹

Ibn 'Uqail states that it is recorded that ash-Shibli said: God says (XCIII, 5): *And verily thy Lord shall presently give thee and thou shalt be satisfied*; yet, by Allāh, Muḥammad will not be satisfied whilst one of his community is in Hell. He proceeded to say: Muḥammad will intercede for his community, and I shall intercede after him so that no one will remain in it (Hell). Ibn 'Uqail observes that the first of these assertions maligns the Prophet, who is satisfied with the punishment of evil-doers; assuredly, since he cursed ten things and persons connected with wine.² So the assertion that he is dissatisfied with God's punishing evil-doers is a false assertion, a rash statement due to ignorance of the ruling of the Code. Further, his claim to be an intercessor altogether and to go beyond the work of the Prophet Muḥammad is infidelity; for if a man makes certain that he is one of the people of Paradise, he is one of the people of Hell: still more when he is his own witness that he is of a rank which exceeds that of prophethood, nay surpasses the 'praiseworthy rank,'³ the supreme intercessorship. Ibn 'Uqail proceeds: All that is in my power in dealing with the innovators is my heart and my tongue; had I power over the sword, I would water the ground with people's blood.

We have been told by Shuhdan bint Aḥmad a tradition going back to Abū 'Abdallāh al-'Alqī, companion of Abu'l-'Abbās b. 'Aṭā, according to which he said: I heard Abu'l-'Abbās b. 'Aṭā say: I read the Qur'ān, and saw that God mentioned no man with commendation till He had tried him; so I besought God to try me. Only a few days and nights passed before there went out of my dwelling more than twenty corpses, none of whom came back. Al-'Alqī added: Moreover he lost his wealth and his reason, his children and his wife. He remained in a demented state some seven years; the first thing that he said on recovering his reason was

Of truth I say Thou hast my patience strained;
I marvel how my love hath all sustained.

1. The second of the lines has been corrected from *Kitāb Baghdad*, XIV, 396. In the *Tadhkirat al-Auliya*, II-181, line 18, the first is translated into Persian, but the second omitted.

2. The reference is to a tradition in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, II, 25, where a curse is declared to be on (1) wine itself, (2) the drinker of it, (3) its cupbearer, (4) its vendor, (5) its purchaser, (6) one who squeezes the grapes, (7) one who orders them to be squeezed, (8) one who carries it, (9) one to whom it is carried, (10) one who profits by its sale.

3. Reference to a tradition given by Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, I, 375, and others in which the Prophet's function in the future world is described.

I would observe that this man's asking for trial was the result of his ignorance; for to ask for trial implies an assumption of strength. And that is as bad as anything can be. Further, "straining of patience" is an injustice, which ought not to be ascribed to the Deity. The most charitable account which can be given of his state of mind is that he composed this verse when still insane.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain as-Sulamī according to which the latter said: Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Husri¹ used to say: Leave me to my trial; are you not children of Adam, whom God created with His hand, breathing into him of His spirit, to whom He bade the angels prostrate themselves, and gave a command which he disobeyed? If the first draught of the cask be dregs, what will the last be like? According to the same narrator he said: For a time when I read the Qur'ān I used not to ask protection from Satan, saying: Who is Satan that he should be present when the Deity is speaking?

I would observe that the first of these utterances is audaciously irreverent, since it is using harsh language about a prophet;² whereas the second is in opposition to God's ordinance (XVI, 100); *And when thou readest the Qur'ān, ask protection of God*, etc.

We have been told by Abū Bakr b. Abī Ṭāhir a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain as-Sulamī, according to which the latter said: I found in writing by my father the following: I heard Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ad-Dīnāwari³ say: They have violated the canons of Ṣūfism, broken up its path, and altered its concepts by names which they have introduced; calling covetousness "increasing,"⁴ irreverence "sincerity," departure from the truth "intoxication," reprehensible enjoyment "amusement," ill-nature "vigour," avarice "sternness," indulgence of passion "trial," reversion to the world "arrival," mendicancy "work," foul language "censure." This used not to be the course of the community.

Ibn 'Uqail observes that the Ṣūfīs express forbidden things by terms which though the names are altered connote the idea; thus they designate gatherings for amusement, singing, and frivolity as *times*; the beardless as *witnesses*; a beloved woman as *sister*; the debauchees⁵ as *aspirants*; the dance and enjoyment as *emotion*; the abode of sport and idleness as a *hermitage*. Such alteration of names is illicit.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(To be continued).

1. Died 371; notices of him in *Kitāb Bughdād*, XI, 340, and *Risālah Qushairiyyah*, (Cairo, 1290), II, 16.

2. The text has "the prophets," but the reference must be to what is said of Adam.

3. Died after 340. Notice of him in *Risālah Qushairiyyah*, ii, 10; on p. 11 this saying of his is cited.

4. The text has been corrected from the *Risālah*, but the commentators find the word for "increasing" difficult, and offer a variant reading meaning "visiting." Probably "increasing" is correct.

5. Text amended conjecturally.

ON. THE MARGIN

I

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO THE ARTICLE: "THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE EPISTLES OF THE IKHWĀN AṢ-ṢAFĀ"*

THE author wishes to add a few bibliographical notes to his above-named article, written—this should excuse him—in a forlorn spot of Sudan, with absolutely no books at his disposal. The most important points only will be touched here; the whole question of al-Tauḥīdī's evidence will be resumed, it is hoped, on some other occasion.

1. *Zaid b. Rifā'a*—Mr. Q. Aḥmadali has brought to light some interesting data about this scholar, the reputed friend of the Sincere Brethren. In his article "Zaid b. Rifā'a" and his abridgment of "Ibn-as-Sikkīt's *Iṣṭiḥṣā' al-Mantiq*" (Zeitschrift d. deut. Morgenlaend. Gesellschaft, 1936, pp. 201-208) he drew the attention to a Berlin MS. containing a grammatical work of Zaid. In a postscript (p. 208) he also mentions another extant work of Zaid, the *Kitāb al-Amthāl*, published in Hyderabad. Mr. Aḥmadali also points out, that both the *Tārīkh Baghdād* (Vol. VIII, p. 450) and the *Lisān al-Mizān* (Vol. II, p. 506) contain short articles about him. (It might be added that the *Mizān* simply reproduced the words of the *K. al-Imtā' wal-Mu'ānasa*, the same that it does in another passage (Vol. III, p. 506).

The alleged passage about Zaid b. Rifā'a in the *Muqābasāt of al-Tauḥīdī*, quoted by Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā, which Mr. Aḥmadali has—according to his own profession—failed to trace in the book—owes its existence, no doubt, to an overlook of Aḥmad Pāshā. He had evidently in mind the editor's introduction to the Cairo edition of the *Kitāb al-Muqābasāt*, where the passage of the *Kitāb al-Imtā'* was reproduced (after al-Qifti).

2. An *Abu'l-Hasan al-'Aufī* is mentioned as the author of a *Risāla fi Aqṣām al-Mawjūdāt*. Mr. Aḥmadali seems to consider him as identical with the al-'Aufī mentioned by al-Tauḥīdī as a co-author of the *Rasā'il Ikh-wān aṣ-Ṣafā*) in the Latin translation of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Sirr al-Aṣrār*.

3. My friend, Dr. S. Pines, reminds me that the story of the Magician and the Jew is literally reproduced (no doubt from the *Rasā'il Ikh-wān aṣ-Ṣafā*) in the Latin translation of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Sirr al-Aṣrār*.

* *Islamic Culture*, October, 1946, p. 372.

4. The supplement to Brockelmann's History of Arabic literature contains some additional bibliographical references on the *Rasā'il*, (Vol. I, pp. 379-381).

S. M. STERN.

II

A NOTE ON IBN-FIRNĀS'S SUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT AT SOARING FLIGHT

THE brief account of Abu-al-Qāsim Ibn-Firnās's successful attempt in the latter half of the ninth century A. D.—at what is nowadays called 'soaring flight,' or 'flight without power,' or with somewhat more elaborate appliances but still without the use of power-machinery, flight with gliders—written by al-Maqqari of Tilimsān, in his famous work, *Nafh-al-Tib*, at Damascus, sometime between 1628 and 1630 A.D., has given rise to several interesting comments by writers both in the East and in the West.

Ibn-Firnās was a great musician endowed with extraordinary powers of invention. Philip K. Hitti in his *History of the Arabs* (Macmillan, 1937, p. 598), after recounting a number of scientific services rendered by Ibn-Firnās to Muslim Spain:— manufacture of glass, popularisation of Oriental music, building of a sort of planetarium, exhibiting not only the movements of stars and planets, but imitating the phenomena of clouds and even lightning—states that "Ibn-Firnās was the first man in Arab history to make a scientific attempt at flight." A perusal of the original Arabic account* reveals the fact that Ibn-Firnās's flying equipment consisted of a suit of feathers with wings, which carried him a long distance in the air; but in alighting he hurt himself (evidently not very seriously) for lack of a steady tail.

Lewis Mumford in his *Technics and Civilization* (Routledge, p. 22) writing about aeronautics says: "As with so many elements in our culture the original impulse was imparted in this movement by the Arabs as early as 880, when Ibn-Firnās had attempted flight." The date of his death is given as 888 A.D.

We would have been in a better position to judge the merits of his appliances and the principles involved, if there had been fuller information concerning the size and form of the suit, the place from where Ibn-Firnās let himself be carried up by air-currents rising vertically from the ground and the time of the day the attempt was made.

Observation of the soaring flight of birds and the imposing sight of cumulus clouds taught the adventurous youth of militant Germany,

* Vide *Analectes sur l'Histoire et la Littérature des Arabes D'Espagne, par al-Makkari*, Tome Second, Vol. II, pp. 254, 255, Leyde, E.J. Brill, 1856-1861.

before the second World War, to perfect the design of gliders, which enabled them to get buoyed up by ascending currents of air in the day for several hours and be carried off by the drifting winds long distances from the starting eminence.

Ibn-Firnās must have adopted the same means and followed instinctively the same procedure. It is a pity there is such scanty information in Arabic literature on this fascinating subject. A good deal of it must have perished with the expulsion of the Arabs from Spain in 1492, before some could reach Maqqari in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

It may not be out of place here to mention that in the publication, "Aeronautics: Handbook of Collections, Science Museum, London," (H. M. S. Office, 1935, page 7), are described experiments of Elmer of Malmesbury and John Damian in the eleventh and sixteenth centuries, when they essayed to fly by means of wings with calamitous results.

There is no reference to Ibn-Firnās's much earlier and presumably more successful, or at least less hazardous attempt.

M. A. R. KHAN.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

Persian and Arabic Diaries :

THE State Library possesses a unique collection of Persian and Arabic Diaries and these are classified under *Insha*.

The most interesting collection among the Diaries are 200 letters of the Mirs of Sind and about 100 letters of the Nawab of Surat. A casual examination of these letters shows that they will throw a flood of light on the state of affairs in India after 1815. As a source of history, these should prove invaluable to scholars. A short note is given on each volume for the guidance of scholars interested in this subject.

(1) Diary of 1815. Vol. 5. Library Registered Number 653. Contains 82 copies of letters. A few of these letters are addressed to the Governor of Bombay.

(2) Diary of 1819. Vol. 6. Library Registered Number 654. In all, this volume possesses 150 copies of letters.

(3) Diary of 1824. Vol. 4. Library Registered No. 652. Has 99 letters.

(4) Diary of 1825. Vol. 2. Library Registered No. 650. This volume is important because besides the letters of Māharajahs, Nawabs, it contains a number of appeals, *Arzees*, which throw a flood of light on the social, economic and political condition of the State and country.

(5) Diary of 1826. Vol. 1. Library Registered No. 732. In this volume, almost all letters cover up 4 to 5 pages. News-writers such as Munshi Md. Yusuf, Azeem-ullah Khan and Ghulam Mohiuddin have given descriptive notes on the events and happenings in their respective centres or zones, to the Governor of Bombay. This volume contains in all 186 letters, though all do not belong to 1826. The first part consists of 53 letters written to the Governor of Bombay, while the second part consists of letters written by the Governor and addressed to the Nawabs and Rajahs of various States and belongs to 1835.

(6) Diary of 1835. Vol. 1. Library Registered No. 649. It has in all 74 letters in Arabic from the rulers of Mukkela, Makran, etc.

(7) Diary of 1838. Vol. 3. Library Registered No. 651. In all there are 82 letters in Persian.

(8) Diary of 1838. Vol. 4. Library Registered No. 735. Contains 37 letters in Arabic.

(9) Diary of 1839. Vol. 3. Library Registered No. 734. Contains 38 letters in Arabic.

(10) Diary of 1844. Library Registered No. 736. It has 32 letters in Arabic.

(11) Diary of 1846. Library Registered No. 737. Possesses 33 letters in Arabic.

(12) Diary of 1858. Vol. 1. Library Registered No. 707. This is one of the most important volumes and contains original letters and it has in all 69 letters.

(13) Diary of 1860. Library Registered No. 733. This volume has 134 letters, reports, etc., written in a bad hand, majority in Urdu and a few of them are in Persian language.

These Persian and Arabic correspondences were carried on by rulers, and ministers of various states, and the British agents and officials with the Governor of Bombay and his replies to them. Besides these, there are other letters such as from the Dalal (Agent) of Masket, Edris-bin-Sayyid Mubarak, Bakhshi Qazi Mir Sadruddin of Surat, Yusuf Mir Munshi, the High Priest of the Bhoras, Prince of Shiraz, Khan of Khelat, Shahzadi of Shah Alam II, Azeem-ullah Khan, (a regular news-writer from the court of Rajah Ranjit Sing), and letters from the court news-writers of Surat, Sindh, Cambay, Sachin, Indore, Hyderabad, Gwalior, Bhopal, etc.

These volumes, important as they are, have not been utilised by students and scholars of Indian History. For a detailed note, *vide* K. Sajanlal's Report on the Persian and Arabic Diaries, published in the *Indian Historical Records*, Vol. XXII, Appendix E, pp. 14-17.

A few of these letters pertaining to the Mirs of Sindh, have been published under the title, *Talpur-British Correspondence 1815-1819*, by K. Sajanlal, in the *Journal of Sindh Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, No. 1.

The Rainbow :

In the latest issue of the *Rainbow* Mr. K. Sajanlal, has contributed a series of articles entitled, "Relations between Nawab Mir Nizam Ali Khan and Peshwa Madhav Rao I." The first part covers the year 1762 to 1763. The second deals with the period from 1763 to 1766. While the third part closes with the death of the Peshwa, i.e., 1773.

Mr. M. S. Sitharamiah has taken up the "Berar Question," and traces its history from ancient times to the Mughal period. Thereafter he deals with Berar under Asaf Jah I.

The Magazine of the Graduates of the Osmania University :

In the latest issue of this magazine, there are two interesting articles, viz., "The Administration of the Deccan under the Bahmanids" by Late

Muhammad Murtaḍa Ṣāhib and "The Accession of Muẓaffer Jung" by Mr. Moinuddin.

In the latter part of this Journal, Mr. Muhammad Ghaus, has contributed a very interesting article on "The Paper Industry." Herein he not only cites but also reproduces the two *Firmans*, one of Aurangzeb, and the other of Āṣaf Jah I, granting special exemption from tax to the paper manufacturers of Kagziguda in the Taluqa-i-Khuldabad in the Suba of Aurangabad.

Subras :

In the June issue of this journal there appears a short article, rather a note, on "Nawab Shams-ul-Umara's Press," from the pen of Mr. Naṣir-ud-din Hashmi.

New Weeklies and Monthlies :

In spite of the shortage of paper, it is pleasing to see that a number of Urdu weeklies and Urdu monthlies have made their appearance. The weeklies are (1) "Naksh-o-Nigār," (2) "The Sayyid-ul-Akhbar," (3) "Azad Haidrabad," (4) "Yād," (5) "Al Belāg" (6) "Moin."

The Urdu journals published monthly are (1) "Muslim" (2) "Romān" (3) "Dāstān" (4) "Savaira" (5) "Parvāz," etc.

K. S. L.

DECCAN

Foundation of the Indo-Islamic State :

DR. H. N. SINHA, Nagpur University, has contributed this important article to the *Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society* (for 1946). He considers that the Islamic State was a Theocracy. The needs of the Muslim rule in India were different from their needs in countries like Persia and Arabia. The enormous extent of the country and its vast population rendered the technique of Muslim Theocracy in many ways ineffective. By staying over in India the Muslim rulers could hardly think of the welfare of the state in terms of the welfare of the Muslim population only, or of the glorification of Islam. They had to think of the good of the state and benefit of the people first, and then, of what was in accordance with the law of Islam. The first entry into Sind under Muḥammad bin Qāsim was not a holy war waged for the

propagation of Islam, but a war of conquest. 'Not only were the Hindus tolerated, but also they enjoyed privileges in matters religious and political, and were associated with their conquerors in administration of the country.' The Indian Sultans from Qutbu'd-Din Aibak to Sultan Firōz Tughluq followed the Hanafite school of law. In short, Muslim rulers realised that the Indians could not be governed according to the dictates of Muslim Theocracy. So they had to discard the policy of exclusion and seek the co-operation of the Hindus in the civil and military departments of the realm. This recognition of the political expediency of the Muslim rulers of India, laid the foundation of a new state which may be designated as the Indo-Islamic State.

The Myth of Rani Padmini and 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khālji :

In the Bulletin of the Nagpur University referred to above, Dr. K. S. Lal writes this article. Its substance is : Malik Jaisi, a poet of the 16th century, in his epic *Padmavati*, gave currency to the legend that Sultan 'Alāu'd-Dīn invaded Chitor prompted by a desire to acquire the possession of Padmini, the beautiful consort of Ratan Singh, the ruler of Chitor. The story of Jaisi which is an admixture of romance, adventure and tragedy ending with the self-immolation of the queen, has been taken as authentic by many historians including Frishta and Hajjiu'd-Dabir. The writer of this article, after discussing many points of the allegorical nature in the story, considers it as a literary concoction lacking historical support. Moreover, it is asserted that among those who perished was perhaps a queen of Ratan Singh whose name was Padmini. It seems necessary to add here that formerly the same myth of Padmini was fully dealt with by three other scholars who arrived at the same conclusion as Dr. K. S. Lal, viz., (1) The late Maulvi Ihtishāmu'd-Din of Delhi in *Afsāna-i-Padmini* in 1939. (2) Principal Zahidi of Bahawalpur College in a series of articles in the *Burhān* of Delhi, and (3) M. 'Abdur Raḥmān Siddiqi of Calcutta in the *Current Thoughts of Calcutta*, 1942.

Sind University :

The readers of the *Islamic Culture* will remember that in its issue of April, 1942, pp. 246-47 we gave notice of the *Proposed Arabic University for Sind*, which was then contemplated by men like Dr. Daudpota and Sayyid Miran Muḥammad Shāh. We are now glad to say that within a short period of about five years this scheme has been materialised by the Sind Ministry and it has been called the *Sind University*. On the 27th February, 1947 the Premier Mr. Ghulām Ḥusain Hidāyatullāh finally had the Bill of the Sind University passed by the Council in spite of the vehement opposition of the Congress party. The House passed the

Bill with an amendment making it compulsory for the educational institutions in the Province to affiliate themselves to the Sind University, and not to any other university either in British India or Indian states. Commenting on this Bill, the *Times of India*, Bombay, wrote under 'Current Topics': " * * * The case for a University in Sind is excellent but, from every point of view in the interest of the Province, it is obviously desirable to establish it on lines which appeal generally to all sections of the population. In the current political atmosphere it is perhaps inevitable, although deplorable, that the peculiar composition of political parties should distort even an enterprise like this. * * That a University should be as independent a body as is humanly possible is recognised throughout the world. Education is, too, subject to political interference already in India without making matters worse." As Karachi has, now, become the seat of Pakistan, the Sind University, it is hoped, will, as soon as possible, push its schemes and establish a model University worthy of its name.

The Undercurrents of Muslim Culture :

The *University College Magazine*, Trivandrum, (December 1946) has published an article under this heading by K. Muhammad, Lecturer, Trivandrum University. "The desire to see his religious experience transformed into a living world-force was supreme in Muhammad. To judge the value of a prophet's religious experience, would be to examine the type of manhood he has created, and the cultural world that has evolved out of the spirit of his message." After this, by quoting the verses of the Qur'ān, the writer has very carefully discussed the points, viz., the spirit of the Prophet Muhammad's message and the finality of the institution of prophethood. Lastly he says "History is the third source of human knowledge. The Qur'ān has germs of a historical doctrine. The possibility of a scientific treatment of the life of human societies regarded as organisms is nothing remote(?). Ibn Khaldūn's exposition of the philosophy of history has been mainly due to the inspiration which the author must have received from the Quranic verses." The main point of interest in Ibn Khaldūn's view of history is the conception of life and time. History, as a continuous movement in time, is a genuinely creative movement. The merit of the historian lies in his keen perception of the spirit of the cultural movement."

Dārā Shikōh's Majma'ul-Bahrain :

We have formerly written twice on this topic in the *Islamic Culture* (1944, pp. 88-89, 215-216). We are glad to find that as the MSS. of the Sanskrit version of the Persian edition of *Majma'ul-Bahrain* of Dārā

Shikōh on mysticism, are found in many libraries all over India, Dr. V. Raghvan of Madras (vide *Journal of Oriental Research Madras*, March 1946, Vol. XV, Pt. iii, published very recently) has undertaken to publish the Sanskrit version by collating it with many MSS. from various libraries in India. We hope that the Persian version of the *Majma'ul-Bahrain* with an English translation by the late M. Maḥfūz-ul-Ḥaq, published in the *Bengal Asiatic Society Series*, will also be fully acknowledged. We have reason to doubt that Dr. V. Raghvan may have not known the work so far done by scholars on the Sanskrit version, the *Samadra-Sangama* and the Persian original of *Majma'ul-Bahrain*. After quoting a Sanskrit verse, Dr. Raghvan concludes: "By his frequent contact with Baba Lal, Dārā Shikōh discovered that the differences between Islam and Hinduism were verbal, not essential. He then proceeded to harmonise the two faiths, enshrining wisdom which he called the Union of the two Oceans."

Patronage of Telugu Literature by the Qutb Shāhī Sultāns :

The recently published proceedings of the Indian History Congress, held at Annamalainagar under the auspices of the Annamalai University in 1945, contains one important contribution—the *Two Muḥammadan Patrons of Telugu Literature in the 16th century* by V. Narayana Rao, Lecturer in History, P. R. College, Cocanada. Ibrahim Qutb Shāh of Golkonda (1550-1580) and Amīr Khān, one of his important officials were great patrons of the Telugu literature. Addanki Gangadhara Kavi dedicated a Prabandha called *Tapati Samvarano Pakyanam* to Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and Ponniganti Telaganna dedicated *Yayati Charitram* to Amīr Khān. "There have not been many Muḥammadan patrons of Telugu literature and it is no wonder. But the two Muḥammadans to whom were dedicated the above-mentioned Prabandhams are very highly spoken of by the poets of the day." It is evident from these Prabandhams and the Chatu Verses that these patrons were greatly respected by these poets. The writer asserts that though Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh took an active part in the overthrow of the Empire of Vijayanagar at the battle of Talikota yet he endeared himself to the Telugu poets of the day by his patronage of the Telugu literature. He is called in the verses as : Malikibharama or Ibharama and many Chatu Verses describe his great love for Telugu literature and the princely gifts he gave to Telugu men of letters. The first work describes the conquests of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh as well as of his father who established the independent kingdom of Golkonda. The verses say that Ibrāhīm conquered Udayagiri, driving out Venkata from there, conquered Vinukonda, Bellamkonda and Tangeda and by force of arms he captured the impregnable fortress of Kondaveedu which enjoyed a position of great strategical importance. Thus Ibrāhīm extended his kingdom as far as Kassimkonda in Vizag district. The other work which is dedicated to Amīr Khān also throws light on

many important events of Quṭb Shāhī dynasty. He had built a city called Amīrpur after his name and also many important buildings. His eldest son Galat Khān (?) earned the good-will of his sovereign by his achievements. His brother Fāzil Khān, brought about an understanding between Ibrāhīm and Sreerangaraya of the Aravidu dynasty. Both these Telugu works speak of Hindu and Muslim unity in the empire.

Portrait of Sultān 'Abdulla Quṭb Shāh :

Dr. H. Goetz has published from the collection of the Baroda State Museum (Baroda State Museum Bulletin, Vol. III, Pt. I) a sketch of portrait of a Mughal noble, which he has entitled *An Early Mughal Portrait of Sultān 'Abdulla of Golkonda*, because there is written on it both in Persian and Telugu characters "قطب شاه" Quṭb Shāh and "Quṭ-mishya Padushah" respectively. A casual observation of the sketch itself undoubtedly leads to call it a Mughal study but to call it, simply on account of these inscriptions a *Portrait of 'Abdulla Quṭb Shāh of Golkonda*, stops us to accept the allegation because we are expected to be familiar with the characteristics of the Deccani School of Painting. It would have been better if some previously published portrait of the same Sultan had been compared with this. Moreover, the inscription on the sketch simply says "Quṭb Shāh" which by itself is very vague. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary that such positive statement as a portrait of 'Abdulla Quṭb Shāh, should have been avoided. It cannot be denied that Dr. Goetz has done his best to furnish some details of the career of Sultān 'Abdulla Quṭb Shāh which do not contribute anything to the painting itself from the point of view of Art. In our opinion these details of his life were not at all necessary. Fortunately at present two previously published portraits of the same Sultān 'Abdulla Quṭb Shāh are before us, viz., one is in a long procession of the Sultān on horse-back (*A Survey of Painting in the Deccan* by Stela Karamrish, Plates XVI-XVII, from the collection of the late Sir Akbar Hydari) and the other portrait is perhaps from the collection of Nawab Salar Jang Bahadur (*Special Deccan Number of the Sab Ras, Hyderabad Deccan*, 1939). Both these portraits resemble each other, although drawn at different stages of life—the one in procession is without beard and the other of advanced age is with beard. One can, without difficulty, recognise them to be the portrait of one and the same person. The special features of the Sultan are not discernible from the published sketch by Dr. Goetz. After these remarks the published portrait of a Mughal nobleman cannot be claimed to be the portrait of Sultān 'Abdulla Quṭb Shāh of Golkonda.*

* Here it may be added that 'The portrait reproduced in Goetz's article does not represent 'Abdulla Quṭb Shāh. Contemporary portraits of this king are preserved in the collections of the British Museum and also in the Rijks Museum, Amsterdam. The portrait in question represents a Mughal Prince, real or imaginary. The technique of the portrait is north-Indian and not Dekhani. (I. C.)

Origin of Bombay :

Dr. H. D. Sankalia has contributed a short but interesting article on *Origin of Bombay* to the Journal of the University of Bombay (Vol. XV, Pt. 4) which in reality is a criticism on Dr. Saletore's previous article on the same topic already published in the same journal (Vol. XIII, July, 1944, pp. 1-9). Dr. Sankalia in the course of his arguments says : " In the first place, he (Dr. Saletore) has misread and misquoted Bird's *Translation of the Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, which vitiates his entire chain of reasoning. For, as pointed out by Khān Bahadur Prof. Shaikh, Bird mentions " Manbai " and not " Manbani," as alleged by Dr. Saletore. The relevant passage runs as follows : " Having carried an army against Chaiwal, in the year of Hijra 913=A.D. 1507, in order to destroy the Europeans, he effected his designs against the town of Bassai (Bassein) and MANBAI (Bombay) and returned to his own capital on the 11th of the Muharram, A.H. 914=A.D. 1508. (Section II of Reign of Sultān Fath Khān, entitled Mahmud Bigarraḥ), pp. 214-215." After discussing his thesis Dr. Sankalia concludes thus : " From whatever point of view we examine the theory proposed by Dr. Saletore, it is found to be faulty and hence to be rejected. If we have to trace the origin of the word Bombay (or Mumbai, as now pronounced by Indians) on the strength of the name mentioned by the 18th-19th century Persian writers, including the author of *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, we may as well accept the view held hitherto, viz., the word " Bombay " (Munbai) is connected with the goddess Mumba Devi, who was the patron deity of the Kolis, and her temple was on the central island. We had also pointed out with reference to Dr. Saletore's article (*Islamic Culture*, 1944, pp. 439-40) that the word منبى means* " who gives information, makes known, brings news." When we further re-examine this word being derivated from نَبَا meaning ' to be lofty or high ' and اَنبَا meaning ' to announce,' we are encouraged to say that it might really have been named by the Arabs, who had come to Thana in the beginning of the seventh century of the Christian era and since then it is known to the world as a great port and great trade centre. Yāqūt Ḥamavi (Mu'jam, Vol. IV, p. 741) has given under word النبی a place-name, one quotation of Aus bin Hajar : مَكَانُ النَّبِيِّ مِنَ الْكَاتِبِ Here the expression of word النبی means ' embankment.' All this shows that according to the physical situation of the Bombay island the Arabs might have given the name Manbi which is generally called Munbai, and Bombay by the foreign writers. Dr. Sankalia has quoted above the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (completed in A.H. 1174), which contains the mention of place-name Manbai being the so far earliest known mention of this word in the Persian history. Here we take the opportunity of quoting the *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb* of Khafi Khān (Vol. II, pp. 401, 421-428)

* Here it may be noted that ' The Arabic derivation of the word is not convincing. The connection of the name with Munbai Devi, patron deity of Kolis is also conjectural. ' (I. C.)

under years A.H. 1103/A.D. 1691 and A.H. 1105/A.D. 1693, respectively. Outlining the boundaries of different kingdoms Khāfi Khān says: "Besides this, the Portuguese occupying the country from 14 or 15 *kos* south of Surat to the boundaries of the fort of (منبئی) Manbai, which belongs to the English and to the boundaries of the territory of the Habshis which is called the Nizām Shāhī Kokan." Then he cites one interesting incident which particularly concerns the English establishment at Manbai. We jot it down very briefly which is generally ignored by the writers on Bombay and the author Khāfi Khān himself had taken an active part in this incident. Therefore his recording this place-name as Manbai is not without interest. The incident is this: The royal ship called the *Ganj-i-Sarai*, which according to the دریانوردان 'navigators,' was named دُول جہاز *Dol Jahāz*, used to sail for Mecca every year from Surat. When it was coming back to Surat it was attacked and captured by the English. The loss was reported to Aurangzeb and the news-writer of Surat sent some rupees which the English had coined at Manbai with a superscription containing the name of their king. Then the English factories were seized. The fort of Manbai was besieged. I'timād Khān, who was leading the campaign, realised that a struggle with the English would result in a heavy loss to the customs revenue. Khāfi Khān, the author of *Muntakhabu'l-Lubab* himself went to see the English of Manbai, when he was acting as agent of 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Khān at the fort of Surat. He entered the fortress and observed the splendid atmosphere. (He has given a complete picture of his observations of the magnificence of the Manbai fort). He met there Englishmen and exchanged views with the English Dewan. Khāfi Khān after describing the victories of Aurangzeb over the Deccani kings said: "Is the island of Manbai a sure refuge?" Then the English Dewan explained and justified his action for coining a separate coin. After this Khāfi Khān was entertained. According to him (p. 427) the total revenue of the whole island of Manbai which was chiefly derived from betel-nuts and-cocoa-nuts, did not reach to two or three *lacs* of rupees. The profit of the commerce of the English did not exceed twenty *lacs* of rupees. The balance of the money required for the maintenance of the English settlement was obtained by plundering the ships voyaging to Mecca.' (Vide Elliot and Dowson, VII, pp. 344-45, 350-55). The same place-name, Manbai, is also available in the recently published *Tārikh-i-Muzaffar Shāhī* (composed in A.D. 1518) which describes the conquest of Mandu by Muzaffar Shāh of Gujarat who started from Muḥammadabad-Champaner to Mandu. The Sultān had encamped at one place Muzaffarabad *alias* Manbai (Manbi) after leaving Godhra (p. 16, text and intr. Engl., p. 4). We can conclude from all this that owing to the physical situation of the town this name Manbai was given by the Muslims. As we have already pointed out (*Islamic Culture*, 1944, pp. 439-440) the word *Mumba* has neither any connection with Hindu mythology nor it is of Sanskrit origin. Therefore, our modest opinion is that the etymological derivation of word 'Manbai,' which later on became

Bombay, is from the Arabic language as pointed out above, and this is the reason why this place-name 'Manbai' which must have some significance, remains a controversial problem among the scholars.

The Foundation of Pakistan :

In the history of the world it will ever remain on record that, after all, a Muslim State within India (" MUSLIM INDIA WITHIN INDIA —Iqbal ")—Pakistan,—has been established (on 15th August, 1947) and has been celebrated at Karachi, its present capital. Undoubtedly the whole credit of this unique and wonderful achievement in the domain of politics goes to the efforts of a single person, the Qaid-i-'Azam, Muḥammad Ali Jinnah, the first Governor-General of Pakistan. In his reply to the welcome given to him by the Mayor and Councillors of the Municipal Corporation of Karachi on the 25th August, 1947, he said, "* * * Karachi is no ordinary town. Nature has given it exceptional advantages which particularly suit modern needs and conditions. That is why, starting from humble beginnings, it has come to be what it is, and one could say with confidence that the day is not far hence when it will be ranked amongst the first cities of the world. Not only its airports but the naval port and also the main town, will be amongst the finest. * * * I visualise a great future for Karachi—it always had immense potentialities. Now with the establishment of the Pakistan capital here and the arrival of the Pakistan Government and its personnel and the consequent influx of trade, industry and business, immense potentialities have opened out for it. So let us all strive together to make this beautiful town a great metropolis, a centre of trade, industry and commerce and a seat of learning and culture * * ." On this occasion the city fathers of Karachi would have done well to trace its history from the days of the Arab conquest of Sind by Muḥammad bin Qāsim who had, in fact, laid the foundation of a Muslim State in terms of Pakistan as defined by the Qaid-i-'Azam. Today the residents of Karachi have forgotten that Muḥammad bin Qāsim was the first conqueror of Sind. He first established Muslim rule at Daibul which is unanimously recognised to have been situated not far from where Karachi stands today. (*Chach Nama*, pp. 252-255.) About the first Muslim settlement at Daibul the historian of Islam, Aḥmad bin Yahya bin Jabir al-Balādhuri (d. A.H. 279/A.D. 892) says in his *Futuḥul-Buldān* :— " Al-Ḥajjāj kept sending messages to Muḥammad bin Qāsim, and every three days Muḥammad would send him replies describing the progress of the campaign, and asking his advice about what he should do. One letter came to Muḥammad from Al-Ḥajjāj, saying, ' Set up the 'arūs, shortening its foot * * shot at the yard-arm * *. Then Muḥammad, upon their making a sortie against him, attacked them, and put them to flight. * * The city (Daibul) was thus conquered by force. * * Dahir (the then king of Sind) fled from the place, * * Muḥammad marked out a quarter for the

Muslims, built a mosque, and settled 4000 colonists there.” (Text, pp. 435-36.) So by a strange coincidence after about thirteen centuries the Muslim State is, again, established on the very spot which Muḥammad bin Qāsim had set apart for the Muslims. But we should not forget that this Arab conquest of Sind was called by historians like Stanley Lane Pool as “*A Triumph without result.*” This should serve as a timely warning to the Muslims of India. We pray to the Almighty in the words of the Prophet Abraham: “My Lord. Make safe this territory, and preserve me and my sons from serving idols.” (*Qur’ān*, sūrah Ibrāhīm, 35.)

Principal Dr. Muḥammad Bazlu’r-Rahmān :

The late Dr. M. Bazlu’r-Rahmān belonged to a family of scholars who dedicated their lives to Islamic history and culture. He started his career at Lahore. He graduated with Arabic from the Punjab University topping the list of successful candidates. He was then awarded a European scholarship by the Government of India for higher studies. He joined Cambridge and worked under Prof. Nicholson. He got his Doctorate from that University and also published a very important work, the *Zādu’l-Musāfirīn* of Nāṣir Khusrau ‘Alawī at the Kaviani Press, Berlin (1922). On his return to India he was appointed Professor of Persian at the Lucknow University. For the last fifteen years he was *Principal* of the Ismā’il Yusuf College, Bombay, since its inception, (1930), the only Muslim first-grade college in the whole of the Bombay Presidency. He was very popular among his students. He associated himself with all the Muslim educational activities of the Bombay Presidency. He was one of the most active members of the Bombay University Senate. The introduction of *Islamic Culture* as an independent subject for M.A. in the university was entirely due to his efforts. To all appearances he was very healthy. He died of heart failure at the age of forty-nine at his residence in the college premises on 16th February, 1947. He was an excellent friend, and was always ready to help his students in building their career. In him we have lost a great educationalist and historian.

M. A. C.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

THE most extraordinary development in Indian politics is the creation of the dominion of Pakistan. This news was splashed by the Muslim press of Bengal, Bihar and the U.P. in bold headlines amidst great acclamations and rejoicings. The birth of a new Muslim state on the map of the globe has really been a source of great jubilations to the entire Muslim population of India. Congratulatory messages on this

outstanding achievement of Mr. Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnah, the President of the All-India Muslim League, have been sent even from the different Muslim countries of the world. The political reconstruction and economic planning together with the religious organisation of the Pakistan state is now a subject of keen discussion. A section of the Muslim opinion advocates that in Pakistan, the faithful should be free to pursue their own destinies without being drowned in the treacherous slush and mire of atavism and abominations. For this, they are of opinion that the essence of practical reality must be extracted from the garden of faith, which is the Holy Qur'ān. But the task is by no means easy, for the modern age has yet to see an Islamic state at work. The consensus of Muslim opinion is, however, positively in favour of developing a true Islamic ideology and mentality amongst the Muslim citizens of Pakistan. These feelings were reverberated in a significant remark of Qaid-e-'Azam Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnah, who, on a demand whether Pakistan would be modelled on true Islamic principles, observed that Pakistan cannot disregard the fundamental principles of Shari'at and the Quranic Laws, for, he added further, "more than thirteen centuries have gone by and in spite of bad weather and fair that the Mussalmans had to pass through, we have not been only proud of our great and Holy Book, the Qur'ān, but we have adhered to all its fundamentals all these ages." Mr. M. A. Jinnah's political admirer, the Hon'ble Mr. Ghazanfar 'Alī Khan, who held at the same time the membership of H.E. the Viceroy's Executive Council, also said during the course of his speech in Abbottabad that laws in Pakistan will be based on Islamic principles of social justice. The *Dawn* of Delhi, an official organ of the All-India Muslim League, has been publishing a number of articles, in which the essentials of an Islamic state together with its religious matters are being hotly discussed. A contributor named Badr-ud-Din Aḥmad of Calcutta observes that the success and prosperity of Pakistan will depend mostly on the devoted service of men having imagination and solid character and possessing a wide knowledge of the world with a background of Islamic history, temporal and spiritual. It is therefore high time that we realised, writes Mr. Badr-ud-Din Aḥmad, that Islam as generally understood and practised by us today, is not the Islam which was preached by our beloved Prophet and followed in his time and in those of his *Ṣaḥāba* and *Tābi'yeen*. But we cannot do so, he contends further, unless we dig out the real teaching of our religion from a mass of rubbish that has accumulated in the course of centuries. For an effective step in that direction the above writer suggests that the portals of the Quranic wisdom and prophetic philosophy must be thrown open to the modern educated youths of Pakistan by compiling an authentic Urdu translation and commentary of the Holy Qur'ān and by having complete translations of the universally acknowledged Traditions of the Prophet. And yet another contributor to the above Muslim League organ puts forth a suggestion that if the Holy Qur'ān is to become the Charter of Pakistan state, the latter must have a College of Pontiffs to undertake research and

interpretation, work. This college, according to the learned contributor, should be semi-governmental organisation and its function should be to marshal facts and to express its opinions. Its opinions will not have the force of law unless approved by the government and the people. And a still more remarkably outspoken and realistic suggestion was made in the correspondence columns of the *Dawn* by a writer, who said that "when our Islamic State has been established it is our foremost duty to look out after religious matters and enforce religious injunctions so that the betterment of Muslims can be achieved." This observation is followed by a prudent suggestion that "as in Islamic days Prayer, Fasting, Pilgrimage, Bait-ul-Mal and Zakat, (poor-tax) etc., were strictly observed and the defaulters were punished according to the Quranic laws, similarly now the time has come that the same may be strictly re-enforced." It was perhaps in due regard of these inner wishes of the Muslims that the Jami'at-ul-'Ulema-i-Islam has adopted a resolution demanding the establishment of a powerful Shari'at Department both in the provincial and central governments of Pakistan. The *Statesman* of Calcutta has also been displaying its interest on the nature of laws in Pakistan, and initiated a discussion on it by publishing a letter of one of its Muslim readers from Burdawan. The writer of this letter says categorically that Pakistan would certainly apply the Islamic law to its Muslim nationals on the ground that it is their own law, but there is little probability of the Islamic Code being applied to others. The writer also argues that Pakistan would certainly draw its inspiration largely from the Prophet and the Caliphs. The charter granted by the Prophet to the Jews and the Christians provided that there would be no interference with their faiths and observances. The history of the Caliphate also makes it clear that non-Muslims enjoyed equal right with the Muslims and held posts of honour. They were allowed the fullest possible freedom to preserve their languages, literature, religion, custom, civilisation, culture, laws, and institutions. They were entitled to just and fair treatment. The Dhimmis or non-Muslims were, "not subject to the laws of Islam with respect to religious matters, such as fasting or prayer or with respect to temporal acts such as the sale of wine or swine's flesh, which, though contrary to the Muslim religion, were legal by their own." It was therefore quite in consonance with the true ideals and high traditions of Islam that Qaid-e-'Azam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah, after being appointed as the Governor-General of Pakistan, at a Press conference assured very magnanimously the non-Muslim minorities of his dominion that they would have full protection of their religious faith, life, property and culture. At this Press conference Qaid-e-'Azam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah expressed himself to be a great believer in democracy taught by Islam thirteen and a half centuries ago.

Pakistan was Dr. Iqbal's dream. It is now a stark reality. He visualised that a consolidated Muslim state will serve the best interests of India as well as Islam. For India it will mean security and peace resulting from internal balance of power. For Islam it would be an opportunity to

mobilise its law, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times: Each and all the Muslims wish however that the architects of Pakistan will not detract from what Dr. Iqbal conceived it to be.

Like India, Bengal has also been subdivided into two parts. The Western Bengal will be included in Hindustan, while the Eastern Bengal, together with the district of Sylhet (Assam), will join Pakistan. As a result of this partition, the educational structure of the Calcutta University will undergo a great change. The Calcutta University has at present 2300 schools, 116 colleges and 1151 madrasas under it. After the division of Bengal and Assam, 1200 schools would go to the Eastern Bengal and about 300 to Assam. Of the 116 colleges 35 colleges would be included in the Eastern Bengal and 23 would go to Assam. Similarly 1025 madrasas from the total number of 1151 would be claimed by the Eastern Bengal. These changes will cause a sudden and rapid decline in the jurisdiction, scope, function and finance of the Calcutta University. The main sources of the income of the Calcutta University are examination fees and publications, the net yield from the former being about Rs. 10,00,000 and that from the latter Rs. 3,50,000. The Bengal Government grants more than Rs. 5,00,000. This income will be greatly reduced if the schools, colleges and madrasas of the East Bengal and Assam are disaffiliated from the Calcutta University. As against this, the Dacca University, which is in the East Bengal, has now the prospect of a phenomenal and rapid expansion in its educational functions and jurisdiction and may attain very soon the status of one of the most important seats of learning. The Dacca University was founded in 1921 and has since then been a residential university. But it is likely to inherit now much of the functions of the Calcutta University. It will have necessarily to extend its scope and function to that of an affiliating and examining body while at the same time maintaining the provision of advanced teaching through an agency distinct from the staffs of the affiliated colleges.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal has published in its Vol. XII, No. I, 1947, an article on *Ibn Hazm and his Jamharat-ul-Ansab* by Mr. Mas'ūd Ḥasan. 'Alī bin Aḥmad bin Sa'īd bin Ḥazm surnamed Abu Muḥammad was one of the greatest scholars of Spain. He was also a very prolific writer. His *magnum opus* is his *Kitāb-ul-Fiṣal fi'l-Milal wal-Aḥwāl wa'l-Niḥl* which is a book on comparative religion. His unpublished works are *Tawqul Hamama*, *Resala fi Faḍl al-Andalus*, *Nuqat-ul-Anus* and *Jamharat-ul-Ansab*. The latter book written in 450 A.H. is on the genealogy of the Arab tribes with special reference to their branches established in Spain. In India its manuscripts are preserved in the Rampur State Library, Maktabat-ul-Sindiya, Hyderabad Sind, and Oriental Public Library, Patna. The Rampur MS. contains 296 folios and the date of its transcription is 984 A.H. The Bankipore MS. comprises 163 folios, and was transcribed probably at the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. We learn

from Mr. Mās'ūd-Ḥasan, who is on the staff of the Arabic Department of the Patna College, that he has an intention to edit this book. If it is carefully edited and published, it will be welcomed by those scholars who are interested in the genealogical details of the great Arabs. A concise book on the same subject is *Nasabu 'Adnan wa Qahtan* by Al-Mubarrad. It has been edited by the well-known Professor 'Abdul 'Aziz Mayman, of the Muslim University, Aligarh.

The Royal Academy of London will hold an exhibition of Indian Arts in the coming winter. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Asutosh Museum, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and the Art Section of the Government Museum of Calcutta are sending to this exhibition some of their valuable collections. Specimens of the Moghul arts from the Arts Section of the Government Museum of Calcutta include some good portraits, *viz.*, 'Akbar and Jahangir with a Hawk,' 'A Mughal Prince' and 'Three Ladies before a Muslim Saint.' Other exhibits from the same Museum include the Bull Capital of Rampurwa (the crowning piece of the Asokan Pillar); Mathura Yakshi (a 5½ ft. standing figure of Buddha from Mathura); Bodhisattva of Lalitagiri and terra-cottas of ancient, medieval and later periods. These exhibits have been sent in about fifty wooden cases, weighing over thirty-seven tons. Archæological specimens, portraits and sculpture are being collected from other parts of India also by the India Committee of the exhibition for shipment to the United Kingdom. The cost of the transit of exhibits will be borne jointly by the respective Governments of the two countries.

A publishing agency of Calcutta named S. C. Sarkar and Sons has brought out a historical book entitled *Shah Alum and His Court* by Antoine Louis Polier. This is an account of the Mughal court at Delhi between 1771 and 1779 A.D. by a Swiss engineer in the service of the East India Company. The original of this account had been lost, but a copy regarded as authentic was found some years ago. It gives some useful information regarding the struggle for power by the Mahrattas, the Jats, the Rohillas and the Sikhs. And still more interesting are the details about the activities of Francis Monson and Clavering to unseat Warren Hastings. The book has been edited by Mr. P. C. Gupta, who has added some informative notes.

The Bihar Legislative Assembly has resolved to establish in the province a Hindustani Academy, which will perhaps more or less, be, after the model of a similar institution in the U.P. We welcome this decision of the Bihar Government. It will be recalled here that it was this province, which, nine years back, appointed a Hindustani Committee to evolve such a language for the medium of instruction in secondary and higher stages, as was likely to be agreeable to both the Hindu and the Muslim students. But this committee failed to accomplish the object for which it was convened. The Patna University has, nevertheless, decided from this year to abolish English as medium of instruction even in its curriculum of higher examinations. The preparation of text-books for such

examinations will now be watched with much interest. A greater section of the majority community of this province is, however, not in favour of Hindustani to be employed as a means of instruction. The *Indian Nation*, an independent nationalist daily of the province, calls Hindustani 'a hybrid language,' and advocates the cause of Hindi, which, according to it, must be adopted as the national language of the Indian Union. If Hindustani is actually discarded, Urdu shall have no prospect even in the land, where it was born and matured with a prosperous future before it. The glory and marvel of this language are referred to by the editor of the afore-mentioned daily also, who, in one of its leading articles under the caption of *Hindi or Hindustani* wrote, "Urdu is a rich language with a magnificent literature. It has contributed in abundant measure to the culture of India. Muslims rightly feel their culture associated with Urdu language and literature." We expect therefore that "cultural heritage of both the Hindus and the Muslims," will not be made a victim to the fume and fury of the politicians of the Indian Union, but it will be accorded a rightful rather an honourable position it really deserves.

Fatāwa-i-Ālamgīrī has been made a subject of interesting study in several issues of *Ma'ārif* ('Azamgarh). From this we learn that Emperor 'Ālamgīr got it compiled in the eleventh year of his reign (1085 or 1086 A.H.) after spending the sum of two lakhs of rupees. The compilation was finished after a hard labour of eight years, and almost all the religious luminaries of the country participated in it. Prominent collaborators were (1) Shāikh Nizām of Burhānpūr, Gujrat, (2) Mulla Muḥammad Jamil of Jaunpur, (3) Qaḍi Muḥammad Ḥussain of Jaunpur, (4) Shāikh Wajih-ud-Din of Gopamau (Oudh), (5) Maulana 'Abdullah Chalpi, who came to India from Asia Minor, (6) Saiyyed 'Alī Akbar Sa'dullah Khānī of Delhi, (7) Maulana Saiyyed Nizam-ud-Din of Thath (Sind), (8) Qaḍi Abu'l-Khair of Thath, (9) Maulana Jalal-ud-Din Muḥammad of Machhli Shahr, Jaunpur, (10) Mulla Hamid of Jaunpur, (11) Shāikh Raḍi-ud-Din of Bhagalpur, Bihar, (12) Maulana, Muḥammad Shafi' of Anṭhua, Gaya, (13) Mulla Wajih-ur-Rab, (14) Maulana Muḥammad Fā'iq, (15) Mulla Muḥammad Akram, (16) Mir Saiyyed Muḥammad of Qannauj, who was also the author of *نواب التزیل و تدریة المدارج ، المصنف العلمیہ شرح فصوص الحکم*. A Persian translation of *Fatāwa-i-Ālamgīrī* is also believed to have been rendered by Maulana Chalpi 'Abdullah and some of his pupils at Emperor 'Ālamgīr's order. But not a single copy of this translation is to be found anywhere.

For those of our readers, who are interested in Maulana Baha-ud-Din A'amili's literary accomplishments, it will be a piece of information that the manuscript of one of his unpublished works namely *مفتاح الافلاح* is in possession of Lt. Col. Khawāja 'Abdur Rashid, I.M.S., Meerut. This book, which is on *uṣūl* and consists of 350 pages, was purchased by him in Teheran in 1942. The closing lines of the MS. are :

قد حصل افراغ من القبال بعون الملك المتعال في اواخر شهر رجب سنة الف ومائة

ونحسين من الهجرة في بلدة دار السلطنة لاهور وحسبها الله تعالى من الفتنة ووقع توفيق المقابلة وحصل سعادتها مع نسخة قرات عند الامام الرئيسين اعني المصنف رحمه الله الدنيا والمقال واحدة

Maulana Baha-ud-Din A'amili was born at Qazwin or according to another authority at Ba'lbak (Syria) in 953 A.H. When he grew famous for his erudition and scholarship, he was attached to the court of Shāh 'Abbas Šafavi, who appointed him to the post of Shāikh-ul-Islam and Ra'is-ul-'Ulema. He died in 1031 A.H. at Isphahan and was buried at Tus. He was the author of a large number of books on different subjects of which

(i) اسرار البلاغة (ii) تشرح الافلاك (iii) خلاصة الحساب (iv) كشكول المغلاة and (v) كاشكول المغلاة (vi) وسيلة الفوز have been printed. But the following books of his are still unpublished

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|
| (1) العروة الوثقى | (7) جامع عباسي |
| (2) صراط مستقيم | (8) مفتاح الفلاح |
| (3) عين الحياة | (9) تهذيب |
| (4) حبل المتين في مزايا القرفان المين | (10) زبد |
| (5) مشرق الشمسيين | (11) رساله هلاله |
| (6) شرح اربعين | (12) رساله اصطرباينه |

Baha-ud-Din's detailed account of life and works is to be found in *Vol. III, pp. 440-454* and *روضات الجنات p. 32*.

Our readers may feel interested to know that a manuscript of the *mathnavi* زاد المسافرين is in the private collection of Maulvi Maqbool Ahmad Šamdāni, Yahyapur, Allahabad. This is one of the various works of Hadrat Shāikh Amir Hussaini, a spiritual disciple of Hadrat Shāikh Baha-ud-Din Zakariya Multani. Besides being an eminent saint, Hadrat Shāikh Amir Hussaini (d. 72 A.H.) was a meritorious poet and erudite author of a good number of books, which deal with some or other aspects of sufism. They are (i) نزهة الارواح (ii) الارواح (iii) صراط مستقيم (iv) طرب المجالس (v) كثر الرموز (vi) زاد المسافرين (vii) ديوان and (viii) نزهة الارواح. Descriptions of these compilations may be found in the catalogue of Persian Manuscripts, British Museum, Vol. II, p. 608, catalogue of the Library of the King of Oudh, p. 430 and *Nafhat-ul-Uns* by Maulana 'Abd-ur-Rahmān Jami. The manuscript which is in the library of Maulvi Maqbool Ahmad, consists of 1456 verses, having eight different *maqalas*. A printed and complete copy of Shāikh Amir Hussaini's another compilation نزهة الارواح is in the possession of Hakim Khalil-ur-Rahmān Ridvi, Sialkot. This comprises 86 pages and 28 *fasls*.

FOREIGN

SAUDI ARABIA

Inscriptions in Himyarite :

DR. M. HAMIDULLAH, who recently returned from Arabia, has discovered in Madinah several old inscriptions of considerable importance. In 1939, he had discovered there some Arabic inscriptions as old as the time of the Prophet (vide *Islamic Culture*, 1939, pp. 426-439).

The present discovery consists of not only several very old Arabic inscriptions, but three or four others in Himyarite and Aramaic characters. We shall have to wait until they are made ready for publication. However, it is to be noted that the south Arabian Himyarite inscriptions somewhere in the north of Madinah are very uncommon. They are found on some rocks, just outside the southern gate of the present walled city, and these rocks are the site of extensive ruins.

Unique Manuscripts :

The *Kitāb an-Nabāt* of Abū-Ḥanīfah ad-Dinawarīy had long been considered lost to us. In an uncatalogued mélange in a library of Madinah, three chapters of this very important work have been preserved in good condition. These chapters deal with woods used for producing fire (as flint), and the colour of the smokes of different woods when burnt, etc.

Another small yet interesting monograph in the same library is on the names of the *Aṣḥāb aṣ-Ṣuffah*, a classified list in alphabetical order extending over several pages. It is anonymous.

Local Publications :

Among the few publications of recent date in Arabia, outstanding is a biography of the Prophet (*Ḥayāt Saiyid al-'Arab*) by Ḥusain 'Abdallāh Bāsālāmah, who died recently in Mecca. He was a member of the Legislative Council of Arabia. The main feature of the book is an effort on the part of the author to locate all the places which occur in the life of the Prophet. No man is better suited for the task than a son of the soil with special aptitude and experience for the work. It is in four volumes.

The Supervisory Board of the Zubaidah Canal in Mecca has published an interesting monograph, both in Arabic and Urdu, on the history of the repair of this famous source of drinkable water of the holy city of Islam, during the last 12 centuries. Very important work has also been done in the Saudi regime, and the supply of water in this canal has now

so increased that it is used even for irrigation and gardening purposes. Mecca is no more "a valley without cultivation." The city is now surrounded for miles by green fields of maize, potatoes, tomatoes and mangoes. Many old wells of sweet water have been discovered and restored. A school of agriculture is also attached to the famous Madrasah Şaulatiyah.

Miscellanea :

Giant strides have been taken during the recent war to develop the agricultural possibilities of Hijāz, especially of Madinah. Wheat, barley, date-palm and many other cereals are abundantly cultivated and even exported from Madinah. An expert has been appointed by the government to advise the local cultivators.

A scheme to educate and teach the beduins to lead a settled life is also going on. Musaijid, the Bailsān oil producing centre, is also the scene of a Madrasah aş-Şahrā', which is situated in the sarai built by Hyderabad subscription for the use of the pilgrims.

Several girls' schools have now been opened in Madinah where they are taught only reading, not writing. English language has been made compulsory in all schools for boys. The services of dozens of Egyptian teachers have been acquired for government schools in al-Hijāz.

Besides the old weekly *Umm al-Qurā*, another weekly *al-Bilād as-Sa'ūdiyyah* has been appearing for several years. The *Jaridah al-Madinah*, of the Prophet's town, ceased to be published during the war, and arrangements are being made to start it again. Another weekly, *Shamsul Arab* caters to the needs of the Arabic-knowing population of the petrol town of Zahrān.

The monthly *al-Manhal* is edited by 'Abdul Quddūs al-Anşāriy for the last several years and is very interesting. A list of the contents for Vol. 6, No. 11 (Dhul Qa'dah, 1365 H.) is reproduced here which will give an idea of the scope and standard of the magazine :—

Religious policy and its influence on the administration of temporal affairs.

١ - السياسة الدينية واثرها في تنظيم الشؤون الدينية

Genius of King Ibn Sa'ūd

٢ - عبقرية الملك ابن سعود

This article contains, among others, a case which was recently referred to Ibn Sa'ūd by the Court for orders, in which the responsibility of a person falling from a tree so as to kill a person who was sleeping on the ground below, had to be established.

Economics

٣ - اقتصاديات

Nejd

٣ - نجد

Evolution of Education in Saudi Arabia.

٥ - تطور التعليم بالمملكة العربية السعودية

Az-Zubair ibn Bakkār.

٦ - الزبير بن بكار

Arabic literature, will it become a world literature?

٧ - الادب العربي وهل يكون عالميا؟

Mecca, its social progress under Ibn Sa'ūd.

٨ - مكة، تطورها العمراني في العهد السعودي

The House of Al-Arqam Ibn 'Abi'l-Arqam.

Morals and Military Training.

'Ulayyah, daughter of Caliph al-Mahdiy.

Arabs under the Abbasides.

Al-Falāḥ School in Jidda.

٩ - دار الارقم بن ماري الارقم

١٠ - الاخلاق والتربية العسكرية

١١ - عليّة بنت المهدي

١٢ - العرب في العهد العباسي

١٣ - مدرسة الفلاح بجدة

Another monthly *al-Hajj* has just appeared, the second issue of the first year is on our table as we write these lines. (September.)

The *al-Hajj* writes that a survey has already been taken up for constructing a railway line, important for the pilgrims, between Mecca-Jidda-Medinah. The Hijāz railway, connecting Medinah with Syria and Egypt is, at last, being restored. Another line to connect Riyāḍ, the capital, with the Persian Gulf, *via* Zahrān petrol field, on Ra's Tan-nūrah, is in actual progress.

YAMAN

Dr. 'Hamidullah has brought from Yaman some important MSS., viz. (1) *Tajrid al-Mu'tamad*, by Abul-Hasan Muḥammad Ibn 'Alīy al-Basrīy, a Mu'tazilite, on jurisprudence (*uṣūl fiqh*). The MS. is very old, the first page is missing, and words on many pages have been eaten by white ant. So far no other copies of the work have been traced. (2) *Tafsir* of Zaid Ibn 'Alīy (d. 120 H.) is the oldest commentary of the Qur'ān after that of Ibn 'Abbās. (3) *Sharḥ-Urjūzah Ibn Sina fit-Tibb*, by Ibn Ruṣḥd, is a very rare, though not a unique, work in the world.

Education is being modernised, on Egyptian model, in Yaman. The high school in the capital of Ṣan'a, and the middle schools in Hudaida, Ta'izz, etc., are now manned by Egyptians, with a bias for agriculture. After the lead given by a small museum in Ṣan'a, the Ta'izz school has also started to collect items of Yamanite archæology. Some pieces of excavation in Zafār, near Yarīm, were presented to it by Dr. Hamidullah.

The monthly government gazette *al-Imān* is the only periodical so far in the country. Radio, with dry batteries, has penetrated into the country everywhere. The number of motor cars has reached, within the last decade, from almost zero to several thousands, and the government has been forced to repair the roads. As the import duties are only 12½ per cent. *ad valorem*, opening of new roads to motor traffic will have far-reaching economic and cultural consequences.

The membership of the UNO for Yaman is enough to show that this country, where Sabeen primitiveness still prevails, is also determined to fall in line with the modern civilised world.

The idea that a complete copy of Ḥamdānīy's *Jaziratul-'Arab* is found in the royal library is not substantiated. Only vols. 2, 4 and 8 have been discovered, some in the palace library, others in that of the Grand Mosque of Ṣan'a. Each of these libraries contains about two thousand MSS., the descriptive catalogue of the latter has been printed. This printing

is extremely rare as any other publication of Yaman, since, generally 50 to 100 copies are considered there more than enough. Many old works of Zaidite authors on Hadith and Fiqh are printed in San'a. The Palace Library contains, among other rarities, Vol. 4 of *Ansāb al-Ashraf* by Balādhuriy. It may help the Hebrew University people who are toiling on the unique MS. of Istanbul. The library in the Grand Mosque at Hudaida contains a Persian work on the observation of eclipses for over a quarter century, between 1171 and 1197 H. It is anonymous.

The biggest private library is in Murawa'ah. Zabīd has still many good collections. However the poverty and ignorance of the people is doing havoc to private collections with a deplorable rapidity. Still, notes of MSS. seen by Dr. Hamidullah represent hundreds of entries.

TURKEY

The *Graphic*, of London, dated 13th August last, is responsible for the news that the teaching of the Qur'ān, banned by the Atātürk, has now been resumed. The last Hājj witnessed a dozen pilgrims from even Ankara.

Oriental Research :

The new trends in Turkish foreign policy are reflected even in her literary activity. An "International Society for Oriental Research" (Milletlerarasi Şark Tetkikleri Cemiyeti) has been founded with such renowned members as Drs. Faut Köprülü, Helmut Ritter, 'Adnan Adıvar and others. The office is located in İstanbul, Tahtakale, Prevuyans Han, No. 37-38. The membership fee is T. £15 per annum.

The wealth of Turkey in original sources of MSS., etc., is unrivalled in the world. The founders are convinced that "Oriental Studies," especially after the destruction caused by the World War II, may more quickly and effectively be reconsolidated and extended by means of international co-operation than by means of separate endeavours on the part of individual nations.

The Society proposes to publish a periodical which shall serve Oriental Studies, in the broadest sense, by accepting contributions in all important European languages and in such Oriental languages as may be deemed interesting.

The Society also proposes, in so far as its resources permit, to aid and support other literary undertakings, and when possible, to aid scholars and institutions by providing them with means of research, or the materials they are wanting in. We welcome the attempt.

M. H.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW .

DR. ZAKI 'ALI, *Islam in the World* ;
434 pp; Publisher, Shaikh Muhammad
Ashraf, Lahore, 1947. Rs. 8.

DR. Zaki 'Ali, an Egyptian Doctor of Medicine, and now Professor of Arabic at the University of Geneva has, besides the book under review, two other books on Islam to his credit, viz., *Glimpses of Islam*, in which he has collaborated with Prince Agha Khan, and *l'Europe et l'Islam*, and the present work may be said to be a comprehensive and an extended form of these two works but, of course, ranging over a much wider field. The book is divided into two unequal parts, Part I consisting of 9 chapters and covering 156 pages, and Part II just 4 chapters covering 268 pages. There is also an appendix containing statistics of the population of the Muslim world.

The author, quite rightly, begins with the inception of Islam and takes us, in the first part, through chapters dealing with the Islamic social order, history of Islamic law, Islamic polity, expansion and 'evolution' (sic) of Islam and its contact with the West. It is a pity that he has dealt very briefly with the personality and the mission of the Prophet of Islam which deserved ampler treatment, but on the other hand the chapter on the Caliphate is more thorough and we find there mention being made of precepts which should serve as guide to every political thinker and politician today, and if acted upon, would bring peace and comfort to the 'modern' tortured

humanity. We who are used to the blood-thirsty policy of certain western countries, and to murder, stabbing vivisection of women and children, young and old, see a clear light in the maxim of the first Caliph who ordered the commander of his army: "Be sure you do not oppress people, but advise them in all their affairs, and take care to do that which is right and just....If you gain victory, kill not women and children nor old people....When you enter into covenant stand by it, and be as good as your word...." We also read the terms of a letter signed by the Muslim general to the people of Armenia in which the conqueror guaranteed the safety of their lives, properties, churches, temples and city-walls. But it must be remembered that these precepts are in their turn based on the principles held sacred and acted upon by the Apostle of Islam himself, as is clearly evidenced by his treaties with the Jews and the Christians, his treatment of the non-Muslims right through his sojourn at Medina, his almost bloodless conquest of Mecca, and finally on the occasion of his Pilgrimage of Farewell when he delivered his great Sermon on the Mount Arafat which was verily a message for the emancipation of humanity. It is these principles on which the whole of Islamic polity is based and if we study carefully the history of the world after the advent of Islam we would see that it was the Prophet's teaching which the East and the West have tried to adopt in all but name.

In Part II of the work the author rightly stresses the cosmopolitan aspect of Islam which knows no distinction of clime, race or colour, and it is well that this point should be made as clear as possible just when we are passing through a wave of 'homelands' for the Muslims everywhere. For Islam knows no homelands, and God's earth is the only limit to the Muslim's 'country.' The author rightly says that one of the peculiarities of the Islamic world is that whatever happens in one part of the Islamic world has its repercussions in other parts and touches the right point when he states that nationalism among the Muslims is the result mostly of non-Muslim aggression and the necessity of defending all they hold dear by the methods adopted by our antagonists. Dr. Zaki 'Ali says that the pseudo-nationalistic evolution of Islamic countries is thus due to three factors—effort at emancipation, self-reconstruction and "modernization" in order to fall in line with the rest of the world. The chapter on the "Emancipation of Islam" which should have been named "Emancipation of the Muslims," deals with the modern history of the Muslim states and gives a bird's eye-view of the Muslims in the four continents. He has some stirring things to tell, such as the announcement by the first British High Commissioner of Palestine, himself a Jew, that the policy of Britain was to allow the immigration of the Jews to the extent as would, in the end, warrant the creation of a Jewish state. The author shows the Fascist Italian policy with regard to the Muslims of Tripoli in all its nakedness when he tells us that the Sennusi Shaikhs were actually thrown overboard from aeroplanes on their own villages during the Mussolinian regime. These and other matters related by Dr. Zaki 'Ali are an eye-opener to the reader.

It is a pity, however that care has not been taken to read the proofs, and in spite of excellent printing a large number of typographical mistakes have crept in. Moreover the learned Doctor is prone, at times, to contradict himself, especially in regard to Indian politics. Thus he

says on p. 308 that the Congress "was made more representative in its composition until it claimed to voice Hindu India exclusively," while on p. 313 he attributes the anti-Muslim policy solely to Hindu Mahasabha, and a couple of pages later he says that it was after 1935 that the Muslims began to "come round from the anæsthetic of supra-communal nationalism which had been administered by the Congress party." His reason for the resentment of the Bengalis against the Curzonian partition was that the Hindus of Bengal disliked being under a Muslim majority, but this is not true as there was hardly any question of the rule by the majority in the India of Lord Curzon's time. Then it seems strange to read that Gandhi's salt agitation was due to his "proclamation of the second campaign of his religious warfare" and that the Cabinet Plan of May 16, 1946, envisaged a central government "to control defence, communications, foreign affairs and taxes." These and other minor *faux pas* such as the one under which the island of Bali is made a Buddhist settlement, are, after all minor points in a book replete with information. It is hoped that in the second edition the author will deal with portions of Part II and as objectively as he has dealt with other portions of this Part as well as with Part I.

H. K. S.

MODERN TRENDS IN ISLAM: by H. A. R. Gibb, Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford. Published by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, Royal 8vo. pp. 141, XII. Price \$2.50.

THIS book embodies the Haskell lectures in comparative Religion delivered by the author at the University of Chicago in 1945. Professor Gibb needs no introduction to the students of Islam. He is a well-known authority on the Muslim world. He edited the well-known composite volume *Whither Islam* in 1932, which for many years remained an excellent source of

information on the condition of the Muslim world. In these lectures, the Professor gives an analysis of modern trends in Islamic religious thought. He justly complains that Muslims themselves have not attempted any such analysis, though it is obvious that Islamic religious thought could not have remained static during these centuries, with the impact of all the intellectual ferment in the world. "The outstanding exception is the Indian scholar and poet, Sir Muhammad Iqbal who, in his six lectures on *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, faces outright the question of re-formulating the basic ideas of Muslim theology." Professor Gibb also points out the difficulty of his task by referring to its magnitude. The world of Islam today consists of a large number of nations spread from Morocco to Indonesia and it is almost impossible "to enter into the minds of" all these peoples. He has, therefore, limited himself mostly to the Arabs and the Indians, and even then the information about Indian Islam is second-hand. The author considers this "a better position to be in than the reverse one; for notwithstanding the greater numbers and the more varied intellectual activities among Indian Muslims, it is the Arabs who still constitute the real core of Islam." Professor Gibb has not examined the significance of the fact that Turkey, the pioneer of external modernism in Islam, has not produced any corresponding tendencies in religious thought as such, and, indeed, the decades which saw great social and political revolutions, have been sterile in producing any religious literature at all. There must have been many adjustments in the religious beliefs of such Turks—and they are in an overwhelming majority—as still believe in Islam. The same is true of Iran and Afghanistan, two countries trying to tread in the footsteps of Turkey. Yet another significant fact is that in spite of extreme modernism without any attempt at conciliation with the teachings of Islam, at least Turkey and Iran are in the midst of an Islamic revival and it seems certain that Afghan modernism and craze for "looking west" will not go too far. If the author had ex-

amined these facts, he would have been more successful, perhaps, in reaching tenable conclusions.

It is doubtful if the angle from which Professor Gibb tries to understand the problem is likely to yield any tangible results. He defines his own religious beliefs in the following words, "the metaphors in which Christian doctrine is traditionally enshrined satisfy me intellectually as expressing symbolically the highest range of spiritual truth which I can conceive, provided that they are interpreted not in terms of anthropomorphic dogma but as general concepts, related to our changing views of the nature of the universe." He tries to find a similar attitude in the Muslim mind. Now whereas he is right in trying to discover the progress Muslims have made in interpreting the fundamental truths of Islam in the light of our enhanced understanding of the world and humanity, he searches in vain when he tries to find Muslim attempts at "recasting from time to time" "the symbolism" of the highest spiritual truths in Islam. The reason of Professor Gibb's disappointment is not that there is no symbolism whatsoever in the narration of spiritual truths in Islam but that it is so thin and obvious that it does not require "any recasting." This explains the attitude of the Muslims including those who have received western secular education towards the Qur'ān. As the book does not present any barrier to the intellect, there has not been much attempt at the re-interpretation of its metaphysics. It is, therefore, not surprising that "the Koran itself has remained almost untouched by any breath of evolutionary criticism."

Professor Gibb complains of a lack of historical sense among the Muslims today and the strength of romanticism, by which he means uncritical idealisation of the past. This charge is partially true; and the rise of uncritical romanticism among Muslims is more reprehensible because they laid, in the early and Mediæval ages of Islam, great emphasis on objectivity and merciless criticism of individuals and their deeds. Unfortunately the West first evolved the technique

of converting history into religious or political propaganda and introduced into it, bias and prejudice. The Western Orientalists, guided by a missionary zeal to demolish the structure of Islam, took up extreme and unbalanced opinions and traditions, tore them from their context, and used them to attack Islam. They ignored their own history and idealised it when they attacked Islam. The result was a similar movement in Islam. When Muslim history was painted in the darkest colours by Christian writers, the only natural reaction could be to paint it in rosy hues. It should however be remembered that this is true only of laymen; Muslim historians have, if anything, a comparatively harsher attitude towards their own history, partly because of the harshness of the original authorities and partly because of the unsympathetic attitude of the European authors, whose works exercise too great an influence on the educated Muslims. But Professor Gibb is really driving at something quite different when he is attacking Muslim romanticism. He is thinking of the life of the Prophet and the question of the authorship of the Qur'ān. He is a little unjust in these respects. He should remember that Jesus has been so greatly idealised that he has ceased to be a historical personage, indeed he is no longer a man, because he has been attributed divinity. No idealisation of Muhammad can be greater than that and, thanks to the historical sense of the Muslims, the Prophet continues to remain a human being. As Muhammad is historical, as his life and deeds have been recorded, Muslim idealisation of him can never lose its moorings. There is undoubted historical authenticity for the verbal accuracy of the Qur'ān, and therefore historical criticism of the correctness of the Text will not yield any results. Our Christian missionary critics attempt it without carrying conviction. The question whether Qur'ān is revelation or fabrication is a matter mostly of faith, though it can be easily demonstrated that history tends to confirm the Muslim faith. Beyond this history cannot go.

It should, by now, be clear that Professor Gibb searches in vain for a movement

in Islam to question the fundamentals of faith and to re-state them. The reason is not that Muslims fight shy of the need, but that they do not feel the need, because the elastic simplicity of Islam does not create the same tension in their minds as the fundamentals of Christianity produce in the minds of Christians.

Professor Gibb's criticism of the failure of the *ulema* to revise the legal system is justified.

The book is well written, and is interesting. It is full of information and amply repays perusal. The author discusses a number of problems facing the Muslim world with remarkable insight and his remarks about pseudo-modernism and the contradictions involved in it are illuminating. One does not find that intolerable attitude of superiority which a number of Christian Orientalists adopt when writing about Islam. The book is critical of modern-day Islam, but the criticism nowhere transgresses the limits of academic propriety.

I. H. Q.

GLORY OF ISLAM: by Muhammad Amin, Bar.-at-Law. Published by Madina Publications, Church Road, Lahore, pp. 248, cloth and bound. Price Rs. 3.

THIS small book is an anthology. The first two pieces are by the author who is a keen missionary of Islam. The other pieces are by various authors, mostly European, though there are extracts from Maulana Jalal-ud-din Rumi, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, and Swami Vivekananda as well. These passages in one way or another extol some aspects of Islam and coming from staunch followers of other faiths are, to a limited extent, a testimony to the excellence of Islam. The introduction is by Rao Bahadur O. Krishnamurthy in which he speaks well not only of the book but also of Islam. Books of this type are of considerable value because they reassure such Muslims as suffer

from an inferiority complex and also because they attract the attention of some non-Muslims. Beyond this, it is doubtful if such literature serves any useful purpose. To the believers, Islam is true because it is true, not because it is praised reluctantly or even with enthusiasm by a few non-Muslims. To the discerning non-Muslims, a book written with self-confidence to present the intrinsic worth of Islam would be more welcome. In the last resort no faith is judged by the testimonials of others, but by its own merit and the quality of its followers. For a book of this size, the errata is formidable. It will be interesting to those who want to read what others have to say about Islam.

I. H. Q.

AFTER 'SECULARISM WHAT? : by *Muhammad Mazhar-u'd-din Siddiqi*. Published by *Maktabah-i-Jama'at-i-Islami, Dāru'l-Islām, Pathankot, Punjab*, paper cover, pp. 56. Price 0-12-0.

THIS small pamphlet argues that a state or people discarding the guidance of religious truth will plunge itself and others into misery, and, to illustrate its thesis, the author quotes apt happenings from modern history. Western democracies, Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and Socialist Russia all have been instrumental in bringing misery through avowed or unavowed godlessness. Few will disagree with the author's contention that only politics based on spiritual truth and righteousness can bring real happiness to long-suffering humanity, but, also, fewer still will discard greed and unrighteousness in politics.

I. H. Q.

RECONSTRUCTION BY WAY OF THE SOIL : by G. T. Wrench. Published by *Faber and Faber Ltd., 24, Russell Square, London, Royal 8vo., pp. 262, cloth and boards. Price 12sh. 6d. net.*

THIS is a most remarkable book. It is absorbingly interesting, revolutionary in its thesis and most

convincing. It is agronomy from a new angle, but, at the same time, it is much more. It is the history of the relation between the soil and civilisation dealing with all lands where the wisdom or folly of its peoples has brought happiness or misery; and wisdom or folly in this context can be defined as the attitude towards the soil. Students of history are only too familiar with the downfall of civilisations where smiling lands have turned into dry deserts or unwholesome marshes. Invariably these catastrophes, as Dr. Wrench so convincingly proves, have been the results of man's greed and lack of knowledge regarding the soil. This folly has not yet come to an end and threatens to convert an overwhelming portion of the earth's crust into barren and unproductive desert; the proportions of this problem are so great that entire continents are threatened with disaster which does not loom in the distance but is terribly near, so near indeed that humanity must save itself. Put so baldly the warning sounds fantastic, but when one reads the impressive evidences with which it is supported in the book, there remains no scope for even moderate scepticism.

The evils of soil erosion, alkalinisation, floods and drying up of perennial sources of irrigation are generally known, though their extent and magnitude are not so familiar to the laymen. One of their causes is also fairly widely known, the evil of cutting down forests. Those who are interested in the problem are also vaguely aware of the existence of a school of thought which disapproves of chemical fertilisers and tractors. But Dr. Wrench goes much deeper. He starts from the biological truth that life depends on the soil and water, and is gradually driven to attack the very basis of modern life, big finance which is but a glorified synonym of the word greed. Soil can yield food, health and prosperity, but when it is made to yield dividend and money its rape begins. An economy based on money in its modern sense, when it means only a mathematical symbol, will lead to "the rebellion of the soil," which means death. Once again it is not possible to do justice to

this thesis, deserving of careful study, in the course of a review. Dr. Wrench piles up such convincing evidence that doubt seems to be irrelevant.

Similarly it seems impossible to controvert Dr. Wrench's argument that soil and agriculture can be maintained only by maintaining the life cycle of the soil and those who derive their nourishment from it. All that is taken out from the soil, whether it belongs to the vegetable kingdom or the animal, must ultimately be returned to it. This is a strong and sensible plea in favour of organic manure. But, says the chemist, when I know the chemicals which are essential to plant life, why should chemical or artificial manure not serve the same purpose? The chemist also points to the impressive increase in the produce when artificial manures are sensibly employed. Dr. Wrench's answer is that the chemist's knowledge is imperfect. It is not possible to find out all the chemicals which the soil needs for perfect agriculture, and, in any case, artificial manuring has resulted in innumerable new diseases which now afflict the plant life and also in loss of that indefinable, but unmistakable quality of yield-richness of flavour. He could also have added the argument that experience has shown that where chemical fertilisers have been used for a long period without a liberal addition of organic manure, the soil has shown signs of rapid decay.

Dr. Wrench believes in farming by peasants having economic holdings, not of too big a size which do not permit intensive farming. He advocates a new economy, an economy in harmony with the soil and not based on modern capitalism. He pleads for a system wherein foreign trade and industry are in tune with agriculture and not based merely on greed, because it is the desire for quick return which is at the bottom of the trouble. This desire is dictated by the requirements of money economy.

The new Muslim state of Pakistan is essentially an agricultural country. Large portions of the Panjab are even now devastated by soil erosion; some new agricultural colonies are fast turning into irredeemable marshes, and Sind

is already face to face with large-scale alkalinity. Our leaders should, therefore, read this book carefully. Muslims will find additional satisfaction in the book that the system of agrarian administration and economy built up by Muslim rulers on the sound foundations of Islamic ethics and law has found more than ample justification in the pages of this most illuminating book; indeed the author holds up Spain and the Empire of the Abbasid caliphs as model empires supporting a civilisation which embodied the principles so ably advocated in this book.

I. H. Q.

SHORT STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY: by S. R. Sharma. Edited by Jagmohan Mahajan Shivaji. Published by the National Information and Publications Ltd., Bombay.

THE National Information and Publications Ltd. is rendering a yeoman service to the people of India, by bringing out a series of Short Studies, which will cover the whole range of Indian history. These booklets, everyone of which will consist of 48 pages, are meant to cater for the needs and the ever-growing demand of the common persons who would like to know the history of his Motherland, in a short but comprehensive form and at such a low price as Re. 1.

The booklet under review "Shivaji" by S. R. Sharma is one of the series just published. Professor S. R. Sharma needs no introduction to our readers, who know well his works such as the "Maratha History Re examined," "The Crescent in India," and "The Mughal Empire in India" (3 volumes).

Indeed few personalities in the history of our country have exercised such fascination as "Shivaji" the founder of the Maratha Empire during the seventeenth century A.D. Professor S. R. Sharma gives a comparative study of Shivaji and Sher Shah in his introduction, followed by a short chapter in the study of antecedents of Shivaji showing the degrading conditions prevailing in the Deccan peninsula and how stubbornly

Malik Ambar tried to stave off the onslaught of the Mughals in the Deccan. Then after the author mentions how much Shivaji owed to his mother and to the inspiration of his religion. Tolerant of other faiths, he deeply venerated Muslim saints and granted rent-free lands to meet the expenses of illumination of Muslim shrines and mosques.

The last two chapters deserve special notice.

The booklet is accurate in details and is well written. But what most strikes one are the subheadings which focus one's attention in the colourful personality of Shivaji, and enthrall interest in the perusal of this booklet. Similar headings one comes across in Prof. Sardesai's book, "New History of the Marathas," of which we had the pleasure of reviewing in these columns.

A short bibliography is given at the close of the booklet, in case its readers would like to know something more about Shivaji.

We congratulate the Publishers and wish them success in such an admirable enterprise.

K. S. L.

SHORT STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY: edited by Jagmohan Mahajan. *The Bahmani Kingdom* by H. K. Sherwani. Published by National Information and Publications, Ltd., Bombay.

THIS is another booklet of the series of Short Studies in Indian history which deserves one's careful notice.

The Bahmani period of history of the Deccan is perhaps more demarcated than the corresponding period of the history of India; and yet very few scholars have given a serious thought to this important subject.

Professor H. K. Sherwani has rendered

a valuable service to the students of the Deccan History by contributing a number of books on the Bahmani period. His work on Mahmud Gawan, the Great Bahmani Wazir, is well known.

In this booklet Professor H. K. Sherwani narrates the series of events that led to the birth of an independent Deccan; and goes on to the Bahmanis of Ahsanabad, Gulbarga. Then he covers up the work of the Bahmanis of Muhammadabad, Bidar. With the death of the last Sultan as he puts it "disappeared the glory, what was left of it—of the Bahmani dynasty."

Prof. H. K. Sherwani lucidly describes the great Madrasa of Mahmud Gawan—the Nalanda of the South, thus, "Mahmud Gawan's college stands today like a resplendent gem recalling the erstwhile greatness of its city. The three-storied building, its frontage decorated by patterned tiles of myriad hues, its halls, its massive walls, its grand arches, its staff of learned men from India and overseas, must have made Bidar the rendezvous of all who wished to drink at the fountain of knowledge provided by the great minister."

Having quoted the description, etc., of this once famous Madrasa of Gawan, we feel it would not be out of place to say that there exists a unique Firman of Bahmani Sultan bearing the signature and seals of the Great Minister, pertaining to this famous college giving all the details, which has not been utilised, so far as we know, by any scholar in India.

The booklet is well written, readable and clear in presentation.

We tender our compliments to the Publishers and hope that in the Series to follow, they will not fail to maintain their high standard.

K. S. L.

NOTICE

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Ed., I. C.

